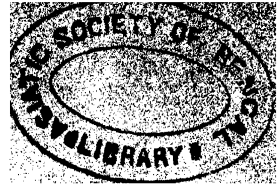


THE



TĀITTIRĪYA-PRĀTICĀKHYA

WITH ITS COMMENTARY,

THE TRIBHĀSHYARATNA

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES.

BY

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[FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, VOL. IX, 1871.]

A S : S O C : B

NEW HAVEN:
FOR THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

PRINTED BY SMITH, MOREHOUSE AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS TO YALE COLLEGE.

MDCCCLXXI.

SOLD BY THE SOCIETY'S AGENTS:

NEW YORK: B. WESTERMANN & CO., 471 BROADWAY.

LONDON: TRÜBNER & CO. AND WILLIAMS & NORWICH.

LEIPZIG: F. A. BROCKHAUS.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE manuscript material on which is founded this edition of the Taittirīya-Prātiçākhyā and Tribhāshyaratna is as follows:

1. **T.** A copy of the text of the treatise alone, in a modern hand, on light-colored paper. It was sent me by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall, from Benares, in 1857, and appears to be a copy made for him from some older manuscript: but it contains no intimation of its own date or of that of its original; presenting at the end, in place of the usual colophon, the beginning of a list of words which in *pada*-text show a final *u*. It is distinctly and correctly written. On the back is inscribed "Krishna-yajuh-prātisākhyā, by Kārtikeya." On what ground this ascription of authorship is made, I do not know; it does not, so far as I am aware, find support from any other quarter.

2. **W.** A copy of the text and commentary together, each separate rule being followed by its own comment. This manuscript, like the preceding, I owe to the kindness of Prof. Hall. It is handsomely written, in a large clear hand, and fills 146 leaves (numbered 1-89, 100, 1-56), measuring about four and a half by nine and a half inches. To the end of 25*a*, seven lines are written on a page; thenceforward, nine lines. It has no statement of scribe, place, or date; but I imagine that a final leaf, with the end of the colophon, had been lost or destroyed some time before it was sent to me. The part remaining reads as follows: *grīkṛshnār-pabhasu grīkātābhāiravaprasam om yāyakāṇḍaridhāyordhvan ṛshayo ṛshayo ṛshih: ity āgīsrāçimukāpārvaṇ ṛshaṇ ce ti scatanitratā: 1 kramyādhrano bharaty agre pāvako rpayatūti ca.* This just fills up the leaf; but another hand has written below, at its edge, what purports to be the ending of the second verse: *ṛsha-*

*yeṅgira ity erāpy agra ity ādi luyate.*2., and has added, as final benediction, *prīṭiregecuraprasam*.

This is a virgin manuscript, containing neither erasures, insertions, nor alterations. Considering that it thus presents every first fault of its scribe unamended, it is very good and correct. Through the first twelve chapters, the rules of the Prāṭicākhya are distinguished from the commentary by being rubbed over with a red powder.

3. **B.** This authority comes from the west of India, where (see Dr. Bühler, in *Zeitsch. Deut. Morg. Ges.*, xvii.319) the Tribhāsh-yaratna is said to be not very rare. From a manuscript there collected, a copy was made under direction of Dr. Bühler for the Berlin library, and forwarded to Prof. Weber, at whose friendly suggestion and instance it was transcribed for me, in roman letters, by Dr. Siegfried Goldschmidt, to whom I desire here to express my gratitude for a service so valuable and so kindly rendered. The manuscript contains more inaccuracies of reading than any of the others which I have used, yet they are in the main superficial, and the text given is a pretty complete and correct one.

4. **O.** Through the kind offices of Prof. Max Müller, I have been enabled to procure a collation (made with a copy of my own manuscript, "W.") of the incomplete Oxford manuscript (MS. Bodl. W. 473), first described by Roth (*Zur Lit. und Gesch. des Weda*, pp. 54, 62 seq.), and used also by Weber (*Ind. Stud.* iv.77 seq.). It begins in the middle of the comment upon iii.12, thus lacking somewhat less than a quarter of the entire work.

5. **G.** This is a romanized copy of a manuscript which belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and is written on strips of palm leaf, in the Grantham character. The copy was made for me by Dr. Julius Eggeling, who has thus laid me under deep obligation, and contributed most essentially to the success of my work. Hardly less than to him is my indebtedness to Dr. Reinhold Rost, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, who notified me of the existence of the manuscripts in the Society's library soon after their discovery, and who suggested and aided their transcription. There are doubtless few other Sanskrit-ists in Europe, besides these gentlemen, to whom works written in the southern Indian characters are not sealed books, and there can be none, I am sure, who evince a more liberal readiness to make their peculiar knowledge of service to the rest. The catalogue which Dr. Rost is preparing to publish of the Royal Asiatic Society's collection of manuscripts will give such other particulars respecting age, condition, etc., as I am compelled here to omit.

6. **M.** The library of the same Society also contains a second copy of the Prāṭicākhya and its commentary, written on paper, in the Malayālam character. Of this, Dr. Eggeling has taken the pains to note the various readings as compared with the Grantham manuscript, in his transcript of the latter.

Both these manuscripts from southern India are so arranged

that the rules of the *Prātiśākhya* are given first, in a body, and are followed by the commentary, also in bulk.

As regards the text of the *Prātiśākhya* itself, all these authorities agree very closely: there are but two or three cases of well-established variations of reading among them. In respect to the text of the commentary, their accordance, as was to be expected, is much less: they fall, in fact, into three well-marked classes; or, as one might say, present three different recensions of the work. The two codices belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, the *Grantham* ("G.") and the *Malayālan* ("M."), stand in the nearest possible relation to one another, having almost all their errors, omissions, and orthographical peculiarities in common, and only by comparatively rare and inconspicuous differences proved not to be copied the one from the other. My own manuscript ("W.") and that sent by Dr. Bühler from Bombay ("B.") also offer substantially the same text, although their differences are much more frequent, and of a more important character, than those of G. and M. As for the Oxford manuscript ("O."), it is, in its earlier portions, pretty closely accordant with W. and B., having an especially near relationship to B., with whose slight variations of the text given by W. it almost uniformly agrees; later, however, it strikes off upon a track of its own, and comes to differ from both the other recensions in a much greater degree than they differ between themselves.

Such being the case, I have thought it best to adopt for publication the version offered by W., partly because this is the only one for which I possess an original manuscript (and a tolerably old and correct one), partly because it is, upon the whole, better supported than that of G. and M.—which, as I have shown above, can hardly be reckoned, both together, as constituting more than a single manuscript. I have accordingly, avoiding the making up of an eclectic text from the various recensions, followed W. as closely as I could; and especially, when it was supported by the joint authority of B. and O., or of B. alone—thus sometimes, undoubtedly, rejecting an intrinsically preferable and perhaps more original reading given by one or another of the remaining authorities, if that offered by W. was of a character to be endured. At the end of the comment to each rule are given the various readings of all the manuscripts, with sufficient fullness, I hope, to answer the desirable ends of critical comparison. Obvious and trifling errors of transcription, of course, I have not noted, but only those which made a false reading or tended to become such: I have been most liberal in overlooking the blunders of B., as, being, on the whole, of least consequence.

In regard, however, to the two matters of punctuation and euphonic combination, I have taken liberties with the text of which I have given no account. The various manuscripts are in no slight degree discordant with one another, inconsistent with themselves, and careless of the requirements of the sense, in the use they make of the signs of interpunction: they offer absolutely

no standard to follow. For the occurrence of the signs as printed, therefore, I am alone responsible; and no one who can anywhere make a better division of clauses than I have made need be restrained from so doing by the belief that he is running counter to manuscript authority. Again, I have (except in certain cases at the end of a cited rule or passage, where a reference follows) put all the words of the commentary in euphonic combination according to the usual rules; while in the manuscripts (as is common in exegetical writings) they are very frequently, for the sake of greater clearness, separated from one another.* Here, too, the usage of the various authorities is too discordant and irregular to be followed. And to report their readings in these two particulars would burden the critical notes with a mass of useless and wearisome details.

In the same manner are treated such orthographical peculiarities of the several manuscripts as that G. and M. regularly write a final sibilant instead of *visarjanīya* before an initial sibilant, and often, where a *m* is assimilated to a following mute, write the nasal mute corresponding to the latter, instead of *anusvāra*. Moreover, in the representation of the nasal sounds, by the nasal consonants, *anusvāra* (*ñ*), or *m*, I have followed a consistent method, with disregard of the manuscript usage.

The text given at the foot of the page contains the whole comment, with two exceptions: citations from the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā, being written out in full, with references, in the notes to the rules, are indicated below only by first words or letters, with signs of omission added; and again, where lists of affected words are given in a rule, in euphonic combination, and repeated, separate, at the beginning of the comment, they are replaced by signs of omission, as having been sufficiently presented uncombined in the translation of the rule. Errors of reading in the cited passages themselves are passed without notice, unless of such importance as to cast doubt upon the identity of the passage; but, on the other hand, the frequent differences of the versions as regards the extent of the illustrative passage cited are fully noted in the sequel of the reference.

I have preferred, instead of giving an express and direct translation of the commentary, to work its substance fully into my own notes upon the rules, somewhat as in my edition of the Atharva Prātiçākhyā (Journ. Am. Or. Soc'y, Vol. vii., 1862). The different conditions of the case, however, impress quite a different character upon the present work. The completeness and elaborateness of the Tribhāshyaratna make its working-up by far the larger and more important part of what is to be done in illustration of the Prātiçākhyā. Possessing no *index verborum* to the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā, nor even a manuscript of its *pada*-text, I have not been able to try the Prātiçākhyā by it with anything like the same

* Thus, to instance an extreme case, at the end of the comment on iv.10, the manuscripts read (for once, with almost perfect unanimity): *iṅgyasya antah iṅgyāntah na iṅgyāntah aniṅgyāntah*.

thoroughness as in the case of the similar treatise to the Atharvan. What could be done in the way of testing and supplementing the rules given, by a careful reading and excerption of the *Sanhitā* in a single good *saṁhitā*-manuscript (also procured for me in India by Dr. Hall, and with one or two slight deficiencies in it made up from Berlin, by Prof. Weber), I have endeavored to do. I have been able to refer points of interest connected with the text, in its *saṁhitā* or *pada* readings, to friends in Europe owning or having access to fuller manuscript material, namely to Professors Weber of Berlin and Haug of München, and have received from them important aid, which I desire here gratefully to acknowledge. Of references to the teachings of the other *Prāṭicākhya*s I have been much more sparing in this than in the former work, in order to avoid repetition: and, for the same reason, some matters of theory which were pretty fully discussed there receive here a more compendious treatment. The present work, in short, to a certain extent presupposes the other—not, however, in such a manner or degree as should interfere with its independence and separate intelligibility.

In making reference to the *Tāittirīya-Sanhitā*, I have used only three principal numbers, to designate book, chapter, and section, or *kāṇḍa*, *pragṇa*, and *anuvāka*. The further division of the sections or *anuvākas*, where they are of more considerable length, into parcels of fifty words each, is so artificial, destructive of the natural connection of passages, detrimental to the proper phonetic form of the text, and wholly ignored by the *Prāṭicākhya* (see notes to the rules of chapter iii.), that I have preferred to express it by the use of "superior" figures attached to that which indicates the *anuvāka*. Of course, where such attached figure is wanting, the *anuvāka* is to be understood as composed of a single division.

In the notes of various readings, each figure refers only to the single word to which it is attached, unless a passage of more than one word is included between two repetitions of the same figure; in which case the reference figure, in the notes, is put within parentheses. The abbreviation "om." means 'omit,' and "ins." means 'insert.'

In all transliterated passages of Sanskrit, a colon stands in place of a single stroke of interpunction, and a full stop in place of a double stroke. The general method of transliteration is the same with that which I have hitherto used in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; it will be sufficiently understood from the alphabet given in the note to i.1 (p. 10).

CHAPTER I.

CONTENTS: 1-11, enumeration and classification of sounds composing the alphabet; 12-14, surd and sonant consonants; 15, list of prepositions; 16-21, 27, names of letters and classes of letters; 22-24, 28, terminology of cited words, etc.; 25, 26, 29, 30, respecting the interpretation of rules; 31-37, quantity of simple sounds; 38-40, the three accents; 41-47, details respecting the circumflex accent; 48, 49, compound words; 50-53, respecting cited words; 54-55, words consisting of a single vowel; 56-61, further specifications respecting the interpretation of rules.

THE commentator begins his work with a couple of rather awkwardly-constructed verses, as follows: "I, bowing low with devoted affection to the two feet of Gaṇeṣa, as also to the *gurus* and to divine Voice, shall proceed to utter this comment; which, made upon examination of the exposition of the Prātiçākhyā given by Vararuci etc., shines, a Treasure of Threefold Comment (*tribhāshyaratna*), approved of Brahmans." He adds an exposition of their meaning, explaining *giraṁ devīm*, 'divine Voice,' by *vāgdevīm*, 'Goddess of Voice,' and *bhāsura*, 'Brahman' (literally 'earth-god'), by *vidvat*, 'learned man, sage.' On *lakṣhaṇā*, which, as name of a comment, is least in accordance

*'bhaktiyuktaḥ praṇamya¹ 'ham gaṇeṣacarana-dvayam :
gurān api girān² devīm idān vakshyāmi lakṣhaṇam.1.
vyākhyānam prātiçākhyasya vikshya vārarucādikam³ :
kṛtaṁ tribhāshyaratnam yad bhāsate bhāsurapriyam.2.*

*glokeyor anayor ayaṁ⁴ arthaḥ. bhaktiyukto 'ham gaṇeṣacarana-
dvayam gurān girān⁵ api devīm : "vāgdevīm ity arthaḥ : tām ca⁶
praṇamya lakṣhaṇam idān vakshyāmi ya⁷ lakṣhaṇam tribhā-
shyaratnanāmakam bhāsurapriyam vidvatpriyam bhāsate : kidr-
gaṁ lakṣhaṇam : prātiçākhyasya vyākhyānarūpakam⁸ vārarucā-
dikam⁹ bhāshyajātaṁ vikshya¹⁰ nyūnātirekapaṇihāreṇa kṛtaṁ vi-
racitaṁ : ādigubdenā¹¹ "treyaṁāhisheyāu grhyete : ata eva tribhā-
shyaratnam iti nāma upapattiḥ : trayāṇām bhāshyāṇām samā-
hāras tribhāshyam : tasya¹² ratnam bhāshaṇam.*

¹ W. prefaces with *ṛiganeṣṭhya namaḥ. ṛiganeṣa prasanno 'stu. om.* B. prefaces with *ṛiganeṣṭhya namaḥ. ṛisurasvatyaṁ namaḥ. ṛidattānmayāya namaḥ :* and the additional verse

*guklāmbaradharaṁ devaṁ śaṣivarmaṇam caturbhujam :
prasannavadanaṁ dhyāyet sarvavighnopaśāntaye.1.*

'The white raiment-bearing god, moon-hued, four-armed, propitious-faced, must one meditate on, in order to the surcease of all disturbance." It then numbers the other verses "2" and "3," but, proceeds to confess the unguineness of the inserted verse by reading, like the other MSS, *anayoh ślokayoh.*

² G. M. *girān.* ³ B. *var.* ⁴ G. M. *om.* ⁵ G. M. *girām.* ⁶ G. M. *om.* ⁷ G. M. *ta.* ⁸ G. M. *rūpam ; B. -pūrvakam.* ⁹ B. *var.* ¹⁰ W. *ka.* ¹¹ G. M. *samikshya.* ¹² W. *om.*

with common usage, he makes no remark. To *vikshya*, 'having examined,' he adds *nyānātirekāparihārena*, 'with avoidance of deficiency and redundancy.' The "etc." after "Vararuci" is declared to refer to Ātreya and Māhisheya, these three being the authorities upon which the present work is founded, and from which it derives its name. Vararuci and Māhisheya are, indeed, often (about ten times each: see Index) referred to in the sequel, and their discordant views sometimes set forth and discussed: Ātreya has only once (under v.1) the honor of being mentioned. Who is the digester of their three works, and author of the present commentary, which has taken their place and crowded them out of existence, we are not informed; nor, so far as I am aware, has any evidence bearing upon the point been anywhere brought to knowledge. Notice of the different authorities cited by our commentator will be put together in an additional note at the end of this work, for the sake of the light cast by them upon his age.

अथ वर्णसमाम्नायः ॥ १ ॥

1. Now the list of sounds.

The commentator first gives himself a great deal of trouble to explain the meaning of *atha*, 'now,' in the rule. He quotes Amara's definition of *atho* and *atha* (Amarakosha iii.4.32.8; p. 349 of Deslongchamps's edition), and points out that, as a variety of meanings is there attributed to *atha*, it is necessary to fix upon a single meaning for it here. In the first place, then, a propitiatory significance is claimed for it, by reason of its equivalence with *om*; "since the Çikshā-makers declare, '*om* and *atha* are deemed propitiatory.' " Or, again, it indicates something coming next after another; "the implication being that, next after the reading of the Veda, one should gain a knowledge of the *lakṣhaṇa*: there hav-

1. *maṅgalānanturārambhapraṇakārtsnyesho atho athe 'ti maṅgalādyanekārthatvād athaḥubduṣyā 'rthanirṇayārtham eko 'rtho' niṣcetavyaḥ: tatra prathamam tāvaṁ maṅgalārthatvam ucyate: tasya prānavasādharmyāt: tathā hi samācukshate çikshākārāḥ:*

onkārāḥ cā 'thaḥubduḥ ca maṅgalān iti kīrtitān iti: 'āho' svid ānantaryārthatā: vedādhyayanānantaram lakṣhaṇajñānam kuryād iti sāpekshatvād lakṣhaṇasya pārvam vedādhi- game saty atha lakṣhaṇaparīkshāvasarāḥ: atha vā 'dhikārārtho 'thaḥubduḥ: tv atkāi 've 'ti vinivartakādhikārakāva- dhārakāḥ (xxii.6) iti vidyamānatvāt: atha varṇasamāmnāyāḥ pāṭhakramo 'dhikriyatu iti sūtrānvayaḥ: sam ity ekibhāve: ān iti madyādīyam: mnāya ity ānupūrvyeno 'padeṣaḥ: ekibhūtā ukārādayo varṇāḥ svarabhaktipūrvayasānā ānupūrvyena pūrvaiḥ çishtāir' upadiṣṭāḥ.

ing been study of the Veda before the *lakshana*, now comes the occasion for the investigation of the *lakshana*." Here, *lakshana* appears to be used to designate the Prātiçākhyā itself, as above it denoted the commentary to the latter. Once more, *atha* is declared to have the force of an introduction or heading, according to rule xxii.6, below: "*tu, atha, and eva* are respectively exceptive, introductory, and limitative;" and the connection of the rule is that *now* the list of sounds, the order of reading (*pāthakrama*), is made the subject of treatment.

The composition of *saṁdāmnāya*, 'list, rehearsal,' is next pointed out, and the word is stated to mean "the collective sounds, beginning with *a* and ending with the *svarabhakti*, in their order, as taught by former learned men."

The catalogue itself follows, as understood by the commentator to be taught or implied in the rules of the treatise. First come the vowels, of which only sixteen are reckoned (see rule 5, below): *a, i, and u* have each a short, a long, and a protracted value, *r* only a short and a long, *l* only a short (W. and B. take the pains to write a figure 2 after the long *r*, and a 1 after the *l*, to point out clearly the number of *moras* they respectively contain; and B. adds after the *āi* and *āu* a 2, for the same purpose); second, the twenty-five mutes (see rule 7); third, the four semivowels (rule 8); and fourth, the six spirants (rule 9). This makes fifty-one sounds, clearly specified and counted in their order in the next succeeding rules. Of the rest, there is no so direct enumeration; the commentator has to infer them from their recognition by rules found in later portions of the treatise. Thus, he finds *anusvāra* acknowledged as an alphabetic element in rule 34 of this chapter, which teaches that it has the quantity of a short vowel; for, he says, "since it is made the substrate of a specific quantity, it is itself a concrete thing, and not, like nasalization, a quality." A passage from the Çikshā, it is true, appears inconsistent with this, but finds its sufficient explanation in the circumstance that that work includes in one expression the concrete thing and its quality. The cited passage is not to be found in the known text of the

tathā hi: a ā ās i ī īs u ū ūs r ṛ ṝ l e āi o āu iti svarāḥ shodaça: ka kha ga gha ṇa ca cha ja jha ṇa ṭa ṭha ḍa dha ṇa ta tha ḍa dha na pa phā ba bha ma iti sparçāḥ pañcaviṅcatiḥ: ya ra la va iti catasro 'ntasthāḥ: ga sha sa ha ḥka' hpa' iti shad āshmanāḥ: anusvāraç ca (i.34) iti sātrenā 'nusvāra uktāḥ: kālaviçeshā-grayatvād asāu ¹¹dharmā na tv¹⁰ amūnsikavad¹² dharmāḥ: vi-dher ¹³madhyasthānāsikya¹³ iti çikshāvacaññe¹⁴ sati¹⁵ dharmadhar-minor abhedavivakshayo 'papadyate: athu visarjanīyāḥ (viii.5) ity anena¹⁶ visarjanīya uktāḥ: nāsikāvivāṇānād ān-¹⁷nāsikyam (ii.52) ity anena¹⁶ raṅga uktāḥ: prktaçvarāt paro lo ḍam (xiii.16) ity anena¹⁶ lakāra uktāḥ: sparçād anuttamād (xxi.12) iti catvāro yamā uktāḥ: repḥoshmasaṁyoge repḥa-svarabhaktir (xxi.15) iti svarabhaktir uktā: anena kramena

Çikshā (and the same is the case with several of the passages quoted later: see the additional notes): it is given again, with more fullness, under viii.15. Next, for the *visarjanīya*, which our Prātiçākhyā does not count among the spirants, is given as authority rule 5 of the eighth chapter, a rule introductory to the euphonic changes of a final *h*. The commentator brings in as next constituent of the alphabet an element which he calls *raṅga*, and for which he cites the rule (ii.52) that “nasal quality is given by the unclosing of the nasal passage.” The word *raṅga*, ‘coloring,’ though a common name for the nasal tinge of utterance, is not found in our Prātiçākhyā, nor even used in the commentary excepting here and under ii.52. What is described in the latter rule is in fact a “quality” (*dharma*), and not a “qualified” or concrete thing (*dharmin*); and its inclusion in the alphabet would stultify the argument with which the inclusion of *anusvāra* was but just now supported. It would seem that the commentator ought to be aiming here at the *nāsikya*, or euphonic insertion between *h* and a following nasal mute, and should quote for it rule xxi.14; he does not otherwise take account of it in his list, while yet it is precisely as well entitled to a place there as are the *yamas*. The nasalized semivowels, it is true, into which *n* and *m* are directed to be converted before *y*, *l*, *v* (v.26–8), are also left out of the enumeration, unless we suppose the *raṅga* to be meant to apply to their nasality; and I think it altogether likely that the commentator had them in view in its definition: but this is only avoiding one difficulty by running into two worse ones—namely, by omitting the *nāsikya*, and by reckoning as a member of the alphabet what is really only one of the constituent elements of certain sounds. Further, rule xiii.16 is made the warrant for the lingual *l*, rule xxi.12 for the four *yamas*, and rule xxi.15, finally, for the *svarabhakti*: and the conclusion is reached that “by this process, the number of sixty is clearly derivable from the rules themselves as that of the letters in the Yajur-Veda.”

*yājurvedikavarṇānām*¹⁷ *shashtisamkhyā sūtrata eva vispashtā drashtavyā. nanu*

*trishashtig catuṣshashtir vā varṇāḥ gambhūmate*¹⁸ *matāḥ:*

*iti çikshāvacane sati katham shashtisamkhyā niyamayate: etal*¹⁹
*lūkikavāidikasavarnavishayam*²⁰ *iti*²¹ *çikshāvacane na viro-*
*dhah: atra tu*²² *sūtrāir etāvataṁ varṇānām*²³ *evo 'pulambhād esha*
*eva*²⁴ *nirṇayo varṇitah*²⁵.

varṇānām samāmnāyo varṇasamāmnāyah.

(1) G. M. *maṅgalādyaneṅārtho*. (2) W. G. M. *çiksh-*. G. and M. always write *çikshā*, B. and O. always *çikshā*; W. has *çi-* only in one other place (under xiv.28). (3) W. B. *aho*. (4) G. M. *-ryatā*; W. adds *vā*. (5) G. M. *pāṭhe kramo*. (6) W. B. *om*. (7) W. *çikshāyāir*. (8) B. *shka*. (9) B. *shpa*. (10) G. M. *om*. (11) B. *dharmānātādd anund-*, *sikah*. (12) G. *ins. adharma*. (13) G. M. *-kād*. (14) G. M. *-nam*. (15) B. *om*; G. M. *tu*. (16) B. G. M. *om*. (17) W. *-vāid-*. (18) B. *amgumate*. (19) G. M. *tal*. (20) G. M. *-savar-*, *navarna*. (21) G. M. *ins. na*. (22) G. M. *om*. (23) G. M. *om*. (24) G. M. *om*. (25) B. *nir-*, *nitah*.

An objection is now raised and removed. "Considering that the Çikshâ says 'the letters are regarded as sixty-three or sixty-four, in the opinion of Çambhu' (Çikshâ, verse 3; see Weber's edition of the treatise, in his Indische Studien, iv.348-9), how is the number sixty established? Answer: there is no inconsistency with the *dictum* of the Çikshâ, seeing that the latter has in view the whole body of sounds, as used both in the Veda and in common life; while here the determination (of sixty) is derived from the assumption of just so many letters by the rules of the treatise."

The alphabetic scheme is, then, as follows:

Vowels	{ simple,	<i>a ā ā3 i ī ī3 u ū ū3</i>	9	
	{ impure and diphthongs,	<i>ṛ ṝ ṝ̄ e ai o au</i>	7	16
Mutes	{ guttural,	<i>k kh g gh ŋ</i>	5	
	{ palatal,	<i>c ch j jh ñ</i>	5	
	{ lingual,	<i>t th d dh n</i>	5	
	{ dental,	<i>t th d dh n.</i>	5	
	{ labial,	<i>p ph b bh m</i>	5	25
Semivowels,		<i>y r l v</i>		4
Spirants,		<i>ś ṣ sh s ṣ h</i>		6
Anusvāra,		<i>ñ</i>		1
Visarjanīya,		<i>h</i>		1
Lingual l,		<i>l</i>		1
Nāsikya,		(not written)		1
Yamas,		do.		4
Svarabhakti,		do.		1
whole number of letters,				60

With the exception of the nasal *y, l, v*, already referred to, this list includes all the alphabetic sounds treated of by the Prāṭicākhya. For what concerns the peculiarities of their character or classification, see the special rules of which they are the subject; as also, for the differences between the teachings of this and of the other kindred treatises with reference to them. Only the Vājasaneyi-Prāṭicākhya includes in its text a complete list and enumeration of letters, and that by an afterthought, in a later and less genuine chapter (viii.1-31).

अथ नवादितः समानाक्षराणि ॥२॥

2. Now the nine at the beginning are simple vowels.

2. *athe 'ti sañjñādhikārārthah: asmin¹ varnasamāmnāya ādita ārabhya nava varnāḥ samānāksharasamjñā bhavanti: yathā: a ā ā3 i ī ī3 u ū ū3. samjñāyāḥ² prayojanam: dīrghaṁ samānākshare savarnapare (x.2) ity ādi. nanv idrē mahati samjñā kimarthā: çikshādīçāstraprasiddhyamurodhaye³ 'ti brāmāḥ.*

¹B. *tasmin*. ²W. B. *a ā ā3 ity ādi*. ³G. M. *-jñā*. ⁴G. M. *-tham*. ⁵G. M. *om. -di-*.

Literally, 'are homogeneous syllables;' *samānākshara* and its correlative *samādhyaśkhara*, 'syllable of combination,' being the current names for simple vowel and for diphthong; the latter, however, is not used in this treatise. The nine intended are, as shown in the preceding list, *a ā as i ī is u ū as*. The *r* and *l* vowels are denied the quality of simplicity or homogeneity, although their structure as composed of heterogeneous elements is not further described; the Rik Pr. (xiii.14), the Vāj. Pr. (iv.145), and the Ath. Pr. (i.37-9) give the details of their formation, while nevertheless the two first expressly include *r* and *l* among the *samānāksharas* (omitting *l*, apparently, because no case anywhere occurs that should test its quality), and the same classification is inferribly recognized by the last.

The commentator explains the *atha* of this rule as signifying the introduction of the subject of names or technical appellations (*sañjñā*), and cites, as example of the use of the term, rule x.2, respecting the coalescence of two similar simple vowels into a long vowel. Finally, the unwieldiness of the long word *samānākshara* striking his mind, he asks "why such a big name?" and relieves himself by the answer, "we say, in order to correspond with the established usage of the Çikshā and other text-books." The Çikshā as we know it, it may be remarked, does not employ the term.

द्वे सवर्णे ऋस्वदीर्घे ॥ ३ ॥

3. Two and two, short and long, are similar.

That is to say, as the commentary explains, of these simple vowels, two and two short, two and two long, or a long and a short, are called "similar." The meaning seems rather to be that, of the three triplets which make up the category of simple vowels, the first two in each triplet, the short and the long, will be designated as "similar"—to the exclusion, namely, of the *phata* or protracted vowels. The term is used but once in the treatise (namely in x.2, the rule last above quoted), as applied to vowels, and nothing is practically gained by denying its inclusion of the protracted vowels, since these are specially protected from coalescence by the rule x.24. The *r*-vowels are here again shut out, as in the preceding rule; and, in fact, no case occurs in the Vedic text in which two of them are fused into one.

3. *teshu' samānākshareshu dvedve hrasve dvedve dīrghē' hrasva-dīrghē' dīrghahrasve vā' kshare parasparam savarnasamjñe bhavataḥ. iyam anvarīhasamjñāḥ savarnatvam nāma sādṛśyam ucyate: tasmād akārādīnām ikārādibhir na savarnasamjñāpañkā bhinnasthānaprayatnatvād' anayoḥ. samjñādyāḥ prayojanam: dīrghaṇ samānākshare savarnapare (x.2) iti.*

hrasvam ca dīrgham ca hrasvadīrghē.

¹ G. M. *eteshu*. ² G. M. *ins. vā*. ³ B. *om.*; G. M. *ins. vā*. ⁴ B. *-indā*.

The word translated 'similar' means literally 'of identical color' (i. e. sound), and is several times applied later to identity of consonantal sound. It is, as the commentator points out, a self-explaining term, or one whose application is directly in accordance with its natural meaning (*anvārtha*); and hence no suspicion is to be entertained of the inclusion of *a* and *i*, for instance, as "similar," because of their different mode of organic production. As example of the use of the term is again cited x.2.

न पुतपूर्वम् ॥ ४ ॥

4. Not so, when a protracted vowel precedes.

This is an arbitrary exclusion, made to fit a particular case, which might with more evident propriety have been provided for later, where such cases are under treatment, rather than here in the preliminary definition of terms (compare a somewhat similar case in the Rik Pr., i.1, r. 4). The commentator paraphrases the rule "a simple vowel having a protracted one before it is not termed 'similar;'" and goes on to cite and explain in full the case to which it applies. In the phrase *agne: iti: āha* (vi.5.8⁴), the word *agne* has its final diphthong protracted, and becomes *agnāḥi*. By the rule (x.2) for the coalescence of two similar simple vowels into the corresponding long vowel, this would then unite with the following word to form *agnāḥi'iti*. The quality of similarity, however, being denied by the present rule to the final *i*, it is treated as a dissimilar vowel, being first converted into *y* by rule x.15, the *y* dropped by x.19, and the coalescence of the remaining *āḥ* with the following *i* (as prescribed by x.4) prevented by x.24: thus is assured the reading *agnāḥi'ity āha*.

षोडशादितः स्वराः ॥ ५ ॥

5. The sixteen at the beginning are vowels.

Namely, says the commentator, the sixteen beginning with *a* and ending with *au*. As example of the use of the technical term

4. *plutapūrvam samānāksharam savarnasamjñam na bhavati. plutam asmāt pūrvam iti plutapūrvam. yathā: agnāḥi'ity āhe 'ty atra dīrghañ samānākshare savarnapare (x.2) 'ity ekādeṣaḥ prasaktaḥ: tuc cā 'nishtam: pratishiddhāyām tv evam savarnasamjñāyām pāriṣeṣhyād i varṇokārdu yavakārdu (x.15) 'iti pūrvāsye 'kārasya yatvam syāt: sa ca yakāro lupyete tv avarṇapūrvāu yavakārdu (x.19) 'iti lupyate: yakāre lupte sati i varṇapara ekāram (x.4) 'ity ekārah' prasaktaḥ: so 'pi' nishidhyate na plutapragrahāv (x.24) 'ity anena: tasmād agnāḥi'ity āhe 'ti prasidhyati'.*

¹ W: om. ² G. M. ekādeṣaḥ. ³ G. M. vi. ⁴ G. M. sidhyati.

svara, 'vowel,' he quotes the rule (ix.10) prescribing the conversion of *visarjanīya* into *y* before a vowel.

Our *Prātiçākhyā* is to be commended for not including in its list of vowels the long *l*, and for postulating no useless protracted forms of *r* and *l*.

शेषो व्यञ्जनानि ॥ ६ ॥

6. The rest are consonants.

As example of the term *vyañjana*, 'consonant,' rule xxi.1, which pronounces the consonant a member of the adjacent vowel, is cited in the commentary, according to the two manuscripts from northern India; those from the south substitute for it the opening rule of the third chapter, and also omit the explanatory statement "beginning with *k* and ending with *svaraḥ*," which is given by the others.

आद्याः पञ्चविंशति स्पर्शाः ॥ ७ ॥

7. The first twenty-five are mutes.

The commentator explains: "among the consonants, the first twenty-five letters are called mutes" (*sparṣa*, literally 'contact'). The northern manuscripts add, as under the last rule, "beginning with *k* and ending with *m*." It is next pointed out that rules 2 and 5 contain the specification *āditaḥ*, 'at the beginning,' and that the different phraseology of this rule, namely *ādyāḥ*, 'first,' indicates a difference of meaning: it signifies that the sounds referred to

5. *varṇasamāmnāyasyā' "dita ārabhya śoḍaṣa varṇāḥ svarasamjñā bhavanti: akārādāya ākārāparyantā ity arthaḥ. samjñādyāḥ prayojanam: atha svaraparo yakāram (ix.10) ity ādi.*

¹ G. M. *varṇānām sam-*.

6. *svarebhyah gesho varṇarāḥir vyañjanasamjñā bhavati: 'kakārādīsvaṛabhaktiparyantā ity arthaḥ'. samjñādyāḥ prayojanam: 'vyañjanañ svarāṅgam' (xxi.1) iti.*

(1) G. M. om. (2) G. M. *athā "dāu uttare vibhāge hrasvanī vyañjanapara (iii.1).*

7. *vyañjaneshv ādyāḥ pañcaviṃśativarṇā sparṣasamjñā bhavanti: 'kakārādāyo makārāntāḥ'. 'samjñādyāḥ prayojanam: sparṣa-sparṣaparah (xiv.27)'. atha navā "ditaḥ samānākṣharāṇi (i.2): śoḍaṣā "ditaḥ svarāḥ (i.5) itivād ādita iti vaktavya ādyā iti śabdāntaraprayogo 'rthāntarasūcakah: vyañjaneshv ādyā na tu svareshv ādyā iti vijñeyam'.*

(1) G. M. om. (2) G. M. remove to end of exposition, and for *spārṣaparah* read *spārṣa ity ādi*. (3) G. M. *jñeyam*.

are first among the consonants, not first among the vowels (better, we should say, not first in the whole list). Of this style of interpretation, which forces a special significance into very innocent variations of phraseology, we shall meet with other and more striking examples farther on.

Rule xiv.27 is given as instance of the employment of the technical term here defined.

पराश्रतस्रो ऽन्तस्याः ॥ ८ ॥

8. The next four are semivowels.

The four semivowels are *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*. The rule cited by the commentary in illustration of the use of the term "semivowel" (*anta-sthā*, i. e. *antaḥ-sthā*, 'standing between, intermediate [between consonant and vowel]': see note to Ath. Pr. i.30) is one (v.28) prescribing the treatment of final *m* before an initial semivowel.

परि षडृष्माणः ॥ ९ ॥

9. The next six are spirants.

Namely, the three sibilants, *ç*, *sh*, and *s*, the *jihvāmālīya*, *z*, the *upadhmanīya*, *φ*, and the aspiration, *h*. As regards the sounds to which the name *ūshman*, 'flatus,' shall be given, the phonetic treatises are greatly at variance. The Vāj. Pr. (viii.22) limits the class to the sibilants and *h*; the Ath. Pr. (see note to i.31) apparently adds the guttural and labial spirants and the more indistinct *visarjanīya*; the Rik Pr. (i.2), these and the *anusvāra*. We have an equal right to be surprised at the inclusion of this last in the class, and at the exclusion from it, by our treatise, of the *visarjanīya*.

To instance the employment of "spirant," the comment cites the rule (xiv.16) forbidding the duplication of a spirant before a vowel.

स्पर्शानामानुपूर्व्येण पञ्चपञ्च वर्गाः ॥ १० ॥

10. Of the mutes, the successive fives are the series.

The commentary paraphrases: "among the mutes, five and five sounds, in their order, have the designation 'series'; they begin respectively with *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, and end with *n̄*, *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*." This

8. *spargēbhyah pare catvāro varṇā antasthāsamjñā bhavanti. samjñādyah prayojanam*: 'antasthāparaç ca savarṇam anu-
ndasikāṁ (v.28) ity ādi.

¹ A lacuna in W., extending to the word *prayojanam* in the commentary to the next rule.

9. *antasthābhyah pare śaḍ varṇā ūshmasamjñā bhavanti. samjñādyah prayojanam*: *ūshma svaraparah* (xiv.16) ity ādi.

exposition is in accordance with the requirements of the context, the treatise being here engaged in defining its technical terms. Otherwise, we might divide ---- *pañca pañcavargāḥ*, and translate, like the corresponding rule in the Rik Pr. (i.2), 'there are five series, of five each.'

The illustrative rule (xiv.20) cited in the comment teaches the non-duplication of a mute of the lingual series before one of the dental series.

प्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थोत्तमाः ॥ ११ ॥

11. And are called first, second, third, fourth, and last.

Each series of five mutes, that is to say, is composed of a surd, a surd aspirate, a sonant, a sonant aspirate, and a nasal, as *t, th, d, dh, n*; and these classes are named according to their order in the several series. The commentator makes no note here of the physical differences of the classes, but says "In each series, the sounds, in their order, are styled first, second, third, fourth, and last. Even though a name founded on enumeration obviously belongs to them [is assured them, without a special rule to that effect], yet, for the purpose of denying appellation on the ground of any other enumeration, the technical terms 'first' and so on are prescribed, to enjoin a certain enumeration (?). How so? Why, to establish the designation 'first' and so on for *k* and its successors alone, and to deny to the vowels, semivowels, spirants, etc., designations founded on their enumeration." And he proceeds to cite four rules (ii.9; xiv.12,24; viii.3: but the southern MSS. cite v.38 instead of ii.9) as examples of the use of the five terms defined.

10. *sparśānām madhya ānupūrvyeṇa pañcapañca varṇā' var-gasañjñā bhavanti: ka-ca-ta-ta-pādūyo' ūa-ūa-na-na-māntā ity arthah. sañjñādyāḥ prayojanam: tavargaḥ ca tavargaparaḥ (xiv.20) iti.*³

¹ B. om. ² G. M. *pādūyāḥ*. ³ W. om. the cited rule; G. M. *ity ādi*.

11. *ekāikāsmiṇ varge yathākramena' varṇāḥ prathamadvitīyatrītiyacaturthottamasañjñā bhavanti: siddhe 'pi saṅkhyāni-mitte nāmanī' saṅkhyāntarānabhidhānārthani' saṅkhyāntarāni' kathayitum prathamādisañjñāvidhānam: tat katham: kakārā-dīnām eva' prathamādisañjñāpratyaयार्थam: svarāntasthoshma-prabhṛtishu tatsaṅkhyāsañjñāpratishedhārtham'. sañjñādyāḥ prayojanam: prathamā āśmaparo dvitīyam (xiv.12): trītiyañ svaraghoṣavatparaḥ (viii.3): kakārō ḥacatur-theshu (ii.9): nā 'nuttama uttamaparaḥ (xiv.24): ity ādi.*

¹ G. M. *-kramam*. ² G. M. *nāmanī*. ³ B. *saṅkhyāntarābh-*; G. M. *saṅkhyābh-*.

⁴ M. *sañjñāntaram*: as to the true reading and interpretation of this clause I am by no means confident. ⁵ G. M. om. ⁶ G. M. *tu saṅkhyā-*. ⁷ G. M. substitute for this rule part of v.38, viz. *prathamapūro kakāraḥ caturtham tasya saṣṭhānam*.

The other Prāticākhyas employ the same designations for the mutes (save that the Vāj. Pr. also calls the nasals *pañcamā*, 'fifth'), but without taking the trouble to define them or prescribe their use by a rule.

उष्मविसर्जनौयप्रथमद्वितीया अघोषाः ॥ १२ ॥

12. The spirants, *visarjanīya*, and the first and second mutes, are surd.

The Rik Pr. gives (i.2,3) a similar statement; the Ath. Pr. uses the terms "surd" and "sonant" without defining which consonants form each class; the Vāj. Pr. (i.50-53) substitutes for the terms arbitrary formulas.

The physical peculiarity of the surd utterance is defined in the next chapter (rules 5,10).

The commentator illustrates the use of the term by the rule (ix.2) concerning the treatment of *visarjanīya* before a surd.

न रुकारः ॥ १३ ॥

13. But not *h*.

"*H* is not styled a surd; this is an exception rendered necessary by the circumstance that *h*, being [by i.9] a spirant, would otherwise be included [by the last rule] in the class of surds," says the comment.

All the phonetic treatises treat *h* as a sonant. For further definition of its character, see rules ii.6,9,46,47, below.

व्यञ्जनशेषो घोषवान् ॥ १४ ॥

14. The rest of the consonants are sonant.

The commentary enters into a rather lengthy defense of the propriety of this rule, which reads literally as follows: "The remainder of the consonants other than the surds is styled sonant. Even though, when the surds have already been stated in rule 12, the sonant quality of the rest, on the principle of 'remainder,' is assured—just as, when it is said, 'of Devadatta and Yajñadatta,

12. *ūshmānaḥ ca visarjanīyaḥ ca prathamadvitīyāḥ ca 'gho-shasamjñā bhavanti. samjñādyāḥ prayojanam: aghoṣaparas-tasya sasthānam ūshmānam*¹ (ix.2) *ity ādi*².

¹ B. *prathamaḥ ca dv.* ² W. B. omit the last two words of the rule. ³ G. M. om.

13. *na bhavaty aghoṣhasamjñā' hakārah: ūshmatvād agho-shatve prāpte tadapavādo 'yam.*

¹ W. *jñiko.*

Devadatta owns no kine,' the conclusion is assured that Yajña-datta is a kine-owner—nevertheless, the indication of the technical term is made in the text-book, for the sake of practical convenience (?). Also, because of the superiority of express mention over inclusion in a remainder. Otherwise—the name of surd is denied to *h* by rule 13, nor is *h* sonant, there being no rule to that effect; and so with the rest of the consonants; the vowels are also in like manner not sonant and not surd—this being the case, when the rule shall be given (ix.8) 'also when followed by a sonant,' the doubt would arise, 'followed by a sonant' means followed by what? Let not this be so: in this view the present rule is undertaken." It is added "In this rule, the distinctive meaning, in the form of objection and replication, is set forth by Māhisheya." And the rule ix.8, already referred to, is quoted again by way of illustration of the use of the term "sonant."

The Rik Pr. (i.3), after specifying the surd letters, leaves the sonants to be inferred *pārīṣeshyāt*, 'by the remainder-principle,' as is expressly pointed out in the commentary on the passage (see Regnier's edition, note to rule i.12).

The vowels are not included under the designation *ghoshavant* 'sonant,' although (as is explained in rule ii.8) formed of the same material with the sonant consonants.

Our treatise does not, like the other Prātiśākhya (R. Pr. i.3; V. Pr. i.54; A. Pr. i.10), define the "first" and "third" mutes as *soshman*, 'aspirated.'

14. *aghoshebhya* ¹ *vyañjanāṣesho ghoshavatsañjño bhavati: yady apy ūshmaṇīsarjanīyapṛathameshv ² *aghosheshā* ³ *'kteshu* *vyañjanāṣeshasya pārīṣeshyād ghoshavattvaṁ siddham: yathā* ⁴ *devadattayajñadattayor* ⁵ *apaçur devadatta ity ukte* ⁶ *'paraḥ paçu-* *mān iti siddham: tathā* ⁷ *'pi çāstre saṁvyavahārārthan* ⁸ *sañjñā-* *nirdeçāḥ kriyate: pārīṣeshyād api kañthokter viçeshāt* ⁹ *: anyathā* *na hakārah* (i.13) *iti hakārasyā* ¹⁰ *'ghoṣṭusañjñā nishidhyate: nā* ¹¹ *'pi hakāro ghoshavān: vidhyabhāvāt: tathā* ¹² *'va* *vyañjanāṣeshah: svarā api tathā* ¹³ *na ghoshavanto nā* ¹⁴ *'py* *aghoshāḥ: tathā sati* *ghoshavatparaç ca* (ix.8) *iti yatra* ¹⁵ *'vakshyati tatra* ¹⁶ *'saṁdeçāḥ* *syāt: ghoshavatparo nāma kimpāra iti: tan mā bhād iti* ¹⁷ *'dān* *sūtram* ¹⁸ *ārābhyate* ¹⁹.*

vyañjanarūpaḥ çesho vyañjanāṣeshah ²⁰.

atra sūtre codyaparihārarūpa ²¹ *esha viçesho māhisheyabhā-* *shītaḥ.*

sañjñāyāḥ prayojanam: ghoshavatparaç ca (ix.8) *ity ādi.*

¹ G. M. ins. 'nyo. ² G. M. ūshmaṇīsarjanīye 'ty. ³ B. ins. ca. ⁴ W. dattaitiyor. ⁵ W. saṁhār. ⁶ G. M. viçeshavāt. ⁷ G. M. om. ⁸ G. M. yatrayatra. ⁹ G. M. tatratatra. ¹⁰ B. çāstram. ¹¹ G. M. repeat the rule itself here. ¹² W. om.; B. adds yah çeshah. ¹³ G. M. om. rūpa.

आप्रावोपाभ्यधिप्रतिपरिविनीत्युपसर्गाः ॥ १५ ॥

15. *Ā, pra, ava, upa, abhi, adhi, prati, pari, vi, ni*—these are prepositions.

These ten words are but half the number which are reckoned as prepositions by the Rik and Vāj. Prātiśākhya (R. Pr. xii.6; V. Pr. vi.24) and by Pāṇini (see the *gana prādayah*). The commentator notes the discordance with Pāṇini, and inquires why the maker of this rule presumingly cuts short the list of prepositions with the word *iti* in it. His reply is, that only so many are recognized by the Yajur-Veda. Another objection which he raises and removes, arriving at the comfortable conclusion "therefore there is no discordance whatever," I do not see the point of. The discordance is a real one, and difficult to explain. The term preposition (*upasarga*) is used in three of the rules of the treatise, viz. vi.4 (which is the cited instance in the commentary), x.9, and xiv.8: for the bearing of the restriction in number, see the notes on those rules.

वर्णः कारोत्तरो वर्णाख्या ॥ १६ ॥

16. A sound followed by *kāra* is the name of that sound.

That is, for example, *akāra* is the name of *a*, *ekāra* of *e*, and so on. The Vāj. Pr. (i.37) is the only other treatise which takes the trouble to prescribe this usage, common to them all. Our own refers to it also in a later rule (xxii.4). The word *kāra* means 'making, producing.' It is in the rules of the Prātiśākhya added not only to simple alphabetic sounds (*varṇa*) as their names, but also to syllables like *aḥ* and *an* (see below, rules 23, 53), and the

15. *ity ete śabdā upasargasamjñā bhavanti. nanu prapara-pasamanvavanirdhuryān ityādi pāṇinīyā viśeṣeṇa bhaṇanti*: *katham atra sūtrakṛtā nirargalam upasargā itīṣabdena saṁkucitā ucyante. yajurvedavishaya etāvanta eve 'ti mantavyam. tarhi praparāpasam¹ iti samuccaye viśeṣapāṭhaḥ² katham upalabhyate³. itiparatvavidhāne tasya tātparyam na tā 'pasargasamjñā-vidhāne viśeṣapāṭhaḥ⁴: tasman na kenacid virodhḥ. samjñā-yāḥ prayojanam: upasarganishpūrvo 'nudatte pade (vi.4). itīṣabdaḥ prakāravāci.*

¹ W. B. and G. p. m. *bhavanti*. ² B. *praparāpasam*; G. M. *prāpasam*. ³ G. M. *viśeṣaḥ*; ~~W. B.~~ *viśeṣamp*. ⁴ B. *-lakshyate*. ⁵ W. B. *viśeṣaḥ p*.

16. *kārottaro varṇo varṇasyā 'khyā bhavati. yathā: athāi 'kārekārāv (iv.8) iti.*¹ *kāraśabda uttaro yasmād asau kārot-tarah.*

¹ G. M. *ity ādi*.

commentator very frequently uses it to make names for brief words, like *ca*.

Rule iv.8, respecting *e* and *i*, is the chosen illustration of the combination here taught.

अकारव्यवेतो व्यञ्जनानाम् ॥ १७ ॥

17. But with an *a* interposed, in the case of the consonants.

That is, the name of *k*, for instance, is (*k-a-kāra*) *kakāra*. Compare the equivalent rule, Vāj. Pr. i.38.

The commentator cites rule v.22, respecting the conversion of *t* to *c*.

न विसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयानुस्वारनासिक्यानाम् ॥ १८ ॥

18. Not of *visarjanīya*, *jihvāmūliya*, *upadhmanīya*, *anuvāra*, and the *nāsikyas*.

The term *nāsikya* designates here, of course, the nasal figments taught in rules xxi.12-14. All these indistinct, hardly articulate, sounds must be spoken of by their descriptive titles, not by any name founded upon their form. The commentator explains that the appending of *kāra* to the sounds here specified—which would otherwise be regular, since they come under the category of *varṇa*, 'alphabetic elements'—is annulled by the rule: adding as a reason, that they are nowhere met with thus treated. He then

17. *akāravayahito*¹ *varṇaḥ kārāḥabdottaro vyañjanānām ākhyā bhavati. yathā: takāraḥ cakāram (v.22) ity ādi. akāreṇa vyavahito*² *kāravavyataḥ.*

¹ W. -vyaveto. ² W. B. put this word after the cited rule. ³ G. M. vyaveto.

18. *visarjanīyādīnām varṇatvāviśeṣāt kārottaratvam prāptam anena nivartyate: na khalu visarjanīyādīnām kārottaratā bhavati: kutaḥ: sarvatra*¹ *prayogānupalambhāt. nanu yathā varṇaḥ kārottaro varṇākhyā (i.16) iti varṇaḥabdavācyaśyāi*² *va kārottaratvam nakāro nakāram (vii.1 or xiii.6) ity ādi: na tu vācakaśyāi*³ *va: anyathā varṇakāra iti syāt: tadvad*⁴ *visarjanīyādīnām*⁵ *atrā*⁶ *pi vācyagrahanam eva yuktaḥ: na*⁷ *nyathā: tathā sati vācakaparatayā vararucyādiviracitam*⁸ *udāharanam avasāne ravisarjanīya*⁹ *(xiv.15) ity ādy aruciram: iti cet: māi*¹⁰ *'vam maṁsthāḥ: vācyānām*¹¹ *kevalānām aprayogād atra vācyavācakayor abhedavivakṣhayā sūtrasaraṇir ity udāharanaga-*
*manikā.*¹²

¹ G. M. ins. *tathā*. ² G. M. om. *eva*. ³ W. *tad*. ⁴ G. M. ins. *ity*. ⁵ W. B. *vara-*
rucāḥ; G. M. *vararucāḥ*. ⁶ W. B. *vācyādīnām*. ⁷ W. *gam gam*.

goes on to raise and refute a very subtle and hair-splitting objection. In rule 16, he says, *kāra* is prescribed to be added not to the vocable (*vācuka*) *varna*, 'sound,' itself, but only to the thing designated (*vācya*) by that vocable; so likewise in this rule it is proper to understand by *visarjanīya* etc. the things designated by those words, and nothing else (and hence, the rule must not be interpreted as implying that *visarjanīya* and the other names given are, in default of those formed with *kāra*, the accepted designations for the sounds in question). This being the case, the illustrations given under the rule by Vararuci and others—namely, rule xiv.15, speaking of *r* and "*visarjanīya*" as not liable to duplication—is an unsuitable one. Such is the objection. The reply is: you must not think so; since the sounds designated by the terms in the rule are actually nowhere employed by themselves (as designations), the rule simply intends to include designation and thing designated in one expression; and the quoted example is proper enough.

एफस्तु रस्य ॥ १९ ॥

19. Of *r*, however, *epha* forms the name.

That is to say, the technical designation of *r* is *repha*; *ra* being also admitted, by rule 21, below: *rakāra* is not found anywhere in the Hindu grammatical literature. This peculiarity of treatment of *r*, as compared with the other consonants, is to be paralleled with the way in which it is written in consonant groups, almost as if a vowel.

The Vāj. Pr. has an equivalent rule (i.40).

The word *tu*, 'however,' in this rule, according to the commentator, is meant to deny the application to *r* of both the rules 16 and 17. Some, he says, hold that it denies only rule 17, or the insertion of *a* between *r* and the appended *kāra*; but this is wrong; for it would imply that the name of *r* was made sometimes by appending *kāra* and sometimes by appending *epha*, just as an alternation is in fact allowed by rule 21 below between *ra* and *repha*, and exemplified by rules vii.11 and xxi.15; while no

19. *rasya tv ephaṣabḍa' akhyaḍ bhuvati. yathā: rephoshma-paraḥ*¹ (xiii.2) *iti. rephasya vyañjanatvāvigeshāt prāptam kārot-taratvam akḍravayavetatvam ca: tad ubhayaṁ tuṣabḍo nivāra-yati. anye tv anyathā manyante: akḍravayavetatvam eve'ti: tad asādhū: tathā sati kadācid ephottaratā' kadācit kārottaratā ce'ti vikalpāḥ syāt: yathā 'kāro vyañjanānām (i.21) iti vidhānād vikalpāḥ: tathā hi' rephoshmasaṁyoge rephasvarabhak-tiḥ*² (xxi.15): *rashaḥpūrvō havanī* (vii.11) *ity ādi: na tv evaṁ*³ *kārottaratvam api vikalpena' svikṛtam' kutracit: tasmād asmad-ukta eva yuktas tuṣabḍārthah.*

¹ G. M. *reph-*; and M. reads *rephas* in the rule itself. ² W. *-shmaṣabḍa*. ³ B. *rephaksharakā*; W. *reph-*. ⁴ W. B. 'pi. ⁵ W. B. om. ⁶ G. M. *naka*. ⁷ G. M. *taḥ*.

instance of a name formed with *kāra* is anywhere to be met with. This is a very easy demolition of a very insignificant man of straw.

ह्रस्वो वर्णोत्तरस्त्रयाणाम् ॥ २० ॥

20. The short vowel, with *varṇa* after it, is the name of the three vowels.

The "three vowels" referred to are the three quantities—short, long, and protracted—of the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, respectively; *varṇa*, in this case, indicating only the 'color,' or phonetic complexion, of the vowel, without regard to its length. The Ath. Pr. has the same usage of this term, but without defining it by rule. As our treatise acknowledges no protracted *r*, and neither a long nor a protracted *l*, it does not admit the compounds *rvarṇa* and *lvarṇa*: of the other three it frequently avails itself. The instance selected by the commentator is rule x.4, which directs the combination of *a* with a following *i*, *ī*, *iz* into *e*.

अकारो व्यञ्जनानाम् ॥ २१ ॥

21. An *a* forms the names of consonants.

This rule allows us to call a consonant not only, as prescribed in rules 16 and 17 above, by a name formed by adding *kāra* with *a* interposed, but also by one formed with *a* alone. The commentator's example is rule v.22, where *t* and *c* are referred to as *ta-kāra*, *ca-kāra*, and *g*, *c* again, and *ch*, as *ga*, *ca*, and *cha*. If something merely additional to the *kāra*, instead of alternative with it, were intended in the rule, we are told, rule 17 would be made meaningless. But, says an objector, why use *kāra* at all for the purpose, when even along with it the *a* has to be brought into requisition? let this alone furnish the name. The reasonableness of the objection is conceded, but the commentator alleges as sufficient justification of the practice followed, that it is in accordance with that of the Çikshā and other text-books.

He continues: others assert that the *a* added to a consonant indicates (not that consonant pure and simple, but) a syllable composed of the consonant and any following vowel; as for instance in rule ix.3, "*visarjanīya* followed by *kṣa* is not assimilated;" where the examples are *manah kṣeme* (v.2.17), *ghaṇāghaṇah kṣobhanaḥ* (iv.6.4¹: so all the MSS., both here and under ix.3; my MS. of the Sanhitā reads *kṣobhanaḥ*), and *ukthaḥṣaḥ kṣāma* (ii.6.12⁴). This is unsound; for then we should have to read *ishe tvā* (for *ishe tvā*, i.1.1 et al.), by the rule vii.13, "after *vāghā* and *sha*, *t* becomes *ṭ*;" which is wrong. Moreover, in the rule (xii.

20. *varṇottaro hrasvo¹ hrasvadirghapluṭānām ākṣvā bhavati. yathā: ivarṇapara ekāram (x.4) ity ādi. varṇaḥṣabda uttaro yasmiṁś asdu varṇottarah.*

¹ G. M. ins. *trayāṇām*.

4) “*ya, va, na, ha*, when followed by vowels,” the final specification would be useless, because already implied in the names given to the letters. Hence the opinion referred to is wrong, and the name taught by the rule indicates the consonant alone.

As for the actual usage of the treatise, it is somewhat equally divided between the two modes of designation of the consonants; names formed with *a* alone occur nearly sixty times; with *akāra*, nearly eighty times. This is exclusive of *r*, which is called *ra* four times, *repha* fifteen times.

Compare rule i.39 of the Vāj. Pr.

ग्रहणस्य च ॥२२॥

22. As also, of a cited word.

The term *grahana* is used in only two other rules of the Prāticākhya (i.24,50), but occurs in the commentary times innumerable, in the sense of ‘citation, word taken or extracted from the Sanhitā to be made the subject of some prescription’ (root *grah*, ‘seize, take’). The commentator, however, gives it an artificial and false etymology; it denotes, he says, either a word respecting which something is to be enjoined (*lakshya*), or one which is the cause (*nimitta*) of an effect produced in some other word. The former is called *grahana* because it is “seized” (i. e. “affected”); the latter, because something is “seized” or “affected” by it. It is, he continues, a part of a word, a theme or base. The *ca*, ‘also,’ of the rule brings forward, or indicates the continued implication of, the *a* of the preceding rule. The meaning is, then, that *a* forms the name of a citation, a theme, in whatever situation it may occur.

21. *vyāñjanānām akāra ākhyā bhavati. yathā: takāraḥ cakāraṇ¹ śacachaparah² (v.22) ity ādi. kāraḥabdottaratvam idam ca vikalpyate: samuccaye tv akāravayuveto vyañjanānām (i.17) iti vyarthan³ syāt. nanu tarhi kārottaratā⁴ kimarthā⁵: tadānīm api svarāpeṇā⁶ kāralābhāt: sa evā⁷ ”khyā bhavatu. satyam: cikshādīpāstraprasiddhasanketānusāreṇa⁸ ”ti parihārah. apare tu saṅgirante: akārah sarvasvarāntasya vyañjanasya grāhaka iti: yathā⁹: mun-----: ghan-----: ukth-----: ity ādi na kshaparah¹⁰ (ix.3) iti nishedhasyo ’dāharanam syād iti. tad asāram: kutah¹¹: vāghāshapūrvas tush tam (vii.13) iti shapārvatvāt¹² takārusya tatve kṛte iśh----- iti syāt: tac cā ’nishtam: kim ca: yavanahasvarapareshv¹³ (xii.4) iti atra svaraparaḥśabdo vyarthah syāt: bhavanmate sarvasvarāntasya¹⁴ svikāranīyamāt: tasmād anupapannam eva¹⁵ tan matam manmahe: kim tu varnamātrasyā¹⁶ ”khyā.*

¹ W. B. omit these first two words of the rule.

² G. M. -*tvam*.

³ G. M. -*tham*.

⁴ G. M. *aryavāyārū*.

⁵ G. M. -*sārāya*.

⁶ W. om.

⁷ G. M. om.

⁸ G. M. *śhatvapū*.

⁹ W. *yavanahaparasvar*.

¹⁰ G. M. -*ntamātrasya*.

¹¹ G. M. *evā*.

That is to say, if a word be cited in the text of a rule by its theme-ending *a*, all its cases or other derivative forms are to be regarded as equally had in view by the rule. Reference is twice made to this principle hereafter by the commentator (under rules vi.13 and x.14), to justify such inclusions. The latter of the cases he here brings up, as example of a *nimitta*, or citation of an affecting cause; the cited word is *oshtha*, which is declared to occasion the loss of a preceding *a* or *ā*: the only two instances of this combination which the Sanhitā contains are quoted in illustration, viz. *svāh*” *oshthābhyām* (vii.3.16¹), and *upayāmam adharen*” *oshthena* (v.7.12). As example of a *lakshya*, or citation of a word to be determined by rule, he quotes the end of rule xvi.26, with its illustrative citations, *kiñčilāṣ caturthaḥ* (v.5.9²), and *kiñčilāya cakshayanāya ca* (iv.5.9¹). This latter example is not very well chosen, as the case is a somewhat difficult and anomalous one (see the note on xvi.26).

This rule, like some of those that follow, is of very small value, since final *a* is not the necessary sign of a cited theme in which other cases are included; and, on the other hand, parts of words not ending in *a* are often cited “for the sake of the inclusion of many words” (*bahūpādānārtham*).

अःकार आगमविकारिलोपिनाम् ॥ २३ ॥

23. *Ah* makes the name of an increment, or of an element suffering alteration or elision.

Here, again, is a precept hardly called for, as the construction and connection of each rule shows in what way any nominative it contains is to be understood, without such an explanation as this, which applies only to a part of the cases, and is unable to teach us which of the three possibilities it contemplates is the actuality in any given case. Moreover, it is faultily expressed, and the commentator is obliged to explain that *ah* here stands for the ending of the nominative case, in the dual and plural as well as the singular. He quotes in illustration five rules: xiv.5 exemplifies a singular increment; vii.1, a singular altered element; v.19, a singular elision; v.25, two-fold altered elements; xxi.12, plural increments.

22. 'lakshyam nimittam ca grahanam ity ucyate: grhyata³ iti grahanam: grhyata anene² ti nimittam api grahanam: padāi-kadegaḥ prātipadikam iti yāvat: cakārah pūrvasātroktam akāram ākarshati: grahanasya prātipadikasya sarvāvasthasyā 'kāra' ākhyā bhavati. yathā: kiñčilakiñčilā (xvi.26) iti parakiñčilāṣabdo lakshyam udāharanam: yathā: kiñṣ cat-....¹: kiñṣ caksh-....: oshthevaḥparō lupyate (x.14) iti tū⁴ nimittam: yathā: svā-....: upay-....

¹ W. inserts this passage out of place, between rule 19 and its commentary.

² G. grahanayata. ³ G. M. omit this example: ⁴ G. M. om.

Rule 28, below, is very intimately connected with this, and the insertion of rules 25-27 between is quite unaccountable.

Rik Pr. i.14 includes the second of the three specifications here made, along with rule 28.

ग्रहणं वा ॥२४॥

24. Or the simple citation.

The commentator says: "Of these—namely the increment etc.—there is in some cases, alternatively, citation; the meaning is, without any *ah*." And he goes on to quote three rules, in which increment (xvi.29), alteration (vii.3), and elision (v.15) are taught otherwise than as prescribed in the preceding rule—which is not, however, thus amended into acceptableness.

आसन्नं संदेहे ॥२५॥

25. In case of doubt, citation is made of the next.

This rule, occurring where it does, appears to have been interpolated by an afterthought, attaching itself to the word *grahanam*, 'citation,' of the preceding rule, without regard to the connection in which that word is used. The meaning is, that when the mere citation of a word from the *Sanhita* would leave a doubt as to which occurrence of the word is intended, some part of the context, a word or part of a word, is cited along with it. But the commentator's first example and its exposition are quite peculiar. He quotes *śrayamātrinaḍi ca vikarīṇi co 'ttame* (v.3.7³), and remarks: "There being a doubt, owing to the occurrence of two *ca*'s in this passage, which of them is to be taken to give the *pragraha*-character [to *uttame*], the one next to the proper subject of the rule [*kāryabhāj*, 'the word undergoing the prescribed

23. *āgamādinām aḥkāra ākhyā bhavati: aḥkāra.iti prathamā-vibhakter upalakṣaṇam. āgamasya yathā: 'dvitīyacaturthayoḥ tu vyañjanottarayoh pūrvah* (xiv.5): *vikārīṇo yathā: 'atha nakāro nakāram* (vii.1): *lopiṇo yathā: tishthantyekayā sapūrvah* (v.19): *ity ekavacanāni: laparāu lakāram* (v.25): *iti dvivacanam: ānupūrvyān nāsikyāḥ* (xxi.12): *iti bahuvacanam. āgamag ca vikārī ca lopī cā 'gama-vikārilopinah: teshām.*

(1) B. om.

24. *teshām āgamādinām kvacid grahaṇam vā bhavati: aḥkāreṇa vinā 'pi 'ti tātparyam. āgamasya yathā: ādiraṇhatir* (xvi.29) *ity ādi: vikārīṇo yathā: hanyādūpyamānam ca* (vii.3) *ity ādi: lopiṇo yathā: eśhasasya* (v.15) *ity ādi.*

G. M. om. *iti.*

effect'] is to be assumed, in the rule reading *co 'ttame* [iv.11].” He seems to suppose that the “doubt” referred to in the rule concerns the point, which of the two preceding *ca*'s is joined with *uttame* in the precept that establishes the latter's character as a *pragraha* word, and that we need authority for understanding that the latter of the two is taken. This is little less than silly. His other example is taken from rule iv.15, where *ā prshatī* is made *pragraha*, the *ā* being the final letter of the preceding word *yuñjā* (*yuñjā prshatī*, iv.8.9⁴).

Under a later rule (iv.23) this principle is twice referred to, and very curiously and artificially applied. See the note to that rule.

अनेकस्यापि ॥ २६ ॥

26. Even of more than one.

The genitive in this rule is grammatically inconsistent with the accusative of the one preceding, which I had to translate inaccurately in order to make the connection evident. The commentator declares the “even” (*api*) here to continue in force the word *saṁdehe*, ‘in case of doubt,’ which is hardly to be approved. He interprets: “When there is ambiguity, citation is made of more than one word or sound,” and quotes *tishthanty ekayā* (v.19) and *evo 'ttare* (iv.11) as examples. But in these we have only one additional word cited, though more than one additional letter; so that both are properly examples under the preceding rule. There is no case, I believe, where more than one word requires to be cited along with that at which the rule aims; of a part of a word containing more than one letter we have instances in vi.2,5 etc. I see no good reason, however, why these should not be regarded as authorized by the preceding rule, and this one, accordingly, omitted as superfluous.

प्रथमो वर्गीत्तरो वर्गाख्या ॥ २७ ॥

27. A first mute, followed by the word “series,” is the name of the series.

25. *saṁdehe sātṛy' āsannam 'varṇam padam' vā grhṇīyāt: svay-... ity atra cakāradvayasambhavāt pragrahanimittatvena katarasyo 'pāddnam kartavyam iti saṁdehe yad' āsannam kāryabhājas tad eva svikartavyam co 'ttame* (iv.11) *iti sūtre'. varṇasya yathā: ā prshatī* (iv.15) *ity ādi.*

¹ W. om. ² G. M. *padam varṇam*. ³ G. M. *yadā*. ⁴ W. B. *sarvatra*.

26. *saṁdeha anekasya padasya varṇasya vā grahanam bhavati: apiṣabdaḥ saṁdeha ity anvādiṣati'. yathā: tishthanty. ekayā sapārvaḥ* (v.19): *evo 'ttare* (iv.11) *ity ādi.*

¹ G. M. *ādiṣati*. ² W. B. om.

The commentator's example is rule xiv.20, "the *t*-series, followed by the *t*-series;" that is to say, a lingual mute followed by a dental. Compare Vāj. Pr. i.64.

अं विकारस्य ॥ २८ ॥

28. *Am* makes the name of a product of alteration.

This is the correlative rule to 23, above, from which it has become strangely separated. The commentator explains, as before, that *am* stands here as representative of the accusative case in any number; but the two examples he gives (v.38 and vii.1) are both of them such as the rule might strictly apply to without any such extension of its meaning.

पूर्व इति पूर्वः ॥ २९ ॥

29. By preceding is meant preceding.

A rule expressed in the form of an identical proposition cannot be claimed to cast much light of itself, but demands a comment as its essential part. Our commentator explains: "Whatever word is pointed out by the qualification 'preceding,' that word is to be understood as designated by its own form in that situation alone; but not, on account of identity of form, another word standing in a different situation. Thus, by the rules (iv.12,13) '*dyāvāprthivī* is *pragraha*;' also the preceding word,' the word *yāvati* is made a *pragraha* in the passage *yāvati dyāvāprthivī mahitvā* (iii.2.6¹); but it is not therefore *pragraha* in the passage *yāvati vāi prthivī* (v.2.3¹)."

पर इत्युत्तरः ॥ ३० ॥

30. By following is meant succeeding.

27. *vargaṣabdottaraḥ prathamāḥ svavargasyā* "khyā bhavati: *tavargaḥ ca tavargaparaḥ* (xiv.20) *iti. vargaṣabda uttaro yasmād asāu vargottaraḥ.*

¹ W. om. *sva*.

28. *am iti ṣabdo vikārasya* "khyā bhavati: *am iti dvitīyāvi-bhakter upalakṣaṇam.*" *yathā: prathamapūrvō kakāraḥ caturtham* (v.38): *atha nakāro nakāram* (vii.1).

29. *yāḥ pūrvaṣabdena nirdiṣṭaḥ* 'sa tatraī 'va svena rūpeṇo 'palakṣyāto jñātavyaḥ: *na tu rūpasāmānyād anyo bhinnadeṣa-sthaḥ. yathā: dyāvāprthivī: pūrvaḥ ca* (iv.12,13) *iti* "pragraho bhavati" 'ti vakṣyati: *pūrvatvād yāv-.... iti yāvatiṣab-dah pragrahaḥ: yāv-.... iti tu* 'na syāt pragrahaḥ.

¹ G. M. *viśiṣhyate.* ² W. om. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ G. M. *viśyati.* ⁵ G. M. *atra.*

This is the counterpart of the preceding rule, and is explained by the commentator in corresponding terms. His illustration is taken from rules iv.49,50, where *dve* and the word following it are declared *pragraha*. In the passage, then, *dve jāye vindate* (vi.8.4³), *jāye* is *pragraha*, but not in the passage *yonir asi jāya e 'hi* (i.7.9¹: G. M. omit *e 'hi*).

The rule is only once referred to hereafter, namely under iv.52; and there for a purpose which it was not intended to answer.

ऋकारल्कारौ ऋस्वौ ॥ ३१ ॥

31. *R* and *l* are short.

As examples of short *r* and *l*, the commentator cites *ṛtavo vāi* (vii.2.6¹), and *aklptasya klptyāi* (v.4.8⁵).

अकारश्च ॥ ३२ ॥

32. Also *a*.

"Also" (*ca*), says the commentator, brings forward the implication of "short" from the preceding rule. His example of short *a* is *ayam purah* (iv.3.2¹ or 4.3¹).

तेन च समानकालस्वरः ॥ ३३ ॥

33. Also any vowel having the same quantity with the latter.

Here again, the "also" continues the implication of the predicate of rule 31, we are told. The only vowels contemplated by the rule, further, are *i* and *u*, since there is an absence of the attribute of like quantity with *a* in the diphthongs. As examples from the *Sanhitā* are quoted *ishe tvā* (i.1.1 et al.), *upaprayanto adhvaram* i.5.5¹ or 7¹: W. B. omit *adhvaram*), and *atrā 'ha tad urugāyasya* (i.3.6²: but see the various readings below). The commentator then raises the objection (without introducing it, as usual,

30. *yah para ity onena viçishyate so 'pi tatrdi 'va svena rūpena pratyetavyah. yathā: dve: paraç ca* (iv.49,50) *iti¹ pragraho bhavati 'ti vakshyati: paratvād dve jā-.... ity atra jāye iti² pragrahaḥ: 'yo-.... ity atra ' na pragrahaḥ³.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. ins. *çubdaḥ*. ⁽³⁾ B. om. ⁴ G. M. ins. *tu*.

31. *ṛkāraç ca lkāraç ca hrasvasamjñāu bhavataḥ. yathā¹: ṛt-..... ak-.....*

¹ W. B. om.

32. *akāraç ca hrasvasamjñāu bhavati: cakāro hrasvatvam¹ anv-
ādiçati. yathā: ay-.... iti.*

¹ G. M. -*avam*.

with *namu*), that the matter of the three rules should have been put into this form: "A is short: also any vowel having like quantity with it;" because, as actually stated, they are liable to the reproach of saying the same thing over twice (since *r* and *l* are of the same quantity as *a*, and are therefore included in the prescription of the present rule). But he replies that the statement is right in its present shape; for *r* and *l* inhere in *r* and *l*; and one might therefore suppose that, being letters of more than one articulating position, they suffered an extension of quantity, and were not short: hence the special rule concerning them. The treatise, as was noticed above (under i.2), nowhere describes the formation of *r* and *l*, though it excludes them from the category of simple vowels.

The rule of the Vāj. Pr. (i.55) is nearly the same with this.

अनुस्वारश्च ॥ ३४ ॥

34. Also *anusvāra*.

The implication being the same as in the preceding rules, *anusvāra* is here defined as having the quantity of a short vowel. The commentator explains the occasion for the rule as follows: rule xxi.6, which teaches that *anusvāra* and *svarabhakti* are to be attached to the preceding vowel in syllabication, implies the consonantal character of the former; whence, by rule 37, below, it would have the quantity of a half-mora, and its true quantity of a mora requires special definition.

The Vāj. Pr. (iv.147,148) allows *anusvāra* to make with a preceding vowel, either long or short, two moras, oddly enough distributing the time between the two elements, vowel and nasal, in such a way that the latter has a mora and a half after a short vowel, the vowel being itself shortened to a half-mora, while after a long vowel the nasal is itself cut down to a half-mora, and a mora and a half are assigned to the vowel—a highly artificial ar-

33. *tēnā'kāreṇa yas tulyakālaḥ svarāḥ sa ca hrasvo bhavati: atrā'pi cakāro hrasvādeṣakah²: ikāra ukāraḥ ce³ 'ty arthaḥ: saṁdhyakṣarāṇām samānakālatvābhāvāt⁴. yathā⁵: ish-----: up-----: atr-----⁶ akāro hrasvas tena ca samānakālasvara ity ārabdhavyam: ṛkāraḥkārāu hrasvau iti⁷ tu⁸ nā "rabdhavyam: evam ārabhyamāne punaruktatayā gauravam bhaved iti. ucyate: ārabdhavyam evāpi⁹ 'tat: kutāḥ: ṛkāraḥkārāyor antara¹⁰ rephalakārāu stah: tattatsthānatvād¹¹ anayoḥ kālavyabhicārah syāt: hrasvatvam na¹² gamyeta¹³: tan mā bhād ity evam ārabhyate: ṛkāraḥkārāu¹⁴ iti.*

¹ G. M. *tatrā*. ² G. M. *hrasvatvādeṣakah samānakāla svara iti*. ³ G. M. *om*. ⁴ G. M. *-kālasvaratvā-*. ⁵ W. *om*. ⁶ B. *atrā* "ha only; G. M. *atra hy*; both as if introduction to what follows. ⁷ G. M. *om*. ⁸ G. M. *anantare*. ⁹ G. M. *tatsth-*. ¹⁰ B. *om*. ¹¹ G. M. *avagamyate*. ¹² G. M. *ins. hrasvau*.

rangement. The Rik Pr. gives no special statement respecting the quantity of the nasal element, but leaves it to be included among the other consonants, which have half a mora of time each.

All the "short" elements being now enumerated, the commentator quotes, as example of the employment of the term "short," rule iii.1. As example of *anuvāra*, he quotes *tāñ haste* (vi.1.37).

द्विस्तावान्दीर्घः ॥ ३५ ॥

35. An element of twice that quantity is long.

The literal meaning of this rule is, says the commentator, that one of the before-mentioned short vowels, when doubled, is long; but its virtual intent is that a vowel having twice the quantity of a short is long. I have translated in accordance with the latter interpretation. As example of the use of the term "long" is quoted rule x.2, respecting the coalescence of two similar simple vowels into the corresponding long vowel.

त्रिः सुतः ॥ ३६ ॥

36. An element of three times that quantity is protracted.

The commentator explains the virtual meaning of this rule in the same manner as that of the preceding, and quotes in illustra-

34. *bhavaty anusvāraḥ ca' hrasvasamjñah. yathā: tāñ..... cakāro hrasvānvākārshakah': anusvārah svarabhaktiḥ ca (xxi.6) iti svarapratyāṅgatvavidhānād' anusvārasya vyañjanatvam: tathā sati hrasvārddhakālaṁ vyañjanam (i.37) ity atrā' 'rdhamātratvam' prāptam': tan mā bhūd iti hrasvatvam vidhīyate. hrasvasamjñāyāḥ prayojanam: vibhāge hrasvaṁ vyañjanaparah (iii.1) iti.*

¹ G. M. *api*. ² G. M. *hrasvāk-*. ³ MSS. *svaram pr-*; W. *-āgavidh-*. ⁴ G. M. *om*. ⁵ G. M. *-tve*. ⁶ G. M. *-te*.

35. *tāvān iti prakṛto hrasva ucyaṭe: dvir iti dvirāpah': tāvān hrasvo dīrghasamjño bhavati 'ti sūtrayojanā: tātparyam tu hrasvadvigunakālah' svaro dīrghasamjño bhavati 'ti. samjñāyāḥ prayojanam: dīrghaṁ samānākshare suvarṇapare (x.2) ity ādi.*

¹ G. M. *-pam*. ² W. inserts here, out of place, *samjñāyāḥ prayojanam*. ³ B. *-la*; W. *om. lah*. ⁴ W. *om. iti*.

36. *atrā 'pi' hrasvo 'nuvartate sāmīdhyāt: trir iti trirāpah': trirāpo hrasvah plutasamjño bhavati 'ti: 'tātparyam tu atrā 'pi brāmah: hrasvatrigunakālah' svarah plutasamjño bhavati': samjñāyāḥ prayojanam: na plutapragrahāv (x.24) iti.*

¹ G. M. *ins. sa*. ² G. M. *om*. ³ G. M. *om*.

tion of the term "protracted" rule x.24, which directs that a protracted and a *pragraha* vowel are not liable to combination.

All the treatises agree closely in their definitions of vowel quantity; see Ath. Pr. i.59-62, and the notes upon those rules.

ह्रस्वार्धकालं व्यञ्जनम् ॥ ३७ ॥

37. A consonant has half the quantity of a short vowel.

This, the comment reminds us, is a rule defining the length of a consonant, not one giving the meaning of the term consonant. For, if it were the latter, the word "time" in rule xvii.5, which speaks of "the time of a consonant," would be open to the charge of redundancy. We hardly need so trifling and technical a proof of a thing so obvious. As example of a consonant, the word *vāk* (e. g. i.3.9¹: but G. M. read instead *vā*) is given us.

Of the other treatises, the Ath. Pr. (i.60) alone differs from this by giving to a consonant a whole mora as its quantity.

उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥ ३८ ॥

38. A syllable uttered in a high tone is acute.

The commentator enters into no explanation of the meaning of the definition of the acute tone or accent here given, but simply refers us to a later rule (xxii.9), where the action of the organs in producing the higher tone is more particularly described. He adds as example of an acute vowel *sa idhānāḥ* (iv.4.4⁵: but all the MSS. save W. read *sā iti*), and quotes rule xiv.29 as exemplifying the use of the term *udātta*, 'acute' (literally 'elevated'). I have explained in the note to Ath. Pr. i.14-16 why I prefer, instead of transferring the terms *udātta*, *anudātta*, and *svarita*, to translate them by 'acute,' 'grave,' and 'circumflex,' respectively.

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥ ३९ ॥

39. In a low tone, grave.

37. *vyañjanam hrasvārdhakālam bhavati; na tu vyañjanam iti samjñā: anyathā¹ vyañjanakālaḥ ca svarasyā 'trā 'dhikāḥ² (xvii.5) iti³ kālaḥcaḥdasya pāunaruktyāpatteḥ. yathā: vāk. hrasvasyā 'rdho⁴ hrasvārdhaḥ⁵: 'hrasvārdhakālaḥ⁶ parimānam yasya⁷ tat tatho 'ktam.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. omit the last two words of the rule. ³ G. M. ins. *atra*. ⁴ G. M. -*dham*. ⁵ G. M. *hrasvārdham kālaḥ parimānakālo yasya*—a good and consistent reading; B. is corrupt. ⁶ W. -*lam*.

38. *dyāmo dārunyam (xxii.9) iti lakṣaṇalakṣitāḥ¹ svara udātta ucyate. yathā: sā..... samjñāyāḥ prayojanam: udāt-tāḥ paro 'nudāttaḥ svaritam (xiv.29) iti.²*

¹ G. M. -*ta*. ² G. M. *it*

We are again referred to the rule in one of the last chapters (xxii.10) which defines the action of the organs in producing the lower tone. The example for the accent is *avadatām* (i.7.2²: but G. M. read *avadātām*), of which, in *pada*-text, all the syllables are grave; that for the term *anudātta*, 'grave' (literally, 'not elevated'), is, in W. B., rule iv.43; but in G. M., rule xiv.29.

समाहारः स्वरितः ॥४०॥

40. Their combination is circumflex.

The commentator explains *samāhāra*, 'combination,' as from *samāhriyate*, 'it is taken together, collected, combined;' and adds, "the accent arising from the mixing of those two is the circumflex (*svarita*). This is a precept concerning the peculiar nature of the accent; its occurrence is taught further on, in one and another place;" and he quotes not less than three of the rules (xiv.29, x.16, and xii.9) which teach under what circumstances the circumflex arises. His example of a circumflexed syllable is *tē* 'bruvan' (iii.2.2³ et al.).

This rule is so far ambiguous that it does not tell us in what order the acute and grave tones are to be combined to produce the circumflex accent—whether acute and grave, or grave and acute; but we may perhaps assume that the treatise consciously intends them to be taken in the order in which they are defined by the two preceding rules.

All the authorities practically agree in their general definition of the three kinds of accent (see note to Ath. Pr. i.14-16); and Pāṇini's rules (i.2.29-31) are precisely the same with those here given. As regards the details which form the subject of the following rules of our treatise, the accordance is not so perfect (see note to Ath. Pr. i.17).

तस्यादिरुच्चैस्तरामुदात्तादनन्तरे यावदर्थः कृस्वस्य ॥४१॥

41. Of this circumflex, in case it immediately follows an

39. *anvavasargaḥ* (xxii.10) *iti*¹ *sātralakṣitah*² *svaro* 'nudātta ucyate'. *yathā*: *av-* *saṃjñāyāḥ prayojanam*: *anudatto na nityam* (iv.43) *iti*.⁴

¹ W. B. om. ² G. M. -ta. ³ B. *lakshyate*. ⁴ G. M. give xiv.29, and *ity ddi*.

40. *tayor udāttānudanāttayor yāḥ samāhārah sa*¹ *svarita ucyate*. *yathā*: *tē*..... *samāhriyata iti samāhārah*: *tayor melunajanyasvarah*² *svarita*³ *ity arthah*. *svaritasvarāpavidhir ayam*: *upariśītāt tu* 'tatratatra *svarito lakshyate*⁴: *yathā*: *udāttāt paro nudāttaḥ svaritam* (xiv.29): *udāttayoḥ ca paro nudāttaḥ svaritam* (x.16): *tasminn*⁵ *anudatte*⁶ *pūrva udāttaḥ svaritam* (xii.9) *ity ddi*.

¹ M. om. ² W. -ra; B. -nyah *svara* ³ G. M. om. ⁴ G. M. *vak*. ⁵ W. om. ⁶ W. *tannudatte*.

acute, the first part, to the extent of half a short vowel, is uttered in a yet higher tone.

That is, higher than the tone of acute, which properly forms its first element; one is tempted to give the word *udāttāt* a double construction, as belonging in idea to *uccāstarām* as well as to *anantare*.

The subject of the more particular definition of the circumflex accent occupies the six following rules, and any comments upon the doctrines laid down will be better reserved until the last rule.

As example of the circumflex, the commentator cites the words *sá idhānāhi* (iv.4.4⁵), already once given (under rule 38); the first syllable of the second word has the enclitic circumflex, by rule xiv.29, under which the same quotation is repeated.

उदात्तसमः शेषः ॥ ४२ ॥

42. The remainder has the same tone with acute.

The plain meaning of this rule is distorted by the commentator, in an attempt to avoid a seeming inconsistency. He claims, namely, that the word "same with" here signifies "a trifle lower than," "because otherwise there would be no circumflex"—the circumflex having been defined in rule 40 as including both the higher and lower tone. But the inconsistency is not evaded by claiming for the last portion of the circumflex any thing short of the actual "grave" tone which rule 40 prescribes: if, indeed, giving to its first portion a higher tone than "acute" be not an equal offense against the same rule.

सव्यञ्जनोऽपि ॥ ४३ ॥

43. Along with the consonant, too.

Says the commentator—"the rule as formerly given applied to a pure vowel; now the same thing is taught of the circumflexed vowel even in case of its combination with a consonant. The circumflexed vowel along with its consonant, either the one which directly follows an acute or another, is as defined. The 'too' (*api*) continues the implication of the circumflexed vowel." To this explanation of *api*, as simply equivalent with *ca*, we must demur. As any one may see by referring to the various rules in

41. *udāttād anantare yah svarah svaryate tasyā 'dis tāvad uccāstarām udāttaturo bhavati yāvad dhrasvasyā 'rdham. yathā: sá-----*

42. *hrasvārdhakālūc chesha udāttasamo bhavati: 'na tū 'dātta eva: samacabdaprayogāt kiñcin nyūnatvam pratiyate: anyathā svaritābhāvāt. pārvoktam evo 'dāharanam.*

(⁵) W. repeats these clauses in the comment of the preceding rule, after *bhavati*.

which it occurs, it is always best translated by 'even,' as pointing out something which is to a certain degree anomalous, or not to have been naturally expected.

As examples of circumflexed syllables containing consonants, the commentary offers *sākhā sākhībhyo vārivah kṛnotu* (iii.3.11¹: all the MSS. except W. give only the second and third words, which are the ones to which the rule applies; the second syllable of each has the enclitic *svarita*, and they are to be read and divided *sā-khīb-bhyo vā-rī-vah*), and *tishyāh* (ii.2.10² et al.: but G. M. omit this example).

I have not observed that any other of the treatises deems it necessary to lay down in terms the principle that the consonant shares in the accentuation of the vowel to which it is attached. Though the rule may be regarded as in a manner superfluous, it is less to be objected to in itself than on account of the place where it is thrust in, so wholly out of connection. It ought to be somewhere where it can be made to apply to all the three accents, and not to the circumflex alone.

अनन्तरौ वा नचिस्तराम् ॥ ४४ ॥

44. Or the part following is uttered in a lower tone.

The comment explains *anantara* in this rule as equivalent to *gesha* (in rule 42), and paraphrases by saying that "the remainder of this circumflexed syllable, after the half-mora [of which the character was defined in rule 41], is in a lower tone; that is, is *anudāttatara* ('lower than grave')." Whether this is the true meaning, and not rather that the last part of the syllable, instead of being "of the same tone with acute" (rule 42), is "of lower tone (than acute)," may well be made a question. It would be, I should think, an exaggeration of the circumflex of which hardly any theorist would be guilty, to begin it higher than acute, and end it lower than grave. The latter of the two interpretations suggested is also (though not unequivocally) supported by the next rule, which may most naturally be regarded as letting down the concluding tone of the syllable one degree farther than the present rule, as this than the preceding.

43. *kevalasyā 'yam vidhiḥ purastād uktāḥ: idānīm vyañjanasahitave 'pi 'svaritasya tathātvam ucyate: 'savyañjano 'pi svarita 'udāttād anantaro' nyo 'vo 'ktavidhir' bhavati: api-gaddah' 'svaritam ākarshati'. yathā: sakhā-----: ti.*

(1) W. om. (2) W. -ttānant-. (3) W. vā mukhya vi-. (4) B., om. (5) G. M. -tākar-shakah.

44. *tasya svaritasya hrasvārdhakālac chesho nīcāstarām anudāttataro' bhavati: anantarah gesha ity arthah: tad evo 'dāharanam.*

¹ W. -dāttaro.

अनुदात्तसमो वा ॥ ४५ ॥

45. Or in the same tone with grave.

The commentator does not attempt this time, as under rule 42, to show that "same" means in reality "a little different," but simply paraphrases (taking no account of the *va*, 'or'): "That same remainder of this circumflexed syllable is the same with *anudatta*."

आदिरस्योदात्तसमः शेषो ऽनुदात्तसम इत्याचार्याः ॥ ४६ ॥

46. Its beginning is the same with acute; its remainder is the same with grave: so say the teachers.

Or, it may be, 'so says the teacher,' the plural being used in token of respect: the word *ācārya* is not elsewhere found in the treatise (save at xxiv.6) except in the expression *ekeshām ācāryānām*, 'of certain teachers,' which occurs several times. The commentator does not give us his opinion upon the point, but he declares this to be the only rule that is approved or of force (*ishta*, literally 'desired') in the net-work (*jāla*) of alternative views here adduced, commencing with rule 41. It may, in fact, be looked upon as identical in meaning with the fundamental rule 40, and as presenting the only reasonable and sensible view of the true character belonging to the circumflex accent. The elaboration of the theory of the circumflex, the classification of its varieties, and the determination of their relations to one another, appear to have been quite a favorite weakness with the Hindu phonetists. The subject occupies the whole of one of the later chapters of this treatise (xx.), together with sundry rules in other chapters; and a more detailed examination of it, and criticism of the views taken respecting it, will be necessary in connection with some of those rules.

While approving this rule, for the reason that it is in accordance with the last two rules of chapter xx., which define the relation of

45. *tasya*¹ *svaritasya sa eva gesho 'nudāttasamo bhavati*.

¹ G. M. om.

46. *tasyāi 'va svaritasyā 'dīhrasvārdhakāla udāttasamo bhavati*: 'geshas tv *anudāttasamo bhavati*': *geshas tv anudāttasama ity ācāryā bruvate. yathā: sakḥ----- tasyā 'dir (i.41) ity ādyabhydhite*² 'smīn vikalpajāle³ sūtram etad eve 'shtam: *praglishtaprātiḥatayor mṛdutarah* (xx.11): *tāirovyañjanapādavṛttayor* (xx.12) *iti lakṣhaṇānukūlyāt: na tū 'paritanam api sūtram ishtam: etallakṣhaṇaprātikūlyād eva*.

⁽¹⁾ G. M. omit, which is better. ⁽²⁾ G. M. *ārabhyā 'bhūhite*; B. *ābhyahita* (?—corrupt). ⁽³⁾ W. B. *-lpya-* (*lpya?*); W. *-jāte*.

four of the kinds of circumflex to one another in respect to hardness of utterance, the commentator rejects in advance the next following rule, as being discordant with them. The ground of the asserted accordance and discordance I am not able to discover.

सर्वः प्रवण इत्येके ॥ ४७ ॥

47. It is all a slide, say some.

The commentator says: "The word 'slide' (*pravana*) is a synonym of 'circumflex:' the circumflexed vowel, along with its consonants, starting from its beginning, is all of it a slide: so some teachers have said." And he adds the same example already more than once given, *sākhībhyo vārivah* (iii.3.11¹). We have seen that, in his exposition of the preceding precept, he has rejected this one, upon grounds of inappreciable value. The view here taken is one that might well enough be held by any one, as virtually equivalent with the one before presented: the voice somehow makes its descent from the higher to the lower pitch within the compass of the accented syllable; whether by a leap or a slide, is a proper theme for hair-splitting argumentation, but of the smallest practical consequence.

नानापदवदिंघमसंख्यानि ॥ ४८ ॥

48. A separable word is treated like separate words, except in an enumeration.

The meaning and application of this precept may be best exhibited by means of the examples which the commentator quotes. We have a rule (iv.40) that *te* and *the* at the end of a word of more than two syllables are *pragraha* if preceded by *a* or *e*. In the passages *oshatāt tigmahete* (i.2.14²) and *tat pravāte* (vi.4.7²), then, the final syllables would be *pragraha*, but that the words in which they occur are separable compounds, written in the *pada*-text *tig-ma-hete* and *pra-vāte*, and so are exempted by this rule from the

47. *pravanaṣabdah¹ svaritaparyāyah: savyañjana eva svarita ādita drabhya sarvah pravano bhavati 'ty eka² ācāryā ūcire. yathā: sakḥ³-----*

¹ B. has *pranava* for *pravana* everywhere. ² G. M. om. ³ M. *survebhyo*.

48. *ingyapadam nānāpadavad bhavati: asaṁkhyānavishaye¹: nānāpadavad iti kim: osh----- tat.... ity ādāv ākārikā-rapūrvas tu bahusvarasya te the (iv.40) ity atra² pragrahatvam mā bhād iti: asaṁkhyāna iti kim: dve: paraṣ ca: ekavyaveto 'pi (iv.49-51): ³ dve sav----- ity atra pragrahatvam bhavato⁴ iti vādāmah. nānāpadam iva nānāpadavat.*

¹ G. M. -*ne vish-*. ² G. M. om. ³ G. M. ins. *iti*. ⁴ G. M. *prabhavatu*.

operation of iv.40: the *te* is in each case the ending of a dissyllabic word. What is meant by "enumeration" is not, in itself, very clear, as the case already cited is, in a certain sense, one of enumeration—namely, of the syllables of a word. The commentator shows its intent by pointing out that, by rules iv.49–51, the word *dve*, the next word to it, and the next but one, are made *pragraha*: hence, in the passage *dve savane cukravati* (vi.1.6⁴), *cukravati* (*pada*-text *cukra-vati*) must be counted as a single word only, or the *i* of *vati* would not be *pragraha*.

In this, as in the Rik and Atharva Prātiśākhya, the word *īngya* (T. W. B. and O. more usually write *īngya*, or *īnya*) means a compound word, treated as separable into its constituents in the *pada*-text. The St. Petersburg lexicon erroneously explains it as signifying a single member of such a compound.

Compare Rik Pr. i.25, and Vāj. Pr. i.153.

तस्य पूर्वपदमवग्रहः ॥ ४९ ॥

49. Of such a word, the former member is called *avagraha*.

The example quoted is *devāyata iti deva-yate* (iii.5.5³)—an instance of *carcā*, or repetition with *iti* interposed, such as is usual in the *krama*-texts, and, to a certain extent, in the *pada*-texts also. The existing *pada*-texts of the Rik and Atharvan would write this word simply *deva-yate*, reserving the repetition with *iti* for words which are *pragraha* and separable at the same time: but that of the Tāittirīya-Saṃhitā treats all separable compounds in the latter method (see, for the varying usages of different texts, the note to Ath. Pr. iv.74). In *deva-yate*, the part *deva* is denominated *avagraha*. As instance of the use of this technical term is given the rule (iv.2) which exempts all first members of compounds from the action of the rules prescribing *pragraha*.

The commentator, finally, calls attention to the mutual relation, or apposition, of the words *pada* and *avagraha* in the rule, each in its own gender (the former being neuter, the latter masculine): compare under ii.7 and v.2.

The other Prātiśākhya use the term *avagraha* in this sense, but without taking the trouble to define it.

पदग्रहणेषु पदं गम्येत ॥ ५० ॥

50. In citations of a word, that word is to be understood.

That is to say, the cited word itself, and not a part of a word

49. 'tasye 'īngyapadasya pūrvapadam avagraha' ity ucyate. yathā: dev-..... avagrahasamjñāyāḥ² prayojanam: nā 'vagrahaḥ (iv.2) ity ādi. padāvagrahaṣabdayor niyataliṅgatvā-nyonyānvayaḥ³ sambhavati.

(¹) G. M. om. (²) G. M. om. *avagraha*. (³) W. *niyamat*.

identical in form with it. Thus (to take the commentator's example), *tve* is later (iv.10) declared *pragraha* except at the end of a separable word, as in the passage *tve kratum* (iii.5.10¹); the exception specified is necessary, because the *tve* of a word like *aditive* (p. *aditi-tve*) is also a *pada* or vocable;—but it is not therefore to be inferred that the *tve* of *kratve*, in the passage *kratve dakshāya* (iii.2.5²; 3.11⁴), is also *pragraha*.

As the commentator had formerly derived *grahanam* (i.22) from *grhyate*, so now he derives *grahanāni* from *grhṇanti*, 'they seize, take.'

The principle here taught is appealed to several times (under iv. 11,38; vii.2) hereafter, in order to the settlement of doubtful points.

It would seem possible to be still made a question whether the citation in any particular rule were a *pada*, 'a full word,' or a *padāikudeṣa*, 'part of a word,' since citations of the latter kind are also frequently made. Perhaps the commentator would settle the difficulty by asserting that no combination of articulate sounds which actually occurs in the Sanhitā as a *pada* is ever cited in any other character.

अपि विकृतम् ॥५१॥

51. But that word, even when phonetically altered.

The commentator gives two examples. The word *vāhana*, he says, is cited later (vii.6) as one whose *n* is liable to conversion into *n*: this conversion, then, still holds good, though the final syllable of the word have become *o*: thus, *pravāhano vahniḥ* (i.3.3). Again, *syah*, by v.15, loses its final *visarga*; and it does so, even when its *s* is changed to *sh*, as in *ayam u shya pra devayuh* (iii.5.11¹). As regards the former of these examples, it might seem to be provided for by rule i.22, above: but the commentator would doubtless plead that the rule would apply to *vāhanah*, but not to *vāhano*.

50. *padagrahaneshu sūtreshu grhītam padam eva gamyeta*:¹ *jñātavyam*: *na padāikadeṣaḥ*². *yathā*: *tve ity anīṅgyāntaḥ*³ (iv.10) *iti vakshyati*: *tathā sati tve*---- *iti pragraho bhavati*: *kra*---- *iti padāikadeṣān*⁴ *na bhavati*. *grhṇanti* 'ti *grahanāni*: *padānāni grahanāni padagrahanāni*: *teshu*.

¹ M. ins. *tad*. ² G. M. -*caṇ*. ³ W. *anīṅgy*;- B. *anīṅy*-. ⁴ G. M. -*catvān*.

51. *apiṣabdah padam ānvādicati*: *padagrahaneshu vikṛtam api padam avagantavyam*. *yathā*: *natvāputtāu vāhana* (vii.6) *iti grahishyate*: *padam iti kṛtvā visarjanīya otvam āpanne* 'pi *natvam nāi* 'va *nivartate*: *pra*----: *eshasasyah* (v.15) *iti visarjanīyalopagrahanam pāthishyate*: *ay*---- *ity atra sakāre śatvam āpanne* ¹ *visargalopo bhavatu eva*.

¹ G. M. ins. 'pi.

अप्यकारादि ॥ ५२ ॥

52. And even when preceded by *a*.

The evident occasion of this rule is the frequent occurrence of words with the negative prefix *a* attached to them. But, it being once established, its sphere is not restricted to that class of compounds, as is shown in the very example chosen by the commentator to illustrate its working. By iii.2, *ṣvā* is included among the words whose final *ā* is liable to be shortened; then, by this rule, *aṣvā* is also included: e. g. *aṣvāvantau* (p. *aṣva-vantam*) *sa-haśṛṇam* (iii.3.11¹).

Application of this principle is quite frequently made below (under iii.2,8; v.13,16; vi.5,14; viii.8,13; xi.16; xvi.6,19).

अन्कारादि च ॥ ५३ ॥

53. And when preceded by *an*.

The origin and aim of this rule are obviously the same with those of the preceding, but the instances of its application are less frequent: it is appealed to but three times in the sequel (under rules iii.7, viii.8, and xvi.29). The last case is the one selected by the commentator as his example. The word *añṣu*, by xvi.29, contains *anusvāra*; hence the same word preceded by *an* is to be regarded as included with it, as in the passage *anañṣu kurvantaḥ* (iii.2.2¹).

The commentator now raises the question: how comes *kāra* to

52. *atrā 'py apīṣabdaḥ padānvādeṣakah: padagrahaṇeṣh akārādy' apī padam vijñeyam: 'ṣvartāvayunā (iii.2) iti hrasvādeṣe vakshyati: akārāder api tasya grahaṇasya hrasva-tvam bhavati. yathā: aṣv-.... akāra ādir yasya tat tathoktam.*

¹ G. M. -diṣ. ² G. M. ca. ³ G. M. prefixes the preceding three words of the cited rule.

53. *cakārah padam iti bodhayati: padagrahaṇeṣh ankārādy api padam vijñeyam: añṣu (xvi.29) ity anusvārāgame vakshyati: ankārāder api tasya 'nusvārāgame syāt. yathā: an-.... ankāra ādir yasya tat tathoktam.*

nanv atra sūtre 'n ity asya kārottaratvam katham kriyate: varṇaḥ kārottaraḥ (i.16) iti 'sūtre varṇasya' kārottaratvavi-dhānabhaṅgaprasaṅgāt. ucyate: satyam² etacchāstrabalān 'na kriyate: kim tu śāstrāntarabalāt³ kriyate: yathā: pāṇinīyā 'evakāra apikāra' ityādīnām sādhutvam kathayanti: evam atrā 'pi evam aḥkāra āgama (i.23) ity atra⁴ codyaparihārdu vijñeyāu.

⁽¹⁾ G. M. varṇaṣabdasya. ⁽²⁾ G. M. tasya. ⁽³⁾ B. om. ⁽⁴⁾ G. M. evakāre 'pi. ⁵ G. M. atrā 'pi.

be added here to the syllable *an*? since offense is thus committed against the precept in rule 16, above, that *kāra* is added to an alphabetic sound to form its name. His answer is: true enough that it is not done by authority of this text-book; but it is done by the authority of other text-books; for example, Pāṇini's followers establish the propriety of such expressions as *evakāra*, *apikāra* (for the words *eva* and *api*). So likewise in this very treatise (in rule 23, above) we have *ahkāra* for *ah*; and the same objection and answer are to be understood as applying there. See the note under rule 16.

एकवर्णः पदमपृक्तः ॥ ५४ ॥

54. A single sound composing a word is called *apṛkta*.

The commentator explains *ekavarnaḥ* after the fashion usual with him in treating a *karmadhāraya* or determinative compound: "that is both single (*eka*) and a sound (*varna*); hence, a single sound." The term *apṛkta* means, he says, 'uncombined with a consonant.' As example of an *apṛkta* word, he quotes *sa uv ekaviṇṣavartaniḥ* (iv.3.3²), where *uv* is, by rule ix.16, representative of the particle *u*; and, as counter-example, to illustrate the force of the specification "composing a word," *yajñapatāśv iti* (vi.6.2³), where *v*, though in a manner isolated, is not *apṛkta*, being only a fragment of a word. Rule ix.16 exemplifies the use of the term.

आद्यन्तवच्च ॥ ५५ ॥

55. And is treated both as initial and as final.

As an instance of the treatment of an *apṛkta* word as initial, the commentary again cites the passage *sa uv ekaviṇṣavartaniḥ* (iv.3.3²), and declares that in it is to be seen the effect of rule 41, above (G. M. have here a *lacuna*, and omit the reference to the rule, along with the other instance). This is quite unintelligible to me, since

54. *ekaḥ cā 'sau varnaḥ cāi 'kavarnaḥ: sa cet padam bhavati so 'pṛktaḥ' syāt. yathā: sa----- padam iti kim: yaj----- samjñāyāḥ prayojanam: ukāro 'pṛktaḥ prakṛtyā' (ix.16) iti. apṛkta iti vyañjanenā 'saṃnyuta' ity arthah.*

¹ B. ins. *sa*. ² G. M. *-ktasamjñā*. ³ G. M. add the remaining two words of the cited rule. ⁴ G. M. *-yukta*.

55. *cakārānvādishtam tad apṛktasamjñam padam ādyantavac ca kāryabhāg bhavati. ādivad yathā: sa---- ity atra 'tasyā' "dir uccāistarām (i.41) iti kāryam bhavati: antavad yathā: o te---- ity atrā' 'ntaḥ (iv.3) iti pragraha-kāryam' bhavati. ādiḥ cā 'ntaḥ cā "dyantāu: tāv evā "dyantavat.*

¹ G. M. *ādivad ant-*. ² G. M. *om.* ³ G. M. *-ho*.

the rule referred to teaches nothing whatever that is characteristic of an initial sound—indeed, teaches no *kāryam*, ‘effect,’ at all. For the treatment of such a word as a final, we have as an example the passage *o te yanti* (i.4.33), in which *o* is *pragraha*; with reference to rule iv.3, which teaches that only a final vowel is *pragraha*.

With this rule and the preceding compare Vāj. Pr. i.151-2, which are nearly identical with them in form and meaning. The Rik Pr. does not define the term *aprkta*, but gives respecting it a rule corresponding with the present one. Both give in illustration the same passage, *indre* ‘*hi* (*indra*: *ā*: *thi*), analogous with the one (*bhakshe* ‘*hi*, iii.2.5¹) quoted below, under v.3.

वर्णस्य विकारलोपौ ॥ ५६ ॥

56. Alteration and omission are of a single sound.

That is to say, not of a whole word. Where, as by v.19, more than one letter is omitted, each is specified. The cited examples are, of alteration, *dhārshāhau* (i.2.8²: by rule v.10); of omission, *sa te jānāti* (i.2.14²⁻³: by rule v.15).

I find this rule expressly appealed to but once in the sequel (under ix.7).

विनाशो लोपः ॥ ५७ ॥

57. Omission is complete loss.

As example of *lopa*, ‘omission,’ the commentator quotes the passage *sa im ‘andā suprayasaḥ* (iv.1.8¹⁻²), where the initial *m* of *mandrā* is lost after *im* (by rule v.12: see the note there given). As example of the use of the term, he gives rule v.11, which is introductory to the subject of omissions. He then proceeds to state a very curious reason why such a precept as this should seem called for: “some have maintained the eternity of sound: in order to the confutation of that doctrine, this rule hath been uttered, in conformity with general grammar.” Pāṇini’s corresponding precept (i.1.60) is *adarganam lopah*, ‘omission is disappearance from view.’

56. *varṇamātrasya vikāralopāu syātām na tu sarvasya padasya. vikāras tāvūt: dhā- iti: ‘lopas tu’: sa.....*

(1) W. om. B. omits this whole comment, along with the following rule.

57. *varṇavindṇo¹ lopasamjñō bhavati. yathā: sa..... samjñāyāḥ prayojanam: atha lopah (v.11) ity ādi. varṇasya nityatām kecid āhuh: tannirākaraṇāya vyākaraṇānusārena sūtram etad ābhāni.*

¹ G. M. *varṇasya v.*

अन्वादेशो ऽन्त्यस्य ॥५८॥

58. Continued implication is of that which was last.

The term *anvādeṣa*, 'after-indication,' with its corresponding verbal forms, and other equivalent expressions (especially *anvākarshaka*, *ākarsṣhaka*, etc.), is constantly employed in the commentary to signify the continued force in a given rule of some specification made in a preceding rule. And the simple meaning of the present precept appears to be, that such a bringing forward is of the predicate last used, the word last cited, or the like. The commentator's first example is entirely accordant with this understanding: in rule vii.3, namely, to the effect that the *n* of *hanyāt* and *upyamānam* is changed to *ṇ*, the implication is "after *nīḥ*," *nīḥ* being the last mentioned in a list of altering words given in the preceding rule. But he goes on to make another application of the precept: rule xv.8 says, "*a*, however, even in *saṁhitā* [is protracted and nasalized];" and it is to be understood that only a "last" or "final" *a* is intended—as in *suḡlokāṅs* (i.8.16²), protracted from *suḡloka*; while in *brahmāṣṇ tvañ rājan* (i.8.16^{1,2}), *agnāṣ ity āha* (vi.5.8⁴), *vicityaḥ somāṣ na vicitryāṣ iti* (vi.1.9¹), where the words protracted are *brahman*, *agne*, *somah*, and *vicitryaḥ*, and the *a* is not a final, there is no nasalization. Evidently, this is a wholly forced and false interpretation: no rule can mean two things so utterly different. Compare the notes to iv.3 and xv.8, where the principle is appealed to.

The comment seeks a kind of support for its double interpretation by calling attention to the distinction between an "affecting cause" (*nimitta*), like the *nīḥ* brought forward from vii.2 to vii.3 in the first example, and an "affected" word or element (*nimittin*, 'having a cause'), such as is concerned in the second example. The latter (nearly synonymous with *lakshya*, used in the comment to i.22) he defines as "something original (? *pradhāna* seems to be taken here in the sense of *prakṛti*) suffering a prescribed effect."

No one of the other Prātiçākhyas attempts to lay down any rules as to the *anvādeṣa* (or *anuvṛtti*); and its usages are, in fact, wholly irreducible to rule—a circumstance which involves the condemnation of the *sūtra* style of composition, because the *sūtras* are not and cannot be self-explanatory, or intelligible without an authoritative comment.

58. *nimittasya nimittino vā 'ntyasyā 'nvādeṣo bhavati: nimitti 'ti pradhānam' kāryabhāg iti yāvat. nimittasya yathā: hanyād upyamānam ca (vii.3) ity āsyā 'tra' nīḥcādasya. nimittino yathā: akāras tu saṁhitāyām api (xv.8) ity atra suḡlokāṅs' ity antyasyā 'kārasya: antyasye 'ti kim: brah-----: ag-----: vic-----.*

¹ W. -nām; G. M. -na. ² G. M. om. ³ B. om. all the signs of protraction

उपबन्धस्तु देशाय नित्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥

59. An *upabandha*, however, is for that particular passage, and of constant effect.

The commentator etymologizes *upabandha*, 'connection, tie,' as representing the meaning *upabadhyate*, 'it is tied up, bound to;' and he farther defines it as signifying a passage pointed out by the indication "in that," and one which is designated by an enumeration—referring to rules iv.22,23,48,52 as examples. An *upabandha*, then, is a connected part of the *Sanhitā*, pointed out and defined by the rules of the *Prātiśākhya* in various ways: by citing the first words of a single verse (iv.20) or of an *anuvāka* (iv.25,48; xi.3); by the accepted title of a number of *anuvākas*, either succeeding one another or otherwise (ii.9,11; iv.52; ix.20; xi.3); by giving the first and last words of a passage (iv.22,23); or by fixing a limit within a certain number of words from a specified word (iv.52). Respecting such a passage, we are told, this rule is intended to teach two things: first, that what is prescribed for it does not hold good in other passages—this is signified by the word *tu*, 'however,' in the rule;—second, that an exception which applies in other passages does not apply in it—this is signified by the word *nityam*, 'constantly, in all cases.'

Both prescriptions, as thus stated, the commentator undertakes to illustrate by quoted cases of their application. But his first illustration is imperfectly and obscurely set forth, and is, besides, of a very questionable character. He tells us that the passage *ity āha devī hy eshā devah somah* (vi.1.7⁷) is brought, by the principle laid down in the next rule but one (i.61), under the action of rule iv.25—and this is all that he deigns to say about it. The meaning is this: the passage quoted contains a series of four words, *ity āha devī hi*, which are also found at ii.6.7⁵ (*devī devaput্রে ity āha devī hy ete devaput্রে*); and, as the *i* of *devī* in the latter passage is *pragraha* by iv.25, so, under the operation of i.61, it should be *pragraha* also in the other. Such, however, is not the case; for *devī* in *devī hy eshā* is singular, while in *devī hy ete* it is dual. It would seem, then, as if we ought to understand the commenta-

59. *upabandhas tu svadeśāyāi 'va nityam nirdeśako bhavati: upabadhyata' ity upabandhaḥ: etasminn ity' adhikaranārāpāḥ saṁkhyānavishayaḥ ca pradēśa upabandha ity ucyate. yathā: irāvati (iv.22) ity ādī sūtradvayam: somāya svai 'tasmin (iv.48): gamayato bhavataḥ (iv.52) iti ca. upabandhe yad uktam tad anyatra na bhavati 'ti tuṣaddārthaḥ. yathā: ity.... atra tripadaprabhṛtinyāyena (i.61) pūrvajepabhṛty d'yam (iv.25) iti prāptiḥ. anyatra yo nishedhaḥ sa upabandhe na bhavati 'ti nityaṣaddārthaḥ. yathā: sadohavirdhāne (iv.11) iti pragraho grahīshyate: kevalahavirdhāna' iti sarvathā'*

tor to maintain that the present rule annuls the application of i.61, and, through it, of iv.25, to the case in question. But this is wholly inadmissible: for rule 61, below, is directly intended as a limitation to the present one, and has no force or value except as it applies to just such passages as the one here instanced; and with the latter are closely analogous a part of the examples adduced for its illustration, and leading to an opposite conclusion to the one here apparently arrived at. I cannot account for the way in which the commentator treats the matter. So far as I can see, *devī* at vi.1.77 is *pragraha* according to the rules of the Prātigākhya, and has only by some oversight escaped being specially excepted: and the first restriction is of a general character, meaning that directions given for an *upabandha* passage are intended for that passage alone, and have no wider bearing—except as they receive it from i.61. The same, as will be seen below, limits also the other restriction, that expressed by *nityam*.

Further, the citation in rule iv.11 of the compound *sadoha-virdhāne* as *pragraha* implies that the simple word *havirdhāne* would always be of a contrary character, as it in fact is in the passage *havirdhāne khyāyante* (vi.2.11¹); but this implication does not hold in the passage *havirdhāne prāci pravartaycyni* (iii.1.3¹), because of the inclusion of the latter among the *upabandhas* of rule iv.52. Here, however, is brought up an objection: the explanation given is not satisfactory, because an exception made elsewhere is sometimes of force also in an *upabandha* passage. For instance, in the passage *atha mithunī bhavataḥ* (vi.5.8⁶), the word *mithunī*, which would else be *pragraha* by iv.52, is made otherwise by iv.53. Again, an example of a similar class is afforded by *vāyava dṛohanavāhau* (v.6.21), where *vāyave* ought to be *pragraha*, because occurring in the *anuvāka* to which iv.48 refers, while it is deprived of that character by iv.54. The answer is made, that in the case of *grāmī*, *vāyave*, *manave*, and the like, the exception must be allowed to have force because those words are excepted by specific mention; while the exception of *havirdhāne* is inferential only, and therefore does not hold good: specific mention being of more force than mere inference.

nā pragraho grhyate: yathā: hav-.... ity ayam atra⁸ nishedhah: hav-.... ity atra na prasaratī: gamayato bhavataḥ (iv.52) *ity ādinā prāptih. nanv etad anupapannam: anyatra nishedhasya kvacid upabandhe 'pi darśanāt: yathā: atha.... ity atra gamayato bhavataḥ* (iv.52) *ity upabandhaprāptir na grāmī* (iv.53) *ity ādinā 'nyatra⁹ nishedhena nishidhyate: tathā¹⁰: vāy-.... ity atra somāya sva* (iv.48) *iti prāptir ate samānapada* (iv.54) *ity anenā 'nyatra nishedhena nishidhyate. atro 'cyate: grāmī vāyave manava ity ādinām kanthoktatvād esha nishedhah prasratu¹¹ kevalahavirdhāne¹² pragraho¹³ ne 'ty ārthiko nishedho na prasraty eva: ārthikakanthoktayoh kan-*

But this suggests a further objection: why then is not the specific mention of *ate* and *ave* in rule iv.54 enough, and what is the use of adding the word *nityam*, 'in all cases,' in that rule? This, replies the commentator, is for the purpose of making the exception yet more strongly binding: the specific mention merely annuls the application of the *upabandha* rule; the addition of *nityam* avoids the application of any other rule. For example, in *dve jāye vindate* (vi.6.4³), *vindate* should be *pragraha* (by rule iv.51), because separated by only one word from *dve*; and in *vanaspate vīdvaṅ-gah* (iv.6.6⁵), the same character would belong to *vanaspate*. (by iv.38) because followed by *vīd*—and we are left to infer that the *nityam* renders rule iv.54 capable of reaching these passages, and taking away the *pragraha* character of the two words in question. This, adds the commentator, may be still further pursued; it has been thus drawn out in accordance with the view of Māhisheya.

In all this exposition is to be seen something of the artificial and hair-splitting character which is apt to belong to a Hindu comment, while upon the whole it is sound and to the point. The term *upabandha* is doubtless better understood actively, as representing *teno 'pabadyate*, 'that whereby there is binding up:' the presence of *deçāya* in the rule is hardly reconcilable with the other interpretation. The intent of the specification *nityam* is to exclude general exceptions, made in view of other passages, or of the text at large, but not at all to deny the possibility of exceptions made expressly for the *upabandha* passages: and such are iv.53 and others, referred to by the objector, and refuted by an inapplicable special pleading. The force which the commentator ascribes to the *tu* of the rule belongs rather to *deçāya*, and the *tu* has the value of a general disjunctive, bringing in a precept not connected with what has gone before.

Any additional instances of the application of the principles here laid down I have not searched for or chanced upon. The rule is appealed to but once in the sequel (under iv.54).

नानापदीयं च निमित्तं प्रयक्सदिषु ॥ ६० ॥

60. Also a cause belonging to another word, in the case of a *pragraha* or of a word containing *anusvāra*.

thoktusya prābalyāt. nanv ate ave (iv.54) *ity anyoḥ kanthoktyādi 'vā'lam: tatra nityagrahanena kim. ucyate: nitarām parihārah: kanthoktir upabandhoprāptim eva nivartayati nityaśabdas tu prāptyantaram api pariharati: yathā: dve.... ity atra ekavyaveto 'pi* (iv.51) *iti prāptih: van----- iti* ¹⁴ *vīd* (iv.38) *ādiprāptih: evam ādy ūhanīyam*¹⁵. *māhisheyamatānusārenai 'vam prapañcitam.*

¹ B. *upanibadyate*. ² W. *itya*. ³ G. M. om. *tu*. ⁴ W. B. om. ⁵ G. M. *kevalam hav-*. ⁶ G. M. *sarvadhā*. ⁷ W. om. ⁸ G. M. *anyatra*. ⁹ G. M. om. ¹⁰ G. M. *ya-thā*. ¹¹ G. M. *-rati*. ¹² B. *kevalam h-*. ¹³ W. *-he*. ¹⁴ G. M. ins. *atra*. ¹⁵ G. M. *-nityamam*.

The intent of this rule is made sufficiently clear by the commentator, but he is unable to show satisfactorily its connection, or the implication in virtue of which it comes to mean what it does. He puts, however, a bold face upon it, and declares that the *ca*, 'also,' implies the negative (*nañ*: compare Pāṇini ii.2.6 etc.) meaning signified by *tu* (that is to say, the *tu* of the preceding rule). This is quite unintelligible. More defensible would be the continuance of *nityam*, 'constantly:' this, indeed, I conceive to be the real interpretation of the *ca*; although the rule is even thus left insufficiently explained by its context. The term *srādishu* points us to the sixteenth chapter, where is to be found an enumeration of all the cases in the Sanhitā exhibiting an *anusvāra* which is not a consequence of the phonetic rules of the treatise—of all the words which in their *pada* form contain an *anusvāra*—and this enumeration is led off (xvi.2) with the syllable *sra*. Many of this class of words are pointed out, as elsewhere in the Prāṭiśākhya, by mentioning the words which they precede or follow; which latter, then, become in the view of the treatise their *nimitta*, or 'cause' (taking the *post hoc* or *ante hoc* for a *propter hoc*). Inasmuch, now, as the *pragraha* quality and the occurrence of this *anusvāra* belong to the word itself, independently of its surroundings, it becomes necessary to teach that, when a word has been defined by means of its surroundings as thus characterized, it retains its character even when separated from them, as it is in the *pada*-text. Or, in the language of the rule, the defined occasion of a *pragraha* or of a constituent *anusvāra* is of force, even when it is, or is in, another *pada*.

The commentator, in illustration of the action of the rule, refers us first to iv.28, where *ghñi* and *cakre* are declared *pragraha* when immediately followed by *p*; these words are *pragraha* also in the *pada*-text of the same passages, when there is a pause between them and the *p*. Again, he quotes rule xvi.11, where *mā* is declared to have no *anusvāra* after it when preceded by an *avagraha*; that is, when it begins the second member of a compound, as in *ardhamāse devāḥ* (ii.5.6⁶): here, too, the precept holds when

60. *cakāras tuṣabdānigaditām¹ nañartham anvādiṣati: pragrāheshu srādishu ca nānāpadasambandhī² nimittam asaṁhitāyām api svakāryam³ upadiṣati 'ti pragrahānusvārakāryam⁴ na nivartate. yāthā: vakshyati: ghñi cakre papare (iv.28) pragrahāu bhavata iti: atra pragrahatve papareṇo⁵ 'padishte pada-kāle⁶ tathāi 'va. srādishu ca' yāthā: nā 'vagrahapūrvāḥ (xvi.11) ity avagraheṇā 'nusvārāgame nishiddhe pada-kāle 'pi tathāi 'va: yāthā⁷: ardha-----: shatvaṇatvāddū⁸ tu nānāpadīyam¹⁰ nimittam saṁhitāyām eva kāryam karotī 'ty ayam ārambhāḥ: yāthā¹¹: śuc-----: prav-----.*

¹ G. M. -bdena nī. ² G. M. -dha. ³ G. M. svik-. ⁴ W. -sarak-; B. -hanusvak-

⁵ G. M. pakāreṇa. ⁶ G. M. ins. 'pi. ⁷ G. M. om. ⁸ W. om. ⁹ G. M. ins. ca.

¹⁰ G. M. -ya. ¹¹ W. om.

the *avagraha* pause intervenes between the two parts of the compound: as, *ardha-māse*. On the other hand, the cause (*nimitta*) of alteration of a sibilant or nasal, if in a different *pada* from the letter it affects, is efficient only in *saṁhitā*: for example, *gucishad iti guci-sat* (iv.2.1⁵), and *pravāhaṇa iti pra-vāhanah* (i.3.3): and this is the occasion of the rule.

I see no reason why this rule does not need to apply also to the cases of an original lingual nasal (*n*) enumerated in the thirteenth chapter.

यथाक्तं पुनरुक्तं त्रिपदप्रभृति त्रिपदप्रभृति ॥ ६१ ॥

61. A repeated passage, of three or more words, is as already established.

That is to say, the reading of any connected passage is as established by the rules for the first place where it occurs: if repeated in a later part of the *Sanhitā*, where other rules, there applicable, would change its reading, it is exempted from their influence.

Several examples are given in illustration by the commentator. In the third chapter (*pragña*) of the first book (*kāṇḍa*) of the *Sanhitā* occurs the phrase *devasya tvā savituh prasaवे 'gvinoh* (i.3.1¹: but the same phrase is found also twice before, at i.1.4^{2,6}), and the initial *a* of its last word is cut off by the general rule xi.1; hence, when it occurs again in a *vājapeya* passage (namely at i.7.10³), where, by xi.3, the elision of the *a* is forbidden, the effect of the latter rule is suspended, and the passage reads as before. Again, the words *supathā rāye asmān* are first found at i.1.14³, where, as the *anuvāka* is a *yājyā*, the *a* of *asmān* remains unelided by xi.3; and when they occur again at i.4.43¹, that letter still maintains its place. Once more, the phrase *sa jāto garbho asi rodasyoh* is read at iv.1.4², and again at v.1.5³⁻⁴; the former time in an *ukhya* passage, where the *a* of *asi* is retained by xi.3; and it is therefore retained in the other passage also.

The commentator applies to the rule the restriction that in the repeated passage the word respecting whose form there is question must hold the third place (that is to say, doubtless, that it must have not less than two other words before it). In support of this limitation, he cites a case: at iv.2.8³, in an *ukhya* passage, occur

61. trayānām padānām samāhāras tripadam: kāryabhājah padasya trītyatvam vijñeyam: idr̥ṣaṁ tripadam: tat' prabhṛty ādir yasya tat' tripadaprabhṛti yathoktam pārvoktam vidhiṁ karoti svavisheshaṇam² yatra³ tripadaprabhṛti punaruktaṁ cet. tathā: 'lupyate tv akāra ekāraukārapūrvah (xi.1) ity anena prathamakāṇḍatrītyapragne dev---- ity atrā 'kāre lupte tad eva vākyaṁ vājapeye 'py alopam bādhitvā tathāi 'va bhavati: tripadaprabhṛtīvāt. ubhā vām (i.1.14¹) ity atra sup---- ity etiad ud u tyam jātavedasam (i.4.43¹) ity atrā 'pi tathāi

the words *prthivīm anu ye antarikṣhe ye divi tebhyah* (W. B. omit the first two words of the citation), and the *a* of *antarikṣhe* is left unelided by xi.3; but at iv.5.11² (in the last *anuvāka* of the chapter called *rudra*: see rule xi.3) we read *ye prthivyām ye antarikṣhe ye divi* (W. B., again, omit the first two words quoted, and also give *ye ant*)—which, but for his restriction, would be a violation of the rule. I cannot but question, however, the right of the commentator thus to limit the rule, for I have noted at least three cases where, if it be admitted, the retention of an initial *a* in a repeated passage would be left without authority: they are *pāvako asmabhyam* (v.4.4⁵ and iv.6.1^{3,5}), *preddho agne* (v.4.7³ and iv.6.5⁴), and *dudhikrāvo akāriṣham* (vii.4.19⁴ and i.5.11⁴). Whether there are other cases like that to which the commentator appeals, I am unable to say: but I cannot help suspecting that he devised this modification of the rule to suit that particular passage, without sufficient regard to what might be required by other parts of the text.

But he is guilty of another piece of arbitrary interpretation which is still more unjustifiable, and which he makes yet lamer work of defending. The term *tripadaprabhṛti* means, according to him, a series of words beginning with three words of which the third is the one whose form is in question—that is to say, a series of at least four words, of which one follows the word of doubtful reading. The case to which he appeals to establish this is as follows: the words *divas pari prathamam jajñe agnir asmat* (W. B. omit *asmat*) occur at i.3.14⁴, in a *yājñā* passage, where *agnih* keeps its initial vowel by xi.3; again, the words *itaḥ prathamam jajñe agnih* are found at ii.2.4⁸: there seems to be a repetition, and a reading of *agnih* founded upon it; but it is not proper to claim that the retention of *a* here has this ground; it is due to the inclusion (in rule xi.16) of *jajñe* among the words which do not cause the elision: for such inclusion would otherwise be to no purpose (since there is in the *Sanhitā* no other passage to which the prescription should apply). Any other case seeming to require the interpretation here in question I have not noticed; and we have the right to presume that, if the commentator had knowledge of one which supported his view more unequivocally, he would not have failed to refer to it. So far as appears, then, the sole object of this forced

'va. ° *saṁ te vāyur* (iv.1.4¹) *ity atra sa.... ity etat krāram*
iva (v.1.5¹) *ity atrā 'pi tathāi 'va. brāhmaṇavākyeshu tu° tri-*
padamātrād vā kāryam bhavati: brāhmaṇavākyeshu pārvastha-
lasyaī' 'vo 'kteh⁸: *yathā: imām agrbhñan raṣanām°*
(iv.1.2¹) ity atra mar.... ity etad vākya¹⁰ ut krāma (v.1.3¹)
ity atrā 'pi tathāi 'va bhavati. kāryabhājah padasya tṛtīyatvam
iti kim: prth.... ity ° ukhye: ye.... iti rudrottamānuvāke.
prabhṛti 'ti kim: tvam agne rudrah (i.3.14¹) iti yājñyām
divas.... iti vākyaṁ agnaye 'nnavate (ii.2.4¹) ity atra

interpretation of the word *tripadaprabhṛti* (one which the word may be said decidedly not to admit of) is to save rule xi.16 from the charge of repetition in a single point: we shall presume with much greater plausibility that, when the rule was made, the fact that this particular case was already covered by i.61 was overlooked.

But the commentator virtually admits the unsoundness of his own work by acknowledging that in the *brāhmaṇa*-passages (*brāhmaṇavākya*) of the Sanhitā a simple phrase of three words is enough to justify the application of the rule, "because," he says, "of the quotation in the *brāhmaṇa*-passages of a previously-occurring phrase:" that is to say, because the prose part of the Sanhitā is to so great an extent occupied with citing and commenting on the phrases and words of other parts—a fact which has, doubtless, been the special occasion and suggestion of the present rule. Thus, the words *maryaṣṛi sprhayad varno agniḥ* are quoted at v.1.3³ (with the customary addition, *ity āha*), from the previous passage iv.1.2⁵: and although the *nābhim* which follows *agniḥ* at its first occurrence is not also quoted, and the quotation is not therefore a *tripadaprabhṛti* according to the commentator's construction of this term, the rule holds good, and the *a* of *agniḥ* has a right to stand.

The general value of this rule is that of a limitation to the last but one; it points out a class of cases in which a rule given for a particular passage is not limited to that passage, but also acts elsewhere; in which, moreover, such a rule does not govern *nityam*, 'against all opposition,' the reading of the passage to which it relates.

The commentator notices the fact that the repetition of the final word of the rule indicates the conclusion of the chapter. Such repetition is made at the end of each chapter, and by all the manuscripts; and, as it is thus farther ratified by the comment, I have not hesitated to admit it as an authentic part of the text of the Prātiśākhya. G. M. repeat the whole rule in this case.

itah.... iti punaruktam: tat¹² tathāi 'vā' bhavad¹³ iti cet: māi 'vam: tripadamātrād¹⁴ eva tathābhāva¹⁵ iti¹⁶ vaktuṁ na yuktam: kiṁ tu jajñe saṁsphānaḥ (xi.16) itī jajñegrahaṇasāmartyāt: 'anyathā tasya¹⁸ vāiyarthya¹⁷.

padavīpsā¹⁰ 'dhyāyaparisaṁdptim dyotayati.

*iti tribhāshyaratne prātiśākhyavivarane
prathamō 'dhyāyaḥ.*

¹ G. M. om. ² W. -ṇḍya; G. M. -shena. ³ G. M. idam. ⁴ G. M. ins. hī. ⁵ G. M. ins. tathā. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ G. M. pūrvasyāi. ⁸ G. M. 'kiah. ⁹ G. M. om. ¹⁰ G. M. om. ¹¹ G. M. ins. ebhya. ¹² G. M. om. ¹³ G. M. syād. ¹⁴ G. M. tripadd. ¹⁵ G. M. tathā bhavatu. ¹⁶ G. M. ins. atra. ¹⁷ W. om. ¹⁸ G. M. tasyāi 'vā. ¹⁹ G. M. padāvṛtyā.

CHAPTER II.

CONTENTS: 1-11, general mode of production of articulate sounds, distinction of surd and sonant sounds, etc.; 12-29, special rules for the production of vowels and diphthongs; 30, nasals; 31-34, difference of vowels and consonants; 35-39, mode of production of mutes; 40-43, of semivowels; 44-45, of spirants; 46-48, of *h* and *ḥ*; 49-52, of nasal sounds.

अथ शब्दोत्पत्तिः ॥ १ ॥

1. Now for the origin of sound.

For the word *atha* in this rule the commentator allows us our choice between two interpretations: it either indicates immediate succession—thus, the list of articulate sounds having been given, there next arises the desire to know what is the cause of these sounds, or how they become apprehensible by the sense, and then follows the explanation here to be given—or it is introductory, signifying that from this point onward the subject of the origin of sound is the one had in hand. Compare the similar and yet more lengthy discussion under rule i.1. He then goes on to draw out the significance of the rule itself. *Ṣabdu* he explains by *dhvani*: both, when used thus distinctively, mean audible sound in general, rather than articulate sound or voice (compare xxii.1,2; xxiii.3). He paraphrases: “of the articulate sounds, *a* etc., the cause of perception, or their origin, their birth, the apprehension by the sense—just as, even before water is seen, there is moisture in the ground, and that becomes visible in consequence of digging—this is the subject of description.” We seem to catch here a glimpse of that same doctrine of the eternity of sound to which reference was made above, under i.57: our organs do not properly produce it, but their action brings it to the cognizance of the senses, as the action of digging brings water to light.

1. *ukto varṇasamāmnāyah: teshāṃ varṇānām kidṛk¹ kāra-
ṇam² katham vā tadupalabdhir ity ākāṅkshānantaraṃ³ nirāpyata
ity ānantaryārtho 'thaṣabdaḥ. atha vā: ita uttarāṃ yad vaksh-
yate tac chabdotpattir ity etad⁴ adhikṛtāṃ veditavyam ity adhikā-
rārthaḥ. ṣabdo nāma dhvaniḥ: varṇānām akārādīnām upādā-
nakāraṇam⁵ tadutpattir⁶ janma upalabdhir vā: yatho 'dakasya
'darganāt pūrvam eva bhāmaḥ jalam asty eva tat khaṇanāt⁷ dr-
yate tadvat⁸: se 'yam ucyata⁹ iti sūtrārthaḥ.*

¹ G. M. kidṛcam. ² W. karaṇam. ³ G. M. ins. tan. ⁴ G. M. om. ⁵ B. -karaṇam.
⁶ G. M. tasya ut-. ⁷ W. B. om. ⁸ MSS. khaṇanāt. ⁹ G. M. ārabhyata.

वायुशरीरसमीरणत्कण्ठोरसोः संधाने ॥ २ ॥

2. By the setting in motion of air by the body, at the junction of throat and breast.

The first part of this rule (literally, 'from air-body-impulsion') is obscurely expressed, and of ambiguous meaning. The commentator gives three explanations of it, the first of which is also itself obscure. Agni ('fire,' warmth—'heat of the body?'), he says, impels Vāyu ('air, wind'); that is what "air-body" means (but how?). From such an impulsion—that is to say, expulsion, effort at utterance—at the junction of, or between, throat and breast, comes the origination of sound. And he quotes a verse from the *Çikshā* (verses 8-9 of the Yajus version, verses 6-7 of the Rik version: see Weber's Ind. Stud., iv.350-1): "the mind impels the body-fire; that sets in motion air; and air, moving in the breast, generates a gentle tone." Again (or rather, apparently, as a part of the same explanation: but its inconsistency with the rest is palpable), he makes a copulative compound of *vāyu-çarira*, namely 'air-and-body': "from the impulsion of those two." Once more, he quotes as the opinion of other authorities that *vāyu-çarira* means 'the air in the body,' the compound being of such a sort that that which should be its first member is put last, after the analogy of *rājadanta*, 'upper incisor' (literally, 'king-tooth'—that is, as the Hindu etymologists explain it, 'tooth-king, chief among the teeth'), and the other words composing that *gana* (to Pân. ii.2.31). And he adds the remark that, in this interpretation, the air is understood as the cause of the impulsion, not its product.

In the translation of the rule given above, the primary division of the compound is regarded as to be made after *vāyu*; *çarira-samīrana* meaning an 'impulsion by the body,' and *vāyu* being prefixed in a genitive relation, 'of the air.' This is harsh, but appears to me more acceptable and less violent than the other constructions proposed. Practically, the point is of small consequence.

2. *vāyum agnih samīrayati 'ti vāyuçariram: tathābhūtāt samīranāt: preranād abhigātāt' ity arthaḥ: kaṇṭhorasoḥ samīdhāne madhyadeṣe çabdopattir bhavati 'ti': çikshā cāi 'vam asti 'ti':*

manaḥ kāyāgnim¹ āhanti² sa³ prerayati mārutam⁷:

mārutas tū 'rasi caran mandram janayati 'svaram

*iti⁸. vāyuḥ ca çariraṁ ca vāyuçarire: tayoh samīraṇam: tasmāt⁹. anye tv āhuḥ: vāyoh çarire sutaḥ samīraṇam: 'tasmāc chabdopattir iti: tatre¹¹ 'tthan samāsaḥ: rājadantādītivāc çarīrasya¹² parānīpātaḥ: çarīre vāyur¹³ vāyuçariram: tasya samīraṇam¹⁰: tasmāt. asmin mate vāyoh samīraṇakartṛtvam eva na tu karma-tvam. **

¹ G. M. *abhipā-*. ² G. M. *om.* ³ G. M. *om.* ⁴ G. M. *-gni-*. ⁵ G. M. *kānti-*. ⁶ G. M. *sam.* ⁷ G. M. *om.* ⁸ G. M. *om.* ⁹ G. M. *ins. vāyuçarirasamīranāt.* ¹⁰ B. *om.* ¹¹ G. M. *atre.* ¹² G. M. *-raçabdasya.* ¹³ G. M. *om.*

Compare with what is taught by our treatise here and later (xxii.1,2; xxiii.1-3) Vāj. Pr. i.6-9; Rik Pr. xiii.1.

तस्य प्रातिश्रुत्कानि भवत्युरः कण्ठः शिरो मुखं
नासिके इति ॥३॥

3. The parts which give it audible quality are breast, throat, head, mouth, and nostrils.

The commentator explains *prātiśrutkāni* as signifying 'the places of production (*sthānāni*), having to do with the resonance (*pratiśrut*=*pratidhvani*, 'resonance'), of the aforesaid sound (*śabda*).' He offers no remark upon the organs enumerated, but leaves their various offices to be derived from the rules which follow. But, in anticipation of the next three rules, he observes that they teach the three-fold quality of sound, as sonant, surd, and *h*-sound, rule 4 giving the definition of the first kind.

The *Ōikshā* (v.13 : Weber's Ind. Stud. iv.351) makes an enumeration of eight *sthānas*, or places of production of articulate sounds, dividing the "mouth" of our list into root of the tongue, teeth, lips, and palate.

संवृते कण्ठे नादः क्रियते ॥४॥

4. When the throat is closed, tone is produced.

The commentator treats this rule as a definition of the technical term *nāda*, 'tone,' and cites rule 8, below, as an example of the use of the term.

The Rik Pr. (xiii.1) gives a corresponding definition of sonant utterance, but specifies the aperture (*kha*) of the throat as the part whose contraction or closure produces the tone. Compare also Vāj. Pr. i.11. It is greatly to the credit of the ancient Hindu phonetists that they had gained by acute observation so clear an idea of the manner in which the intonation of the breath is effected in the throat; but precisely how accurate a knowledge

3. *tasya prakrtasya*¹ *śabdasyo* *'raḥprabhṛtīṇi sthānāni* ² *Bhavanī* : *pratiśrut*³ *pratidhvaniḥ* : *'tatsambandhīni prātiśrutkāni*⁴.
'saṁvṛte kaṇṭhe nādaḥ kriyate (ii.4) *etadādina sūtratrāyaṇa śabdatrāḍīvidhyam*⁵ *ucyate* : *nādaḥ*⁶ *śvāso hakāraḥ ce* *'ti* : *tāvan nādulakṣaṇam āha*⁷ ⁸.

¹ G. M. *prakṛti*. ² G. M. ins. *prātiśrutkāni*. ³ G. M. *-śrutkā*. ⁴ W. om. ⁵ G. M. insert this (excepting the rule) at the beginning of the commentary to the next rule. ⁶ G. M. *śabdasya tr.*. ⁷ MSS. *nāda*. ⁸ G. M. *ucyate*.

4. *saṁvṛte kaṇṭhe yaḥ śabdaḥ kriyate sa nādasamījñā bhavati. samījñādyāḥ* *prayojanam* : *nādo* *'nupradānam* (ii.8) *iti*².

¹ G. M. *nādasam-*. ² G. M. *ity ādi*.

they had of the nature and action of the vocal chords, whose tension produces the closure, we, of course, cannot say.

विवृते श्वासः ॥ ५ ॥

5. When it is opened, breath is produced.

The explanation given of this rule corresponds with that of the preceding, and the rule cited for the use of the term *śvāsa*, 'breath,' is ii.10.

मध्ये हकारः ॥ ६ ॥

6. When in an intermediate condition, the *h*-sound is produced.

Madhye is explained as meaning 'in a method intermediate between closed and opened:' the rest of the comment agrees with the two preceding, and the cited rule is ii.9.

Of the other *Prāticākhyas*, only that of the *Rig-Veda* sets up a third kind of articulated material, besides tone and breath; and that (xiii.2) derives the material from a combination of the two others, rather than their mean. I have already (note to *Ath. Pr.* i.13) expressed my opinion that the attempt to establish this distinction is forced and futile, and I see at present no reason for changing it. That intonated and unintonated breath should be emitted from the same throat at once is physically impossible. In loud stridulous whispering, there is a tension of the vocal chords only short of that which gives rise to sonant vibration; and if any one chooses to claim that the aspirations used in loud speaking partake of such a character, sometimes or always, we need not be at the pains to contradict him.

ता वणप्रकृतयः ॥ ७ ॥

7. Those are the materials of alphabetic sounds.

That is to say, the three kinds of material just described—tone, breath, and *h*-sound, some letters having one of these as the material out of which they are made, and others another. Just so, it is added, jars and dishes have clay for their material, and thread is the material of cloth.

The commentator then goes on to raise and answer a grammatical objection to the form of the rule. Since it is the office of a

5. *vivṛte kaṇṭhe yaḥ śabdah kriyate sa śvāsasaṁjño bhavati. saṁjñādyāḥ prayojanam: aghosheshu śvāsaḥ (ii.10) iti.*

6. *saṁvṛtavivṛtāyor madhye madhyaprakāre yaḥ śabdah kriyate sa hākārasaṁjño bhavati. saṁjñādyāḥ prayojanam: hākāro hāvaturtheshu (ii.9) iti.*

pronoun to call to mind things already mentioned, and the words *nāda*, *śvāsa*, and *hakāra*, which are referred to by the pronoun in this rule, are masculine, why is the pronoun feminine (*tāh*, instead of *te*)? The reply is: "by the *dictum* of the Mahābhāṣhya, 'pronouns effecting the equivalence of the thing pointed at and of that which is pointed out respecting it assume at pleasure the gender of either of the two,' is established the propriety of the form used in the rule; therefore there takes place a mutual accordance, or apposition." The passage referred to is apparently that found, not in the Mahābhāṣhya itself, but in Kaiyaṣa's Mahābhāṣhyapradīpa, nearly at the beginning of the work (I owe this reference to the kindness of Prof. Goldstücker): in Ballantyne's edition (p. 7) it reads, with several variations from the text given by our commentator, *uddiṣyamānapratinirdiṣyamānayoḥ ekatvam āpādayanti sarvanāmnāni paryāyena talliṅgam upādadata iti*. Reference is again made to this passage for a similar purpose under v.2.

The Rik Pr. (xiii.2) has this rule also, in nearly identical form.

नादो ऽनुप्रदानः स्वरघोषवत्सु ॥ ८ ॥

8. In vowels and sonant consonants, the emission is sound.

The term *anupradāna* is etymologized as representing *anupradīyate* 'nena varṇah', 'therewith is given forth an articulate sound;' and *anupradīyate* is farther explained by *upādīyate*, 'is obtained,' and *janyate*, 'is generated.' As synonym for the same term is given *mūlakāraṇa*, 'radical cause.'

I have already (note to Ath. Pr. i.13) called attention to the praiseworthy unanimity with which the Hindu phonetists define

7. *varṇānām prakṛtayo varṇaprakṛtayah: tā varṇaprakṛtayo bhavanti ye nādaśvāsahakārā uktāḥ: nādaprakṛtayah kecid varṇāḥ: śvāsaprakṛtayo 'nye: hakāraprakṛtayo 'nye: yathā mṛtprakṛtayo ghaṭaśarāvādayaḥ: yathā vā' tantuprakṛtayah paṭāḥ. nanu sarvanāmnāḥ prakṛtuparāmarṣitvān' nādaśvāsahākāreṣhu pumliṅgeṣhu ' satsu tā iti striliṅgaprayogaḥ katham sādhuḥ. ucyate: nirdiṣyamānapratinirdiṣyamānayoḥ' ekatām āpādayanti sarvanāmnāni kāmācāreṇa talliṅgam' upādadata iti mahābhāṣhya-vacanāt prayogasādhutvam adhyavasiyate: tasmād anyonyānvayaḥ' sambhavati'.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. -rṣakatv-. ³ G. M. ins. parāmarṣarṣeṣhu. ⁴ W. -prakṛti-nird-. ⁵ W. -ṅgātām; G. M. tattall-. ⁶ G. M. -yasambhavaḥ. ⁷ G. M. om.

8. *svareṣhu ghoshavatsū ca' varṇeṣhu nādo 'nupradānam bhavati: anupradīyate 'nena varṇa' ity anupradānam mūlakāraṇam: anupradīyata upādīyate janyata ity arthah.*

¹ W. om. ² W. B. -ṇā.

the true ground of the distinction between surd and sonant letters. European phonetists, after long perplexing the subject with such false distinctions as are expressed by the terms "soft" and "hard," "weak" and "strong," and the like, seem now at last to be coming to a universal accordance in the correct view.

हकारो हचतुर्थेषु ॥ १ ॥

9. In *h* and in sonant aspirate mutes, it is *h*-sound.

For the quality of this *h*-sound, see rule 6, above. The Rik Pr. (xiii.2,5: rules 6,17) connects in the same manner *h* and the "fourth" mutes. Our treatise evidently regards the peculiar *h*-sound belonging to the sonant aspirates not as something that follows the breach of contact, but as inhering in the letter, in the same manner as tone in the simple sonants. Whether the Rik Pr. hints at a difference of opinion on this point may be made a matter of question. But the failure on the part of the Prāticākhyas to recognize the essentially compound character of the aspirate mutes, the fact that these differ from the unaspirated mutes by interposing something between the mute and the following vowel, is one of their marked weaknesses.

The commentator enters into no labored exposition of the rule, but spends his strength, rather, in defending its situation. He first suggests the objection that it is not in proper place, as offending against the order observed in the definition of the three kinds of material (the *h*-sound is defined last, and we should therefore expect the letters containing it to be specified last); but claims in reply that it is, after all, in place, being intended to obviate an undue extension of the preceding rule, which would otherwise be liable to be made, since *h* and the "fourth" mutes are included (by i.13,14) among the sonant consonants, to which that rule applies.

अघोषेषु श्वासः ॥ १० ॥

10. In surd consonants, it is breath.

Which are the surd consonants, was taught us in rule i.12.

9. *hakāraḥ*¹ ca caturthāḥ ca hacaturthāḥ: teshu varṇeshu² *hakāro* 'nupradānam bhavati. nanu saṁjñāvidhānakramabhāṅga-prasaṅgān³ nā 'tre 'daṁ sūtram avatarati. ghoshavatsv iti sāmānyān nādo hacaturtheshu ca⁴ prasaṁyata⁵ ity atiprasaṅgaparihārārthatvād avataraty eve 'ti vadāmaḥ⁶.

¹ W. *haḥ*. ² W. *om*. ³ G. M. B. *-bhāṅgān*. ⁴ G. M. *om*. ⁵ G. M. *-jyeta*. ⁶ G. M. *vādah*.

10. *aghosheshu varṇeshu gṛāso* 'nupradānam bhavati¹.

¹ B. omits rule and comment.

भूयान्प्रथमेभ्यो ऽन्येषु ॥ ११ ॥

11. And more of it in the other surd letters than in the simple surd mutes.

Here *śvāsa*, 'breath,' is continued by implication from the preceding rule "in virtue of vicinage" (*sām̐nidhyāt*), as the commentator says (there being no *ca*, 'and,' in the rule, to indicate it directly). The other surd letters are the surd aspirate mutes and the spirants (excepting *h*). There is no separation made of these two classes upon the important ground that in the spirants the greater expenditure of breath inheres in the whole character of the sound, as being fricative, while in the aspirate mutes it consists in a brief emission between the explosion of the contact and the following vowel.

The Rik Pr. (xiii.6: rule 19) says "some regard the breath in the aspirates as quicker"—an ambiguously indefinite expression.

अवर्णे नात्युपसङ्कृतमोष्ठद्वन् नातिव्यस्तम् ॥ १२ ॥

12. In forming the *a*-vowels, the lips and jaws must not be too nearly approximated, nor too widely separated.

The plain intent of this rule appears to be to guard against an excess either of openness or of closeness in the utterance of *a* and *ā*, while at the same time these two sounds are considered as alike in quality. Such is not, however, the understanding of the commentator; he declares it impossible to follow both directions in forming one sound, and directs that a division be made: excessive approximation is to be avoided in the case of *a*, and excessive separation in those of the long *ā* and protracted *ā̐*. If his intention had been to recognize the same difference in quality between *a* and *ā* which is taught by the Ath. Pr. and Vāj. Pr. and by Pāṇini (see note to Ath. Pr. i.36), he would have been likely to apply the two directions of the rule in a contrary manner, warning against over-openness in *a* and over-closeness in *ā*.

11. *sām̐nidhyāt śvāsa iti labhyate: prathamēbhyo 'nyeshv aghosheshu śvāso' bhāyān adhiko bhavati.*

¹ G. M. om.

12. *avarṇa uccdryamāna oṣṭhaharṇv atyupasaṁhṛtam atisun-
glishtaṁ na bhavati: ativyastam ativivṛtaṁ 'ca na' bhavati.
oṣṭhāu ca hanā c' oṣṭhaharṇu: dvandvaḥ ca prāṇitāryasenān-
gānām (Pāṇ. ii.4.2) ity ekavadbhāvaḥ: tāḍ etad' ekasminn ubha-
yathā na śakyate kartum iti yogavibhāgaḥ kāryaḥ³: akāre nā'
'tyupasaṁhṛtam ākāre ca' phute ca nā' tivyastam iti.*

(¹) W. na ca. ² W. eva tad; G. M. om. ³ G. M. B. om. ⁴ W. G. nā. ⁵ W. B. om.

The term *oshthahanu*, though singular, is declared to signify the two lips and the two jaws, and a rule of Pāṇini (ii.4.2) is quoted in justification of such treatment of a copulative compound.

ओकारे च ॥ १३ ॥

13. Also in uttering *o*.

The “also” (*ca*) of this rule, we are told, brings forward only the action of the jaws prescribed in the preceding rule: this appears from the fact that the one following gives a special direction with regard to the action of the lips. In forming an *o*, then, the jaws are not to be too widely separated.

ओष्ठौ तूपसङ्गततरो ॥ १४ ॥

14. But the lips are more nearly approximated.

“Vicinage” is here again made the sufficiently obvious ground of assuming that the direction applies to the utterance of *o*. The “but” (*tu*) of the rule, according to Vararuci, one of the three authorities from whom our comment is principally derived (see the introduction), annuls the direction formerly (in rule 12) given as to the position of the lips: but Māhisheya, another of the same authorities, has explained it as exempting from the widely separated condition the *o* of such words as *bandhoḥ* (ii.5.87). This latter interpretation is quite absurd, or else I am very obtuse with regard to it.

As regards the precise tone of the *o*, such directions as these can teach us nothing satisfactory. The only valuable conclusion which we derive from them is that the authors of the Prāticākhya looked upon the sound as a simple homogeneous tone—not phonetically diphthongal, although in classification excluded (by rule i.2) from the category of simple vowels. The same, we shall see, is the case with *e* also.

इषत्प्रकृष्टावेकारे ॥ १५ ॥

15. In uttering *e*, they are slightly protracted.

13. *cakāro hanumātrakāryānvādegukah: oshthakāryasya parasātrena viśeshavidhānāt. okāra uccāryamāne hanu ativyaste na bhavatah.*

14. *sānimidhyād okārtu iti labhyate: okāre kārya oshthāv upasamhṛtatatarāu syātām: tuṣabda oshthayoḥ pūrvoktavīdhīm nivārayati¹ ti vararucir uvāca. māhisheyas tu babhāshe: bandhor ity ādikam okāraṁ savyaśjanam³ vyastato⁴ nivārayati¹ ti.*

¹ W. B. om. ² G. M. vār. ³ G. M. vyañj. ⁴ W. vyes.

That "they" means the lips is, we are told, sufficiently indicated by the dual number of the adjective. *Prakṛṣhta*, 'protracted,' is glossed by *saṁnikṛṣhta*, 'drawn down together, brought near.'

उपसङ्कृतरे हनू ॥ १६ ॥

16. The jaws are more nearly approached.

The force of the comparative is explained by the usual term *atiṣayena*, 'with excess.'

In the utterance of *e*, the position of the tongue is also a matter of importance, and is explained in the next rule.

जिह्वामध्यान्ताभ्यां चोत्तराङ्गम्यात्स्पर्शयति ॥ १७ ॥

17. And one touches the borders of the upper back jaws with the edges of the middle of the tongue.

The "and" (*ca*) in this rule we are directed to regard as bringing forward the *ekāra* of rule 15, "on the frog-leap principle"—that is to say, by overleaping the intervening rule. The terms descriptive of the organs concerned I have translated in accordance with the directions of the commentator, although much tempted to render *jambhyān* by 'jaw-teeth, grinders.' I cannot doubt that *jambhyān* is the true reading here, although the MSS. give a curious and perplexing variety of forms to the word, and *uttarāṅ jambhyānt* is not once read: T. comes nearest to it, giving *uttarāṅ jambhyān*; W. has *uttarā jambhyānt* in the rule, and *uttarā jambhyān* and *jambhyān* in the comment; B., *uttarāṅ jambhyāt* in the rule, *uttarā jambhyān* and *jambhyān* in the comment; G. and M., *uttarāṅ jambhyām* in the rule; G., *uttarāṅ jambhyān* and *jambhyām*, and M., *uttarāṅ jambhyān* and *jambhyām*, in the comment. The verb *sparṣayati* is equivalent to *spṛṣet*, the causative ending *nic* being added without altering the meaning of the simple verb (compare Pāṇ. iii.1.25), as in *pālay* for *pā*, and other like cases.

15. *prakṛṣṭāṁ ity atra dvivacanena prakṛtāṁ oṣṭhāṁ grhyete: ekāre kārya oṣṭhāṁ iṣṭaparakṛṣṭāṁ syātām. prakṛṣṭatā saṁnikṛṣṭatā.*

16. *sāminidhyād ekāra iti labhyate: ekāre kārye hanā upasamhṛtatare bhavataḥ. atiṣayeno 'pasamhṛte upasamhṛtatare.*

17. *ekāre kārye jihvāmādhyañtābhyām uttarāṅ jambhyānt sparṣayati spṛṣet ity arthaḥ: pālayati' 'ty ādivat svārthe nic: jambhyān iti hanāmālaprāntadeśān' ity arthaḥ: māṇḍūkaphṛtinīyāyena' cakāra ekāram ākarshati. jihvāyā 'madhyam jihvāmādhyañ: tasyā 'nīcā': tābhyām jihvāmādhyañtābhyām.*

¹ G. M. *pālay*. ² G. M. *-cam*; W. *-ntaprade*. ³ G. M. *-kagatiny*. ⁴ W. *ma-*
dhyā antā; B. *madhyasya anān*.

In order to complete the definition of the mode of production of *e*, rules 20 and 23, below, have yet to be applied; but they add nothing essential to the description of the present rule, which assures to the vowel, as clearly as any such description could do, the "continental" sound of *e*, or that which it has in *they*, short in *met*. There is no hint of a composite or diphthongal utterance, any more than in the case of *o*. A diphthongal utterance, however, as *ai*, *au* (in *aisle*, *house*), we must assume them to have had originally (compare note to Ath. Pr. i.40).

उपसङ्गतरे च जिह्वाग्रमृकार्कारल्कारेषु बर्त्स्व-
पूपसङ्करति ॥ १८ ॥

18. The jaws, also, are more closely approximated, and the tip of the tongue is brought into close proximity to the upper back gums, in *r*, *ṛ*, and *l*.

The construction of this rule is very harsh: the subject *hand*, 'jaws,' comes into its first member again with a flying leap from rule 16, drawn by the *cā*, 'also;' while the second member starts off independently, "one approximates," with no connective to bind it to the other. These roughnesses are unremarked by the commentator, and I have smoothed them over in the translation. The word *upasaṃharati*, 'approximates,' is glossed in the comment by *nikshipet*, 'let one throw down (or apply),' and *barsvās* is explained as 'the high places behind the row of teeth'—that is, the swelling of the inner gums.

The commentator starts a question as to the propriety of the conversion of *ṛ* and *l* in this rule into *r* and *l* after *a* (*ṛkāraṛkā-ralkāra*, from *ṛkāra-ṛkāra-lkāra*), the cases not being covered by the prescription given below (at x.8: no case of the combination of *ṛ* and *l* occurring in the *Sanhitā*, the *Prāṭicākhya* makes no provision for it): he is compelled to acknowledge that this treatise does not teach the conversion, but claims that it is justified by the authority of other text-books; and that the same explanation applies to an earlier case (rule i.31) of a like combination.

This wholly insufficient direction is all that our treatise gives

18. *caṣabdo hanvor¹ anvādeṣakah: ṛkāra ṛkāra lkāre ca kārye hand² upasaṃhrtatare bhavataḥ: jihvāgraṃ ca barsveshū³ 'pasamharati nikshipet: barsveshv iti dantapaṅkter upariśtād uccapradeṣeshv ity arthaḥ. nanv aram ṛkārapare (x.8) iti lakṣhaṇa-sambhavād⁴ ṛkāraṛkāraṛkālāreṣv iti katham saṃdhiḥ sādhuḥ. satyam nāi⁵ tallakṣhaṇāt: kim ty gāstrāntarabalāt⁶: evam ṛkāra-lkārau hrasvāv (i.31) iti vijñeyam⁷.*

¹ W. *hanvār*; B. *h*; G. M. *hanor*. ² W. om. ³ G. M. *-pas*; B. *-pasamjñāvadādd*. ⁴ G. M. ins. *sādhuḥ*. ⁵ G. M. *jñeyam*.

us for the utterance of the difficult *r* and *l* vowels. By i.2, they are excluded from the category of simple homogeneous vowels. For the teachings of the other Prāticākhyaś respecting them, see note to Ath. Pr. i.37. However they may have been pronounced at the period of grammatical treatment of the Vedic texts, we have no good reason to doubt that, at the time when those texts were composed, they were phonetically the same with the semi-vowels *r* and *l*, differing from them only as, for example, the *l* of *able* differs from that of *ably*, the *r* of (French) *aigre* from that of *aigri*. For a theoretical discussion of this double value of the articulated sounds which lie nearly upon the boundary line between vowels and consonants, see Journ. Am. Or. Soc. viii.362 seq.

एकेषामनुस्वारस्वरभक्तयोश्च ॥ १९ ॥

19. As also, according to some, in *anusvāra* and *svara-bhakti*.

In this case, we are told, the “also” (*ca*) brings down the whole of the preceding rule, and the meaning is, that there is approximation of the jaws in uttering *anusvāra*, and approach of the tip of the tongue to the gums in uttering the *svarabhakti*, according to the opinion of some; while others hold that *anusvāra* is simply nasal, and the *svarabhakti* (see xxi.15) equivalent to *r*. This, the commentator adds, is Vararuci’s explanation, and its truth is questionable. We, in our turn, may regard it as matter for question whether this attribution and expression of doubt apply to the whole interpretation of the rule, or only to its concluding part, the statement of the opinion of “others.” The latter is perhaps most probable.

So far as regards *anusvāra*, we can hardly ascribe any value or propriety to this rule; the definition of *svarabhakti* in connection with that of the *r*-vowels is natural enough.

अनादेशे प्रायस्ता जिह्वा ॥ २० ॥

20. In the absence of special direction, the tongue is thrust down forward.

When no such direction as “with the point of the tongue,” “with

19. cakārah pūrvoktavidhim anvādicati: yathāsamkhyeṇā’ nusvārasvarabhaktyoḥ pūrvoktavidhir bhavati: anusvāre hanvor upasamhārah: svarabhaktāu jihvāgrasya barsveshā’ pasamhārah: etad ekeshām matam. anyeshām tu matam anusvārasya’ nund-sikamātratvam: svarabhakter rkaratulyatvam. iti vararucimataṁ: tac cintyam¹.

¹ G. M. -khyo. ² G. M. -ciracitam. ³ W. cityam; B. cānityam.

the middle of the tongue" is given, then its position is to be understood as here directed. To explain *pranyastā*, the commentator gives, besides an ordinary analysis, the expression "in a quiescent state;" as example, he cites *upa mā* (iii.2.4¹: G. and M. *spoils the citation by adding the following word, *dyāvāprthivī*), in the utterance of which words the tongue is not called perceptibly into action. But this interpretation evokes a difficulty: "since the position of quiescence is assured to all the articulating organs in the absence of any direction respecting them, of what use is this precept?" The reply is: *e* (as taught by rule 17, above) is to be produced with the edges of the middle of the tongue, and the *a* contained in that letter is of the same character; hence it might be inferred, from the identity of the *a*-quality, that *a* was to be so uttered in other situations, as in words like *atha* (i.1.13¹ et al., if the word is to be regarded here as a citation)—a misapprehension which the rule removes. To this reply the objection may be raised that our treatise acknowledges the presence of no such element as *a* in *e*, and that an *a* uttered with the middle of the tongue is a phonetic impossibility. The direction respecting the tongue may well enough be regarded as a not entirely negative one; or it may have been deemed desirable to fix so very mobile and unruly a member by a special law.

अकारवदोष्ठी ॥ २१ ॥

21. The lips are as in the utterance of *a*.

We are directed to include in this rule, by vicinage, "in the absence of special direction." The proper position of the lips for uttering *a* was given in rule 12, above. As illustration is added, quite needlessly, the word *indrah* (*passim*); the southern manuscripts read instead *indriyāvaḥ* (vi.5.8³).

20. *yatra jihvāgreṇa jhivāmadhyeṇe 'ty ādir' anādeṣas² tatra vishaye jhivā pranyastā tūshṇīmabhātā³ bhavati: prakarshēṇa nyastā pranyasta⁴. yathā: upa----- nanv anādeṣe sārva-karaṇānām tūshṇīmabhāvasiddheḥ kimartha⁵ 'yam ārambhah. ucyate: ekārasya jhivāmadhyāntanishpādyatvam⁶ asti: tadavayavasyā⁷ 'kārasya tathātvam asti: akāratvasāmyād anyatrā⁸ 'py athe 'ty ādāu tathātvam prasajyeta: tac cā⁹ 'nishtam: tan mā bhād iti parihārah. 'nā¹⁰ 'deṣo 'nādeṣaḥ¹¹: tasmin: upadeṣābhāva ity arthaḥ.*

¹ G. M. ādinā. ² G. M. ins. anupadeṣaḥ. ³ W. B. -ñibh-. ⁴ W. B. om. ⁵ G. M. āyamānatvam. ⁶ G. M. asti 'ti. ⁷ G. M. ins. 'pi. ⁸ W. anvādeṣaḥ; B. anādeṣaḥ.

21. *sāmnidhyād anādeṣa ity labhyate: oshthayor yatrā¹ 'nādeṣas tatrā² 'kāraṇād akāre yathā tathā³ oshthāu bhavataḥ: nā⁴ 'tyupa-señhrtatārāv⁵ ity arthaḥ. yathā: indra⁶ iti.*

¹ MSS. tathā. ² G. M. -hrtāv. ³ G. M. indriyāva.

तालौ त्रिद्वामध्यमिवर्णे ॥ २२ ॥

22. In the *i*-vowels, the middle of the tongue is to be approximated to the palate.

The comment supplies, without remark, the predicate "to be approximated," and gives as example *ishe tvā* (i.1.1 et al.).

एकारे च ॥ २३ ॥

23. Also in *e*.

Here the "also" (*ca*) bringing precept, both the specification of the active organ (*karana*) and that of the passive organ or place (*sthāna*). The exposition of the meaning of the rule is very simple and easy; but the commentator does not fail to notice that its necessity is open to objection upon two grounds, and enters into its defense at considerable length. The first objection is, why make two separate rules (22 and 23) for a single direction?—that is to say, if the *i*-vowels and *e* are all produced by the approximation of the middle of the tongue to the palate, why not include them in one rule together? The answer given is that the degree of approximation is not the same in the two cases, but is less in the *e* than in the *i*-vowels. If it be asked, why is this so? the reply is made, because the *e* is mixed with *a*, and production of this *a* with the middle of the tongue is on account of its constituting a part of *e*, and not by reason of its own natural character (compare the comment to rule 20, above)—which special qualification is sufficient ground for the less degree of approximation. The second difficulty is stated thus: both place and organ of *e* have been already defined in rules 15–17, above; but here is laid down for the same letter something different: and it is not possible that both directions should be followed

22. *ivarṇe kārye jīhvāmādhyam tālāv upasamhartavyam. yathā: ishe..... 'jīhvāyā madhyam' jīhvāmādhyam².*

(1) W. om. ² B. om.

23. *cakārah pūrvavidhim anvādicati: ekāre kārye 'jīhvāmādhyam tālāv' upasamhartavyam³. nānu vidhāu samāne prthak-sātrārambhaḥ kimarthah⁴. ucyate: ivarṇe yathā jīhvāmādhyo-pasamhāro na khalv evam ekāre kin tu tato⁵ nyāna ity arthah: kutah: akāramiṣṛitatvād ekārasya: akārasya ca tadekadeṣatvāj jīhvāmādhyāntanishpādyatvaṁ⁶ na tu svataḥ: ata eva sopādhi-katvān nyānatvopaputtih. īśatprakṛṣṭāv (ii.15) ity atra⁷ sātratrāyaṇāi 'kārasya sthānakaraṇe nirdiṣṭe: iha tu tato 'nyat tasyāi'⁸ 'va nirdiṣyate: tad ekasmin ubhayathā kartuṁ na śak-yate: virodhāt tasmād atra yogavibhāgaḥ kartavyah⁹: avyān-*

in the production of one sound. To get rid of this difficulty, a division must be made; the former description must be understood as applying to *e* by itself, and the present one to *e* combined with a consonant. How is this determination made? Why, when we say in a general way "the letter *e*," it lies nearest, or is most natural, to understand that letter itself, without a consonant; hence, because of its prior suggestedness, the first definition belongs to it; and the other is left, to be applied to the same sound as combined with a consonant.

The utter artificiality of the answer to the second objection is too obvious to need pointing out; and even the first evokes more difficulties than it removes. There is no inconsistency whatever between rules 17 and 23, and we have reason to be surprised only at the repetition in the latter of what is implied already in the former. Rule 23 has the air of being an afterthought, slipped in, because of the really close relationship between *e* and *i*, with disregard of what had been taught before. The alleged difference of degree of approximation exists clearly enough, but would be very insufficiently intimated by a mere separation of one rule into two.

श्रीशोषसंस्कार उवर्णे ॥ २४ ॥

24. In the *u*-vowels, there is approximation of the lips.

After his paraphrase of the rule, the commentator enters here upon an exposition, the intent of which is not altogether clear to me. "Here," he says, "approximation is as formerly, and not mere drawing down together" (that is, of the same kind as was taught in rule 14, above, and not the *prakṣhātā*, 'protraction,' of rule 15, which is there glossed by *samnikṣhātā*?). "However, 'the lips drawn down together may be long'—this will be said hereafter" (by this phrase some direction given later in the treatise is

*jane tal lakṣhaṇam savyañjane tv etad iti. kuto 'yam niyamah. ucyate: 'ekāra iti' sāmānyoktāu satyām*¹⁰*prathamam avyañjana-syāi*¹⁰*'va grahaṇam mukhyam*¹¹*: tathā sati prathamapratites*¹²*tasmīn prathamam lakṣhaṇam yijyate: savyañjane*¹³*pāriṣeṣhyād etad iti vijñeyam.*

¹⁰ W. G. M. -*dhyāntiv*. ² G. M. -*vyāu*. ³ G. M. -*tham*. ⁴ G. M. *ato*. ⁵ B. -*dhyāntābhyān nish-*; G. M. -*dhyānish-*. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ W. *nyasyāi*; B. *nye t-*. ⁸ G. M. om. ⁹ G. M. *ekārasya*. ¹⁰ B. *pratham av-*; G. M. -*man vy-*. ¹¹ W. *su-karam*. ¹² G. M. -*man pra-*. ¹³ G. M. ins. *tu*.

24. *uvarṇe kārya oṣṭhopasamhāro bhavati: atro 'pasamhārah pūrvavan na samnikṣhātāmātram: kim tu: samnikṣhātāv oṣṭhāu dīrghāu syātām iti vakshyate: evam oṣṭhāu tā 'pa-samhrtatarāv (ii.14) ity atrā 'pi vijñeyam. yathā: ul----- oṣṭhāyor upasamhāra oṣṭhopasamhārah*¹.

¹ W. B. om.

wont to be cited; but there is no such direction as this, either in text or in commentary); "the same is to be understood in rule 14, above" (compare a similar reference to a preceding rule in the comment to ii.18). A phrase is then cited from the Sanhitā, containing *u* and *ū*, namely *ulākhalaḥ budhno yūpaḥ* (vii.2.1³).

एकान्तरस्तु सर्वत्र प्रकृतात् ॥ २५ ॥

25. But, in all cases, with an interval of one from the preceding.

The commentary on this very obscure rule reads as follows:

By vicinage, "labial approximation" is here implied: everywhere, in the case of labial vowels, after the preceding labial approximation, a separate labial approximation is to be made, provided it have an interval of one: by this is understood having the quantity of a *mora* interposed: that, namely, has an interval of one whereof one *mora* is the interval or interposition. This is the distinctive condition of the separate labial approximation. The word "but" (*tu*) denies the necessity of the interval of one in a case where *o* [W. says, where *āu* or *ū*] follows. Examples are: *utpātacushman* (i.6.1¹); *sānnīyam iti su-unnīyam* (vi.2.4¹); *atho oshadhishu* (iii.5.5² and vi.3.9⁵); *bāhuvor balam* (v.5.9²); *tanuvāu ghorā 'nyā* (v.7.3³; G. M. omit the last word); *caturhotā* (not found in the Sanhitā: occurs Tāitt. Brāh. ii.2.3²).

Objection: in *yo 'ngam* (iii.3.4³), the *anusvāra* has a *mora* [by i.34] and the *ç* a half-*mora* [by i.37]; since, then, the quantity being a *mora* and a half, there is not an interval of one, how is the separate labial approximation assured?

Answer: it is assured by the principle "a hundred includes fifty." Where there is a *mora* and a half, there is *à fortiori* a *mora*; in virtue of this the prescribed effect is produced, but its excess does not vitiate the rule, because the word "one" excludes what does not belong to itself (?). For the same reason, the occurrence

25. *sānnidhyād oshthopasanīhāra iti labhyate: sarvatr' oshthya-svareṣhu prakṛtād oshthopasanīhārāt prthagoshthopasanīhārah 'kartavyaḥ: sa ced ekāntarah': ekāntara iti mātrākālavyavādyā' iti labhyate': ekamātrā 'ntaraṁ vyavadhānaṁ yasyā 'sāv ekāntarah: iti prthagoshthopasanīhārasya viśeṣaṇam. tuṣabḍa okāroparātva' ekāntaratvaniyamaṁ⁵ nivartayati. udāharāṇāni: ut-⁸ sūn-....: atho-....: bāh-....: tan-....: cat-.... nanu yo-.... ity atrā 'nusvārasya mātrākālāḥ 'çakārasyā 'rdhamātrā-kālāḥ:' evaṁ adhyardhamātratve saty ekāntaratvābhāvāt⁸ ka-tham prthagoshthopasanīhārasiddhiḥ. ucyate: çatepañcāçannya-yena siddhyati: adhyardhamātratvā 'py' ekamātratvaṁ sutarām¹⁰ asti: tēna kāryam bhavaty adhikam tu na nishidhyate: svāyoga-vyavachedakatvād ekaçabḍasya: ata eva bāh-.... ity āder¹¹ na*

of the double labial in such passages as *bāhuvoḥ balaṃ ūruvoḥ ojaḥ* (v.5.9²: G. M. omit the last word) is not primary (or original), but its quality as-*sphurita*, 'quavered,' is shown by the likeness of the example (?).

Second objection: then why is there not a separate labial approximation in the two *u*'s following the *k* and *r* of *kusurubindah* (vii. 2.2¹), since there occurs more than a *mora* and a half of interval between them?

Answer: not so; here there is denial of separate labiality only for the two *u*'s that follow *k* and *s*, because of the absence of its necessary condition; but to that following the *r* this rule does not apply, because it is not a case of separateness from the preceding, but of separateness from the *u* that follows the intermediate *s*; this being so, there is no occurrence of the interval of one for a letter in this situation: thus there is no offense against the rule.

So far the comment; but either I have failed to apprehend its true meaning, or it has given a false interpretation to the rule, or the rule itself is destitute of intelligible significance. I must confess myself unable to see what peculiarity there should be in the utterance of two labial vowels following one another in two successive syllables with not less than a *mora*'s interval between them. No precept, so far as I know, in any of the other Prāṭiśākhyas, is analogous with this, or casts light upon it.

It appears to be intimated, in the course of the answer to the first objection, that the peculiar utterance of the *u* in such words as *bāhuvoḥ* for the usual *bāhuoḥ* and *ūruvoḥ* for *ūruoḥ* is denominated *sphurita*. The term does not occur elsewhere; nor is any notice taken of the phenomenon, if not here. It is a well-known characteristic of Tāittirīya texts, but is found in fewer words than one would be apt to imagine. Besides the two just given, I have noted in the Saṃhitā only the cases of *tanū* (*tanuvam*, e. g. i.1.8; *tanuvā*, e. g. i.1.10²) and the word *suvar*, which are often met with. Of similar resolutions of an *i*-vowel into *iy*, the cases are more nu-

*dviroshṭhyam*¹² mukhyam: *kin tu sphuritātvaṃ*¹³ udāharanātvā bhāsatayā¹⁴ dūrṇitam. *tarhi kus- ity atra kakārarephābhyām uttarayor ukārayoḥ katham prthagoshṭhopasamīhāro na bhavati: adhyardhamātravyavāyāsambhavāt*¹⁵. *māi 'vam: atra*¹⁶ *kakāra-sakārottarayor*¹⁷ *ukārayos tāvad*¹⁸ *aprthagoshṭhatā*¹⁹: *etāllakṣha- nāsambhavarāt: repḥād uttarasya tu*²⁰ *prakṛtāt prthaktvābhāvān nā 'yam vidhiḥ: 'kin tu*²¹ *madhyasthasakārottarād ukārāt prthaktvam: tathā saty ekāntarābhāvāt*²²: *tadavastha*²³ *evē 'ti lakṣaṇam idam avyubhicaritam*²⁴.

(1) W. om. (2) G. M. -labhedavy-. (3) G. M. arthah. (4) W. āukāravakārap-. (5) G. M. eka-mātrāntarātva-. (6) G. M. om. (7) B. om. (8) G. M. ekāratv-. (9) G. M. om. (10) W. muttarām. (11) G. M. ādau. (12) G. M. -thyatvam. (13) G. M. svar-. (14) W. -haratvā; B. -tvabh-; G. M. -nan tu ābh-. (15) G. M. -vyavahānas-. (16) G. M. om. (17) G. M. -rābhyām utt-. (18) G. M. -van. (19) G. M. na prthagoshṭha-samīhārāt. (20) W. u; B. om. (21) W. B. om. (22) G. M. -vāt. (23) W. -stha; B. -sthā. (24) G. M. vyabh-.

merous, but less frequent. I have collected the following (without exhausting the Sanhitā, especially of themes in *iya*): *āgriya* (iv.5.5²), *aghniya* (i.1.1), *āgviya* (ii.2.12⁸), *asmadrīyañc* (i.4.21), *īdhrīya* (iv.5.7²), *dhāshniya* (iii.1.3¹), *pātriya* (iii.2.3³), *budhniya* (i.3.3), *rēshmiya* (iv.5.7²), *viśvāpsniyā* (i.5.3³), *viśvadrīyañc* (i.7.13³), *vṛshniya* (iii.2.5³), *śīghriya* (iv.5.5²), *sudhrīyañc* (i.2.14⁵); and, of oblique cases from themes in *i* or *ī*, *indrāgniyoḥ* (i.3.12), *gāyatriyā* (iii.2.9¹), *pārshniyā* (iv.6.9²), *pr'cniyāi* (ii.2.11⁴), *rā'triyāi* (iv.4.1¹), *lakshmiyā* (ii.1.5²), *viśpātniyāi* (iii.1.11⁴), *svādhiyam* (i.3.14⁶). None of the consonantal combinations which are thus avoided by the resolution of the *u* are such as the euphony of the Tāittirīyakas does not tolerate: but of those which are avoided by the resolution of the *i*, only three are met with in the text—namely, *try* (e. g. i.8.22¹: ii.4.3¹), *tny* (iv.4.2²), and *cny* (v.5.6³). I have not entered deeply enough into the investigation to deduce the law, if law there be, by which the resolution is made.

अकारार्धमैकारौकारयोरादिः ॥ २६ ॥

26. The beginning of *āi* and *āu* is half an *a*.

Rules 28 and 29, below, tell of what constitutes the remainder of these diphthongs.

संवृतकरणतरमैकेषाम् ॥ २७ ॥

27. Which, in the opinion of some, is uttered with the organs more closed.

We have here another indication that, as intimated above (under ii.12), our Prātiçākhyā does not recognize the close or neutral pronunciation of the short *a*; for, if it did so, there would obviously be no reason for referring to the opinion held by certain authorities respecting its assumption of that utterance in diphthongal combination. Some phonetists (without sufficient reason, as it appears to me) have in like manner defined the first element in our English diphthongs ("long *i*" in *aisle*, *isle*, and *ou* or *ow* in *house*, *down*) to be the neutral vowel (*u* in *but*), rather than the open *a* (of *far*). But, whatever may have been the case with the Sanskrit diphthongs, our own cannot be truly described as composed of two elements each: they are slides; and to allow the organs to remain in

26. *ākārāsyaū "kārasya cā "dir akārārdham bhavati. akārasyā 'rdham akārārdham.*

27. *sāmnidhyād akārārdham iti labhyate: ekeshām mate tad akārārdham saṁvṛtakaraṇataram bhavati. saṁvṛtāni saṁnikṛṣṭāni karaṇāni yasya tat saṁvṛtakaraṇam: atīçayena saṁvṛtakaraṇam saṁvṛtakaraṇataram.*

B. reads *saṁvṛta* throughout.

either their first or last position long enough to make the initial or final element distinctly audible, would be an error of pronunciation.

The commentator glosses *saṁvṛta*, 'enveloped, shut up, closed,' with *saṁnikṛṣṭa*, 'drawn down together, approximated.'

इकारोऽध्यर्धः पूर्वस्य शेषः ॥ २८ ॥

28. Of the former, the rest is one and a half times *i*.

Of the former—that is, of *āi*; *āi* and *āu* having been mentioned together in a preceding rule (ii.26), says the commentator.

उकारस्तूत्तरस्य ॥ २९ ॥

29. But, of the latter, *u*.

That is to say, the remainder of *āu* is one and a half times *u*. To account for the word "but" (*tu*) in the rule, the commentator notes that, as the beginning of both diphthongs is the same sound, *a*, it might seem to follow that their end would be the same sound, *i*: this the "but" denies. This explanation merely intensifies and makes too precise the actual meaning of the word.

For the teachings of the other Prāticākhyas as to the pronunciation of *āi* and *āu*, see the note to Ath. Pr. i.40. As there remarked, the euphonic treatment which they receive proves their first element to have had originally more than a half-mora of quantity. If they must be limited to two moras, a better description of them would have been $1\frac{1}{2}a + \frac{1}{2}i$, and $1\frac{1}{2}a + \frac{1}{2}u$. If, as we may presume to be the case, the authors of these treatises defined their own pronunciation pretty accurately, then the *āi* and *āu*, not less than the *e* and *o*, had by their time taken on a value notably different from that which belonged to them when the euphonic rules of the language were the faithful representation of living processes.

अनुस्वारोत्तमा अनुनासिकाः ॥ ३० ॥

30. *Anusvāra* and the last mutes are nasal.

As example of *anusvāra*, the comment cites *yo 'ñcum* (iii.3.4³);

28. *pūrvasyādi "kārasye 'ty arthaḥ: adhistād' āikārāukārasyoḥ saḥoccaritavāt': adhyardha ikāra āikārasya gesho bhavati. adhikam ardham yasyā 'sāv adhyardhaḥ.*

¹ W. *adhyardhas tāvad.* ² G. M. *uccar.*

29. *uttarasyāu "kārasye 'ty arthaḥ: adhyardha ukāra āukāra-gesho' bhavati: yathā 'nayoṛ ubhayoṛ apy ādir akāra eva tad-vad ikāra eva geshah' prāsaktaḥ: tan' nishedhati tuḥabdhāḥ.*

¹ G. M. *-rasya ge.* ² W. B. *om.* ³ W. B. *taḥ.*

of the "last" or nasal mutes, *pratyāñ hotāram* (vi.3.1⁵)—to which G. M. add *prāñcam upa* (v.2.7³), and *manind* (vii.3.14).

The term *anunāsika* is interpreted by the commentator as signifying *nāsikām anuvartate*, 'it goes after the nostril'—that is to say, doubtless, 'it finds exit by the nasal passages:' an accurate definition of this class of sounds. As employed in this Prātiṣākhya, *anunāsika* means simply, as adjective, 'nasal,' and its derivative noun, *ānunāsikya*, signifies 'nasality, nasal utterance.' Rule 52, below, describes how such mode of utterance is produced, and in chapter xvii. (rules 1-4) is made an attempt to define the degree of nasality in the various sounds of the class. "Nasal," or *anunāsika*, by the present rule, are the *anusvāra* and the five nasal mutes, *ñ, ṇ, n, ṇ, m*; the same term is applied later to the nasal semivowels into which *n* and *m* (v.26-28) are under certain circumstances convertible; and at v.31, x.11, xv.1,6, xxii.14, we also hear of nasal (*anunāsika*) vowels. The other nose-sounds, the *yamas* and *nāsikya* (ii.49,50, xxi.8,12-14), do not anywhere receive this title.

It is desirable to put together somewhere a comprehensive statement of the doctrines held by the Tāittiriya-Prātiṣākhya respecting the nasal constituents of the alphabet it recognizes, and no more suitable place is likely to present itself than is offered here.

All nasal (*anunāsika*) sounds are uttered (ii.52) by the mouth and nose together. An *uttama*, a "last" or nasal mute, is a sound in the production of which the intonated breath escapes through the nose, while the organs of the mouth form one of those same contacts which give rise to the corresponding non-nasal mutes of the series. In *anusvāra*, on the other hand (including under that designation the nasal semivowels, of which more further on), the mouth-organs are not wholly closed, but the intonated breath finds exit through them at the same time that it passes through the nasal cavities. In all cases, then, in which the character of the nasal of a syllable is determined by that of the following consonant, the nasal will be a mute if the latter is a mute, but an *anusvāra* if succeeded by a letter not forming a contact—by a semivowel or a spirant. Respecting the phonetic character and occurrence of the nasal mutes, there has been no difference of opinion, so far as we have any information, among the Hindu phonetists of the period represented by the Prātiṣākhya; none of them has allowed a final *anusvāra* before a pause, or an *anusvāra* before a mute, either in the same or a following word. As to the phonetic value, however, of the real *anusvāra*, the nasal uttered with open mouth-organs, there was by no means the same accord among those ancient grammarians. Some held it to be a pervading nasalization of the preceding vowel; others, a nasal addition to

30. *anusvāraḥ co 'ttamāḥ cā 'nunāsikā bhavanti: nāsikām anuvartanta ity anunāsikāḥ. yathā: anusvāraḥ: yo----: uttamāḥ ca¹: pra----: 'prā----: maṇ².*

¹ G. M. ins. *yathā*. ² W. B. om.

that vowel. The former view is adopted and consistently maintained by the Atharva-Prāṭiśākhya, which acknowledges nasal consonants and nasalized vowels, but no *tertium quid*. The Prāṭiśākhyas of the Rik and White Yajus are equally consistent in their recognition of an *anusvāra* as nasal appendage to the vowel, and the latter of them gives (Vāj. Pr. iv.147-8) detailed directions as to the quantity belonging to each element. The Tāittirīya-Prāṭiśākhya adopts prevailingly the same view, but lets the other appear distinctly in some of its rules. Thus, at v.31, it is stated to be Ātreya's opinion that, when a nasal mute becomes *l*, the preceding vowel is nasalized; and, in conformity with this, xv.1 directly teaches that, after the various conversion of *m* and *n*, the vowel before them becomes nasal, the following rules adding (xv.2,3) that some authorities deny this, and direct *anusvāra* to be inserted instead: here the commentary has to reverse the obvious intent of the text, and declare the latter rules approved, and the first disapproved. Further, x.11 directs that when a vowel is combined with a nasalized vowel the result is nasal (the commentary, however, gives a different interpretation: see the rule). Once more, in xxii.14, among "heavy" syllables is reckoned one that is *anunāsika*, 'nasal.'

I very much doubt whether this difference of views is founded upon an actual difference of pronunciation; it is probably due rather to a discordant apprehension and analysis of a single mode of utterance. The same point might divide into two parties our phonetists at the present day—just as they have long been divided upon the question whether a *b* differs from a *p* in being sonant, or in being soft, or weak, or of inferior aspiration, or something of that kind. Without entering into any detailed discussion of the subject, I will simply say that I incline to side with the Atharvan school, and to believe in nasal vowels rather than in *anusvāra*. No one of the Prāṭiśākhyas gives an intelligible definition of the phonetic character of *anusvāra*, considered as an independent alphabetic element; if it is to be so considered, we shall hardly be able to make of it anything but a bit of the neutral vowel (*u* of *but*) nasalized, or the sound of the French *un*, and shall have to regard it as attached to the vowel much in the same way as, by us who speak English, the same sound not nasalized is attached to most of our long vowels before an *r*—for example, in *there, here, oar, cure, fire, sour* (see Journ. Am. Or. Soc'y, viii.353).

Which of the two views is originally favored by the Devanāgarī alphabet does not admit of much question; the writing of *am̐ca*, for example,* with a nasal sign over the vowel of the first syllable, is an unequivocal recognition of the nasality as something affecting the vowel itself. If it had seemed to the framers of this alphabet to be a something interposed between the vowel and the following consonant, they would doubtless have

* Namely, अंश, or अंश.

found for it a sign to stand between those of the other elements. This has actually been done, out of a true regard for consistency, by the writers of the Vājasaneyi and Tāittiriya texts: for lack of a better device, they have brought down one of the usual signs of nasality from above the syllable to a position between the syllables, giving it an addition which enables it to maintain its place there*—in the Tāittiriya texts, we have the dotted crescent, with the *virāma*, the usual mark for a consonant not graphically combined with a following consonant, beneath it. The scribes of the Rig-Veda seem to have been less solicitous to make their practice square with their theory. It may well be made a question, however, whether the habit, now so common, of writing *anika*, *anta*, *ambā*, for *añka*, *añta*, *añbā*, etc.,† could have grown up until the opinion had become prevalent that the nasal sign in *aniga* also represented a nasal sound which followed the vowel, and was accommodated in its special mode of utterance to its successor.‡

One more point in the theory of the nasal sounds calls for notice. The assimilation of *n* to a following *l*, and of *m* to a following *l*, *y*, or *v* (v.26-8), is treated by the Tāittiriya, the Vājasaneyi, and the Rik Prātiçākhyas as resulting in the production, not of *anusvāra*, but of a nasal counterpart to the semivowel—that is, the case is made analogous with that of a nasal before a mute, instead of before a spirant. Here, also, the Atharva-Prātiçākhyas pursues an independent course, and accepts no nasal *y* or *v*, but only a nasal *l*, as product of both *m* and *n* (see Ath. Pr. ii.35). In this case, as well as in the other, we have to assume merely a difference in the theoretical explanation of an identical mode of pronunciation; and I should not only favor the Atharvan view, but should be willing to give up the nasal *l* itself, as not worth distinguishing from an ordinary case of *anusvāra*—or of nasalized vowel, if we accept this understanding of the matter. Thus much, indeed, may be allowed—that, while the absence of sonant utterance in the spirants cuts them off from sharing in a nasal quality, it might be difficult to prevent the nasality of the preceding vowel from infecting at least

* Thus, for अंश or अँश, the Vāj. S. writes अ॒श, the Tāitt. S. अ॒ंश.

† That is, अंक, अंत, अंबा, for अङ्क, अन्त, अम्बा.

‡ No valid objection can be raised against the practically so convenient, imitation of this habit on the part of modern European scholars, so far as concerns the representation of an original *m* assimilated to a following consonant. To go farther than this, however, and write the *anusvāra* sign in the interior of a word for a nasal mute which is equally radical or thematic with the succeeding non-nasal, and, yet more, to write it for a final *m*, which no Prātiçākhyas allows to be pronounced otherwise than *m*, seems an indefensible practice, and one wholly to be disapproved and rejected. Of Müller's seemingly elaborate defense of his adherence to it, given in the Preface to his *Hitopadeça*, absolutely the whole point lies in the phrases (p. xi): "it is easier to write *anikita* than *añkita*. What applies to writing applies with still greater force to printing"—which latter consideration must be pronounced destitute of weight; since, on the contrary, we do expect our printing to be superior in accuracy to ordinary writing.

the beginning of the sonant semivowels. For the exclusion of *r* from the same treatment with the other semivowels I can discover no good reason.

The usage of the manuscripts is pretty nearly in accordance with the theories of the Prāṭiśākhya. For an assimilated *m*, the distinctive *anusvāra* sign is always written before *r*, as before the spirants; but before *l*, *y*, and *v* is written the sign of nasality above the preceding syllable, as before a mute. But as regards *n* before *l*, my manuscript varies with complete irregularity between treating it like *m*, as required by the Prāṭiśākhya, and writing the *n* unchanged, either with *virāma* or conjoined with the *l* (instances of the latter mode of treatment are about twice as frequent as of the former). The edited text more usually follows a third method, supported neither by my manuscript nor by the Prāṭiśākhya: it writes the *l* double, and puts a sign of nasality over the preceding syllable. This is nonsense: if two *l*'s are written, the first should be separated from the other, and should have the sign of nasality written above it. But there is no reason why this should be done in the case of a combination of *l* with *n* any more than with *m*, or than in the combination of *m* with *y* and *v*.

It only remains to add that, in my manuscripts (T. and W.) and those at Berlin and Oxford (B. and O.), the text of the Prāṭiśākhya follows, in regard to the treatment of the nasals as to other points of euphony, the usages of the Tāittirīya text, and that the citations from the latter in the commentary are also written accordingly; while the body of the commentary itself follows the methods of ordinary Sanskrit texts. In this edition, therefore, their example is followed as closely as possible: the proper *anusvāra* being represented by *ṁ*, and the *m* assimilated to a mute or semivowel, by *m̐*. The two South-Indian manuscripts (G. and M.) do not distinguish these two from one another.

स्वराणां यत्रोपसङ्हारस्तत्स्थानम् ॥ ३१ ॥

31. In the case of the vowels, that is their place of production, to which approximation is made.

The term *upasaṁhāra*, 'approximation,' is glossed by *upaśleṣaviṣeṣaḥ*, 'a sort of embrace'—unless, indeed, we are to read, with G. and M., *saṁśleṣaviṣeṣaḥ*, 'disunion of embrace,' i. e., 'embrace which does not come to actual contact.'

The terms *sthāna*, 'place,' and *karana*, 'organ,' denote, as in the other Prāṭiśākhyas (see note to Ath. Pr. i.18), the more passive and the more active of the two parts of the mouth whose concurrence gives birth to a sound.

31. *svarāṇāṁ tat sthānam bhuvati yatro 'pasamhāraḥ syāt: upasamhāro nāmo 'paśleṣaviṣeṣaḥ'.*

* 1 B. om. 2 W. 'paṣlosh-; G. M. saṁśleṣaviṣeṣaḥ.

यदुपसंहरति तत्करणम् ॥ ३२ ॥

- 32. That is producing organ, which makes the approximation.

Here, "in the case of the vowels" is declared to be implied from the preceding rule; *upasaṃharati*, 'approaches,' is explained by *prāpayati*, 'attains;' and, as example of a *karana*, or producing organ, reference is made to the "tip of the tongue," spoken of in rule 18 of this chapter.

अन्येषां तु यत्र स्पर्शनं तत्स्थानम् ॥ ३३ ॥

33. But in the case of the other letters, that is place of production, where contact is made.

By this expression, the commentator says, simple embrace or union is predicated of the consonants, while above a sort of embrace (or disunion of embrace) was predicated of the vowels. The difference, he adds, between approximation and contact will be inferred by any knowing person from the force of the terms themselves. The word "but" (*tu*) is meant to exclude the vowels; or, as Māhishēya explains it, annuls for *anusvāra* and *svarabhakti* the quality of being produced by contact merely, like the other consonants. This last is a precious bit of pregnant construction; and the whole comment is more obscure than the rule itself, whose meaning and implication are sufficiently obvious.

येन स्पर्शयति तत्करणम् ॥ ३४ ॥

34. That is producing organ, whereby one makes the contact.

The commentator supplies, as subject of the verb, the noun *adhyatā*, 'reader'—or, rather, 'repeater.'

32. *svarānām iti sāmīdhyāt labhyate: svarānām tat karanam bhavati: yat svarān upasaṃharati prāpayati: 'tat karanam'. yathā: jīhvāgram ṛkāra (ii.18) ity ādi.*

¹ B. *tat sthānam*; G. M. om.

33. *svarebhyo 'nyeshām varṇānām tat sthānam yatra sparṇam bhavet: atra vyañjanānām saṃgleshamātrāṇi¹ kathiyate: svarānām tu² puruṣtāt saṃgleshah³ kathitah: upasaṃhārasparṇanayoh⁴ śabdaśaktyā viśeṣho⁵ viduṣhā vijñeyah⁶: tuṣabdal⁷ svaranivṛttyarthah: athavā⁸: anusvārasvarabhaktiyor vyañjanavat⁹ sparṇanamātrakatvanivartaka¹⁰ iti māhishēyabhāṣhitam.*

¹ W. -glosh-; G. M. -mātratvam. ² W. om. ³ G. -shaviṣeshah; M. -shaviṣeshah. ⁴ G. M. -hāra iti sparṇana. ⁵ G. M. ins. *eva*. ⁶ G. M. *jñātavyah*. ⁷ G. M. *śabla*. ⁸ G. M. om. ⁹ W. -nave; B. -na. ¹⁰ B. *sparṇakāṇnamā-*; G. M. *spurṇamātrakāṇnamā-*; M. -vartata.

In these four rules is implied that distinction of opener and closer position between vowel and consonant which constitutes their essential difference (see Journ. Am. Or. Soc'y, viii.367 seq.), and which the Ath. Pr. states more fully (i.29-35 :—where, in rule 33, we should read *eke* 'sprshtam'), with specifications of degree of openness and closure which are here omitted (save so far as represented by rule 45, below).

हन्मूले जिह्वामूलेन कवर्गे स्पर्शयति ॥ ३५ ॥

35. In the *k*-series, one makes contact with the root of the tongue at the root of the jaws.

Compare Ath. Pr. i.20, and the references to the other Prāṭicākhyas there given.

The locative and instrumental cases, in this and the following rules, correspond with the *yatra*, 'where,' and *yena*, 'whereby,' of rules 33 and 34, above, and point out respectively the place and organ of production of the different classes of sounds.

The singular number of *hanūmālu*, 'root of the jaws,' the commentator accounts for as used generically (*jātyapekshāyām*, 'with reference to the whole kind or class').

तालौ जिह्वामध्येन चवर्गे ॥ ३६ ॥

36. In the *c*-series, with the middle of the tongue, upon the palate.

Compare Ath. Pr. i.21, and the note upon it. The sonant aspirate of this series, *jh*, is not met with in the text.

जिह्वाग्रेण प्रतिवेद्य मूर्धनि टवर्गे ॥ ३७ ॥

37. In the *t*-series, with the tip of the tongue, rolled back, in the head.

Compare Ath. Pr. i.22, and the note upon it. Our commentary says, "by the word 'head' (*mūrdhan*) is intended the upper part

34. *sānnidhyād anyeshām iti labhyate: svarebhyo 'nyeshām varṇānām tat' karaṇam bhavati: adhyetā yena vyañjanāni sparśayati prāpayati tat karaṇam.*

35. *kavarga uccāryamāne jihvāmūleṇa¹ hanūmāle sparśayati prāpayet ity arthah. hanvor mūlani hanūmālam²: tasmin³:⁴ jātyapekshāyām⁵ ekavacanam.*

¹ G. M. ins. *varṇam*. ² B. G. M. om. ³ W. B. om. ⁴ G. M. ins. *mūlam iti*. ⁵ W. -*ksham*.

36. *gavarge kārye¹ jihvāmadhyena varṇān² tālāu spr̥ṣet³.*

¹ G. M. put *tālāu* here. ² M. -*nam*. ³ B. *spr̥ṣayet*; G. M. *sparśayet*.

of the mouth-cavity." Perhaps we shall best remove the difficulties attaching to the use of the word "head" in describing this class of sounds, by assuming that the name *mārdhanya*, 'capital,' had become firmly established in use as designating them, at an earlier period of phonetic science in India, when their mode of production was less accurately understood and defined; and was therefore retained by the later grammarians, who gave to it a new definition. For, that *mārdhan* should have been taken directly and without ceremony to signify the 'dome of the palate' does not appear to me possible. As in the notes to the Atharva-Prātiçākhyā, I shall take the liberty of speaking of the *t*-sounds as "lingual"—a term, on the whole, as unobjectionable and as commonly accepted as any other.

The commentator glosses the word *pratīveshtya*, 'having rolled it back,' by "having done what? having rolled back (G. M. add in explanation *aveshtya*, 'having rolled up') the tip of the tongue, on account of its suitableness" (i. e. of the adaptedness of this position to produce the contact aimed at).

निद्धायेण तवर्गे दन्तमूलेषु ॥ ३८ ॥

38. In the *t*-series, with the tip of the tongue, at the roots of the teeth.

Compare Ath. Pr. i.24, and the note upon it.

ओष्ठाभ्यां पवर्गे ॥ ३९ ॥

39. In the *p*-series, with the two lips.

The commentator explains that here the upper lip is the place of production, as the various places of production mentioned have been the upper organ; and that the under lip is the organ of production.

Compare Ath. Pr. i.25, and the note upon it.

37. *tavarge kārye jihvāgreṇa* ¹ *mārdhni* ² *varṇam spr̥ṣet* ³: *kin kṛtvā: yogyatvā* ⁴ *jihvāgram pratīveshtya* ⁵: *mārdhniçabdēna vaktṛavivaroparibhāgo vivakshyate* ⁶.

¹ G. M. put *varṇam* here. ² B. G. M. *mārdhani*. ³ B. *spr̥ṣayet*. ⁴ W. *-tvā*; B. *-tvā taj*; G. *-tvā*; M. *-tvāyogyatvā*. ⁵ G. M. *-shtyāveshtya*. ⁶ G. M. *-kshīta*.

38. *tavarge kārye jihvāgreṇa varṇam dantamūleṣu sparṣayet* ¹.

¹ G. M. *spr̥ṣet*.

39. *pavarge kārya oṣṭhābhyām anyonyam sparṣayet: atro* ¹ *'ttaroshṭha sthānam uttaratvasāmyād* ² *eshām sthānānām: adharoshṭhaḥ karanam*.

¹ W. *tatro*. ² B. *-rātvāt sāmānyād*; G. M. *oṣṭhatva*.

तालौ जिह्वामध्यान्ताभ्यां यकारे ॥४०॥

40. In *y*, with the two edges of the middle of the tongue, upon the palate.

The Tāittirīya-Prāṭicākhya stands alone in omitting to rank the semi-vowels along with the mutes, as palatal, etc., and in describing their formation throughout by special rule. Respecting *y*, see the note to Ath. Pr. i.21.

The description of the mode of production of *y*, here given, is quite accurate and sufficiently distinctive. The "edges" are mentioned, as being the parts which form contact with the palate, the central part remaining open, as taught for *ī* in rule 22, above.

रेफे जिह्वायमध्येन प्रत्यग्दन्तमूलेभ्यः ॥४१॥

41. In *r*, with the middle of the tip of the tongue, back of the roots of the teeth.

Pratyak is explained by the phrase, "in the interior upper portion"—that is, 'within and above'—the equivalence of *pratyag-ātman* and *antarātman*, 'inner soul,' being pleaded as justification.

The somewhat discordant teachings of the Prāṭicākhyas with reference to this sound are detailed in the note to Ath. Pr. i.28. The most noteworthy circumstance in their common treatment of the letter is that they so ignore its special relationship with the lingual mutes, and in part with the *r*-vowels: although in this treatise the definition of the latter (ii.18) is, essentially, nearly accordant with that here given for the semivowel. It could not possibly have the value which belongs to it in the Sanskrit euphonic system, if it were not a lingual semi-vowel, like the English *r*, uttered with the tip of the tongue reverted into the dome of the palate.

दन्तमूलेषु च लकारे ॥४२॥

42. Also in *l*, at the roots of the teeth.

According to the commentator, the "and" (*ca*) of this rule brings down by implication from the preceding both *jihvāgramadhyā*, 'middle of the tongue-tip,' and *pratyak*, 'back from.' It

40. *yakāre kārye jīhvāmadhyāntābhyān tālāu sparṣayet. jīhvāyā madhyam: tasyā 'ntāu: tābhyām jīhvāmadhyāntābhyām*¹.

¹ G. M. om.

41. *rephe kārye jīhvāgramadhyena dantamūlebhyaḥ pratyak sparṣayet: pratyag ity 'abhyantara uparibhāga' ity arthah: 'yah pratyagātme 'ty' antarātmā pratiyate.*

(¹) G. M. -ntaropari. (²) G. M. yathā pratyagātmani.

appears obvious, however, if only from the locative case of *dantamāleshu*, that the latter item is not intended, and that we are to regard the roots of the teeth themselves (more properly, the gums close upon them) as the *sthāna*, or 'place of production,' of *l*. This, indeed, is nearly enough intimated by the final paraphrase of the comment. The really distinctive characteristic of the *l*, that it forms a contact in front, but allows the breath to escape at the sides of the tongue, is here by no means clearly brought out: rather, we are left to infer that it and the *r* are produced in the same manner, only the *r* a little further back. No one of the other treatises gives a better description (see note to Ath. Pr. i.24, where I have given the Tāittiriya definition more credit than really belongs to it).

श्रीष्ठान्ताभ्यां दन्तैर्वकारे ॥ ४३ ॥

43. In *v*, with the edges of the lips, along with the teeth.

This rule cannot be commended for distinctness. The commentator gives it not a little of additional precision, by his paraphrase "with the two edges of the lower lip, along with the points of the upper teeth." But how comes the lower lip to have two edges? He adds, that the teeth are the place, and the lips the organ, of production. But then why does not the rule read *danteshu*, instead of the instrumental *dantāih*? It gives us two instrumentals, as if teeth and lips were joint organs, and neither of them any more "place" than the other. The lower lip, being the more passive organ, should be the "place" on which the teeth, as "organ," make their contact; but from taking this view the treatise and its comment appear to be hindered by the analogy of the other *sthāna*'s, which have uniformly been the upper of the two parts concerned in the contact. To make a good definition, the rule should read *adharoshthānte* for *oshthāntābhyām*.

Of the other treatises (as pointed out in the note to Ath. Pr. i.25), the Vāj. Pr. gives the *v* a description corresponding with this, and showing the letter to have had the precise phonetic value of our English *v*. This, of course, should not in the least stand in the way of our fully recognizing the fact that its original sound was that of our *w*. The *w* is a semi-vowel, standing in the same relation to *u* as *y* to *i*; but to call *v* a semi-vowel is a sim-

42. *cakāro 'jihvāgramadhyapratyaktvaṁ unvādiṣati': lakāre kārye jihvāgramadhyena^a dantamāleshu pratyak sparṣayet^a: ayam arthaḥ: lakārasya 'dantamālapratyāsannam pratyaganta-rapradeṣasthānam^a iti vijñeyam^b.*

⁽¹⁾ G. M. *jihvāmadhyam pratyaktvaṁ cā* "karshati. ⁽²⁾ G. M. *-hvāmadh-*. ⁽³⁾ W. B. put after *vijñeyam*. ⁽⁴⁾ G. M. *-sannapradeṣa sthānam*. ⁽⁵⁾ G. M. *jñeyam*.

43. *vakāre kārye 'dharoshthāntābhyām uttaradantāgrāh saha sparṣayet. dantāir iti sthānanirdeṣaḥ: oshthāntābhyām iti kara-nanirdeṣaḥ.*

ple abuse of terms. We might nearly as well call our *j* a semi-vowel, because it is written with an originally vocalic sign, and represents in the majority of cases a sound which the Romans pronounced as *y*.

स्पर्शस्थानेषूष्माणानुपूर्व्येण ॥ ४४ ॥

44. The spirants, in their order, are produced in the places of the mutes.

By rule i.9, there are six spirants, and as there are but five "places" of mutes, these belong to the first five spirants, as is signified by the expression "in their order:" *h*, therefore, is omitted, and its rules will be given hereafter (rules 46, 47). To this effect the commentator, who also allots the spirants to their respective mute-classes, and cites from the Sanhitā an example for each: namely, for *jihvāmāliya*, uttered in the place of a *k*-mute, *yah kāmāyeta* (ii.3.2⁴ et al.: I follow the example of all the MSS., and do not attempt to distinguish the guttural and labial spirants from *visarjanīya* by different signs); for *ç*, in the place of a *c*-mute, *madhuç ca mādhuvaç ca* (i.4.14, or iv.4.11¹: W. B. omit the last two words of the citation, and W. reads *manyuç ca*, which is found at iv.7.2¹); for *sh*, in the place of a *t*-mute, *ashtābhyah svāhā* (vii.2.15); for *s*, in the place of a *t*-mute, *stanā uparavāh* (vi.2.11⁴); and for *upadhmanīya*, in the place of a *p*-mute, *yah pāpmanā* (ii.3.13²).

To make this rule a definition of the mode of utterance of the spirants, the one next following is to be applied to modify it. Unfortunately, both together are insufficient to give us any clear idea of the two problematical sounds, *jihvāmāliya* and *upadhmanīya*; and there is room for us to suspect them of being, like the long *l*-vowel, an artificial fabrication of the Hindu grammarians. As for the *s*, there is no question as to its value. Nor ought there to be respecting that of the *sh*, which both the explanations of the phonetists and the phenomena of Sanskrit euphony show to have been that particular sibilant (more nearly resembling our *sh* than *s*, but sufficiently distinct from either) which is uttered with the tongue reverted into the dome of the palate. It passes my comprehension how European grammarians should continue to identify

44. ūshmanā ānupūrvyena yathākrameṇa sparśasthāneshū 'ccdranīyā bhavanti. yathā: jihvāmāliyah kavargasthāne: yah k-: çakāraç cavargasthāne': madhuç² ----: shakāraṣṭavar-gasthāne: asht- ----: sakāras tavargasthāne: stanā ----: upa-dhmanīyah pavargasthāne: yah p-: ity ānupūrvyena³: ānupūrvyān' niyamāt pañcasū 'shmasū 'kteshu hākāro viçishṭah': tasya vidhim upariṣṭād ācaṣṭe.

¹ W. cavargiyas-; B. cakāras-. ² W. manyuç. ³ G. M. -vyā vijñeyāh. ⁴ G. M. -nya. ⁵ B. -çeshah; G. M. vasishṭah.

it with our *sh*; and, yet more, how that absurd distinction of the lingual and palatal sibilants (of which, so far as I know, Wilson was the originator) which defines the former as the same with our *sh* in *shun*, and the latter with our *ss* in *session*, can still be repeated in the latest Sanskrit grammars. Absurd I call it, because there is really no difference at all between the pronunciation of *sh* in *shun* and *ss* in *session*. If our *sh* be found in the Sanskrit alphabet, it is the palatal sibilant *ç*, not the lingual, *sh*. The question of the value of *ç* is connected with and depends upon that of the palatal series of mutes; and upon this I have nothing more to say than I said in the note to Ath. Pr. i.21.

करणमध्यं तु विवृतम् ॥ ४५ ॥

45. But the middle of the producing organ is unclosed.

The "but" (*tu*) of this rule, we are told, is intended to annul (so far) the similarity of organ of the spirants with the mutes. This prescription of an unclosure of the middle of the organ is a rather artificial device for saving the credit of the general prescription of actual contact in all the consonants. It is nearly equivalent with the rules of the Ath. Pr. (i.30,31) upon the same subject.

काण्ठस्थानौ हकारविसर्जनीयौ ॥ ४६ ॥

46. The throat is place of production of *h* and *visarjanîya*.

And, the commentator adds, they have no *karana*, or organ of production. As example of *h*, he cites *aharahar havirdhāninām* (ii.5.6³), but leaves *visarjanîya* uninstanced.

The other Prātiçākhyas give a corresponding definition of the utterance of these two sounds (see note to Ath. Pr. i.19). It is too indefinite to be of any particular use to us in determining their phonetic value. But the two rules which next follow in our treatise are very interesting and instructive.

उदयस्वरादिसंस्थानौ हकार एकेषाम् ॥ ४७ ॥

47. In the opinion of some authorities, *h* has the same position as the beginning of the following vowel.

Our commentator first offers the simple paraphrase of this rule

45. *teshām āshmanām karanamadhyam tu vivṛtam bhavati: sparśandām karanasāmnyanivṛtiparas' tuçabduh. karanānām madhyam karanamadhyam.*

¹ B. -*tyartham*.

46. *hakāravisarjanîyau kaṇṭhashāṇdu syātām. kaṇṭhu sthānam yayos tāu tathoktāu. anayoḥ karanābhāvaḥ. ah-----*

which he finds given by one of his three chief authorities, Vararuci, and then proceeds to exhibit his own superior acuteness by a very long, but not very important, discussion of it: a loose version is as follows:

The expression "the same position as the beginning," etc., implies a difference of position in the remainder of the vowel; but there is none such in *a*, *i*, *u*; as a vowel has but a single position, the word "beginning" is superfluous, and the desired result would be secured by saying simply "of the same position with the vowel." That is not so: a difference of position does in fact belong to the remainder of the diphthongs: the two rules (ii.28, 29) which teach that *i* and *u* form the final elements of *āi* and *āu* assure the difference of position for those two sounds; in like manner, a difference of position is to be remarked as prescribed in general grammar [though not in this treatise] for the final elements of *e* and *o*, they being included in the category of diphthongs. But again: even granting that, the utterance in the throat of this very *a* which makes the initial element of the diphthongs is taught by the rule, "the throat is the place of production of *a*, the *k*-mutes, *h*, and *visarjaniya*;" hence, as sameness of position [with the *a*, as throat-sound] is prescribed by the preceding rule, this rule is open to the charge of superfluous repetition. You must not think so, is the reply; there is a difference between the *a* which forms the beginning of *e* and *o* and an *a* standing by itself: to the latter belongs the description given above in rule 12, "the lips and jaws not too widely separated," etc.; to the other, that of rule 27, "with the organ of production more closed;" therefore, as place and organ correspond to one another, the expression "of the same position as the beginning" is to be understood as meaning "of the same place and organ as the beginning." Moreover, in the former rule the absence of an organ of production was taught, but here is implied also the presence of such; hence a difference of opinions comes to light, and not merely a superfluous repetition. .

47. *ekeshām mate hakāra¹ udayasvarādisasthāna ātmana upari svarādisasthāno² bhavati 'ti vārarucoktam³ syād etat. ādinā⁴ sasthāna ity ukte śeshasya sthānāntaratva⁵ vaktavyam tad apy akārekārokāreshu nā 'sti: ' svarasyāi⁶ kam eva 'sthānam⁷ ity ādicābdavāyarthyanī syāt: svarasasthāna⁸ ity etāvatai⁹ vā 'rthāsiddhir¹⁰ iti: māi¹¹ 'vam: sandhyakshareshu śeshasya¹² sthānāntaropapatteḥ: ikāro 'dhyardhaḥ (ii.28) iti sūtrātītyayena śeshabhātavarnavyaktāu¹³ tayo¹⁴ sthānāntaram¹⁵ api prasiddham eva: evam¹⁶ ekārdūkārayor api vyākaraṇe¹⁷ śeshasya sthānāntaram¹⁸ vihitam¹⁹ vijñeyam: sandhyaksharatvaviśeṣhād anayoh²⁰ nanv evam²¹ apy akūhavisarjanīyānām kanṭha iti sandhyaksharādāv akārasyā²² pi kanṭhasthānatvāt tena samānasthānatve²³ kathyamāne²⁴ pūrvasūtroktena²⁵ pūnaruktyam asya²⁶ sūtrasya*

Any detailed criticism of this cunning argument would certainly be open to the charge of superfluity, and I shall not attempt it.

A few further examples of the occurrence of *h*, before the various diphthongs, are added: *tigmahete* (i.2.14²), *yāvātir vāsūmahāi* (vii.5.2¹), *agnihotraṁ juhōti* (i.5.9¹), *samprayatir ahāu* (v.6.1²).

The acuteness of observation of the "some authorities" who have made this definition of the character of a *h* certainly deserves respectful, if not admiring, acknowledgment. It is the peculiarity of the aspiration, that it is an emission of unintonated breath through the same position of the mouth-organs by which the following intonated sound receives its character: thus, the *h* of *ha* is a surd *a*, so to speak; that of *he*, a surd *e*; that of *who*, a surd *u*; that of *hue*, a surd *y*; and so on (see Journ. Am. Or. Soc'y, viii.370 seq.). The rule would have been made better by reading *udayavarna*, instead of *udayasvarādi*—"the following sound," instead of "the beginning of the following vowel"—for the assimilation is not less true of the semi-vowels and nasals than of the vowels.

पूर्वांतसस्यानो विसर्जनीयः ॥ ४८ ॥

48. *Visarjanīya* has the same position as the end of the preceding vowel.

The commentator does not tell us whether this definition is to be looked upon as, like the preceding, expressing the opinion of "some authorities," or as having the unqualified approval of the *Pratīcākhya*. From his silence we should infer the latter, but the connection gives reason for presuming the former. He paraphrases: "*visarjanīya* is of like position—that is, of like place and organ—with the end of the vowel that precedes itself;" and adds that

*syāt. māi 'vam maṁsthāh: ekārāṁkārādivartino*¹⁹ *'kārasya kevalasya ca viṣesho 'sti: kevalasya*²⁰ *karaṇaṁ oshṭhahānu nā 'tivyastam* (ii.12) *iti*²¹: *sandhyaksharādāu vartamānasya tu samvṛtakaraṇataram* (ii.27): *tasmāt sthānakaraṇayoḥ saha-caritatvād*²² *ādisasthāna ity ukta ādisamānasthānakaraṇa*²³ *iti vijñeyam. kim ca: pūrvasātre karaṇābhāva ity*²⁴ *uktah: atra tu karaṇavattvam api*²⁵ *vidyata iti matāntaram upapadyate: na pūnaruktyam ca. tathā*²⁶: *tig: yāv-...: agn-...: sam-...: udayaṣabda uttaraparyāyah*²⁷: *udayaṣ cā 'sāu*²⁸ *svaraṣ ca*²⁹: *tasyā*³⁰ *dih: tena sasthānah.*

¹ G. M. put before *ekeshām*. ² G. M. *udayasvar-*. ³ W. B. *var-*. ⁴ W. *ddi*.
⁵ G. M. *-taram*. ⁶ G. M. ins. *tathā sati*. ⁽¹⁾ W. *'kashānam evam*. ⁽²⁾ B. om.
⁸ G. M. *svarasya sa-*. ¹⁰ G. M. om. *artha*; G. M. *-dher*. ¹¹ G. M. *-bhūtaṁ v-*.
¹² G. M. *tasyā*. ¹³ G. M. om. ¹⁴ G. M. *-na*. ¹⁵ G. M. *sthā-*. ¹⁶ G. M. *kalpy-*.
¹⁷ G. M. *-vak-*. ¹⁸ G. M. *eva tasya*. ¹⁹ G. M. *-rayor ddi-*. ²⁰ W. ins. *tu*. ²¹ G. M.
nā 'tyupasaṁhṛtaṁ ca; B. no *'pasamhṛtaṁ*. ²² W. B. *-rivād*. ²³ W. *-sthāna*.
²⁴ G. M. om. ²⁵ G. M. om. ²⁶ G. M. om. ²⁷ G. M. *udayasvarādisasthānah*.
²⁸ G. M. om. *asāu*. ²⁹ G. M. ins. *udayasvarah*.

here too the language of the rule is aimed at the diphthongs, since no other vowel exhibits any difference of position between its end and its beginning. His examples, again, are only of *visarjanīya* after a diphthong: they are *agneh* (i.1.10³ et al.), *brāhmaṇāir āyushmat* (ii.3.10³), *bāhuvoṛ balam* (v.5.9²), and *ā'yam gāruḥ* (i.5.3¹). In the second and third of these passages, only the first word should have been quoted, in order to exhibit the *visarjanīya*.

The teachings of the other Prāṭicākhyas respecting the *visarjanīya* are rehearsed in the note to Ath. Pr. i.19. All are so indefinite as really to teach us nothing respecting the phonetic value of the sound. The present rule alone gives us positive and precise information, teaching us to regard it as, like the *h*, a simple-uncharacterized breathing, a kind of final *h*.

नासिक्या नासिकास्थानाः ॥ ४९ ॥

49. The nose-sounds have the nose as their place of production.

The "nose-sounds," the commentary says, are the *yamas* (xxi. 12,13); but why the *nāsikya* (xxi.14) should not be regarded as included among them I do not see. Any discussion of their phonetic character may be best deferred until the chapter where the rules for their occurrence are given. As examples of the nose-sounds are quoted *rukman anturam* (v.1.10³: but G. M. B. give instead *rukmanṭam*, ii.2.3³), *yācñā* (i.5.7⁴: but G. M. give instead *rājñā*, ii.6.2² et al.), *ātndrah* (v.6.5³); *ratnam abhajānta* (ii.6.12¹; but G. M. give instead, if it be not merely a corrupted reading, *uccā ratnam ayajānta*, which I have not found in the *Sanhitā*), and *pāpmānam* (i.4.41 et al.).

मुखनासिक्या वा ॥ ५० ॥

50. Or they are produced by the mouth and nose.

Respecting this alternative explanation nothing need be said at present.

48. *visarjanīya ātmanah pūrvasvarāntena sasthānaḥ samāna-sthānakaraṇo bhavati: atrā'pi pūrvasvara iti sandhyaksharam ucyaṭe: svarānturasya' hī' sthānāntaratvābhāvāt. yathā: ag-: brāh-: bāh-: ā-: pūrvasyā'ntah: tena sasthāntah pūrvāntasasthānaḥ.*

¹ W. B. -ntasya. ² B. om.; G. M. bhinna. ³ B. om. ⁴ B. om. ⁵ B. om.

49. *nāsikyā yamā nāsikāsthānā bhavanti. yathā: ruk-: yā: āt-: rat-: pāp-.*

50. *ta' eva nāsikyā mukhanāsikābhyām² uccāranīyā bhavanti. mukhaṁ ca nāsikā' ca mukhanāsike': tatsambandhino mukhanāsikyāḥ. 'uktāny evo'dāharanāni.*

¹ G. M. eta. ² G. M. mukhena nāsikābhyām ca. ³ G. M. -ke. ⁴ G. M. -kam. ⁵ G. M. put after bhavanti.

वर्गवच्चेषु ॥५१॥

51. And, in them, the organ of production is as in the series of mutes.

The “and” (*ca*) of this rule, the commentator says, brings forward, on the principle of ‘the lion’s look’ (a distant glance backward: the phrase is used several times later in like cases), the already defined organs of production of the various mute series.

If the mouth be regarded as bearing a part in the production of the nose-sounds or *yamas*, in a way which is determined by the mode of formation of the mutes to which they are attached, it is difficult to see how their number can be restricted to four, as it is in the “list of sounds” given at the beginning of the treatise, and in the comment on rule xxi.12.

नासिकाविवरणादानुनासिक्यं नासिकाविवरणादानु- नासिक्यम् ॥५२॥

52. Nasal quality is given by the unclosing of the nose.

Anunāsikya is the quality of being *anunāsika* or ‘nasal;’ and this name, as prescribed by rule 30, above, and fully supported by the usage of the treatise elsewhere, belongs to *anusvāra* and the various nasal consonants. The definition of the manner in which the quality is communicated is quite unexceptionable; the organs of the mouth remaining in the positions already given for the various classes and single sounds, the opening of the nasal passage, and the utterance through it of a part or the whole of the emitted material, makes the corresponding nasal sound.

The commentator explains *nāsikāvivarana* by *ghrāṇabila*, ‘hole of the nose, nasal passage,’ as if *vivarana* signified the opening or cavity, instead of the act of opening or unclosing. His choice of an example also seems to betray a want of appreciation of the true scope of the rule: it is *suṣṭhokāśāṇ sumāṅgalāśāṇ* (i.8.16²).

51. *siṅhāvalokanena*¹ *vargasyo* ‘*ktam*’ *karaṇam cakāro* ‘*nukar-shati*: *eshu*’ *nāsikyeshu* *vargavat karaṇam bhavati*. *vargasye* ‘*va*’ *vargavat*.

¹ G. M. *kananyadyena*. ² G. M. (as also in the text of the rule itself) *eteshu*.

52. *nāsikāvivaranaḍ ghrāṇabilāḍ* *anunāsikyam raṅgāḍi kar-tavyam*. *yathā*¹: *suṣ*---- *ity ādi*.

iti tribhāṣhyaratne prātiṣākhyavivaran
dvitīyo ‘*dhyāyāḥ*.

¹ G. M. *nāsikāb*. ² B. *tathā*; W. om.

CHAPTER III.

CONTENTS: 1, introductory; 2-6, cases of *d* at the end of the first member of a compound, requiring to be shortened in divided text; 7, of *i* and *u*; 8-12, of final *d* of verbal forms and particles; 13-14, of final *i* and *u*; 15, of initial *d*.

अथादावुत्तरे विभागे इत्स्वं व्यञ्जनपरः ॥ १ ॥

1. Now then—at the beginning or end of a word, a vowel, in case of separation, if followed by a consonant, becomes short as hereinafter set forth.

Matters of introductory explanation, of interpretation of the rules of the treatise, and of phonetic theory, being now for the present disposed of (for they are resumed, in a supplementary way, in some of the concluding chapters), the task of determining the readings of the Sanhitā is taken up. And the first subject dealt with is that of the irregular prolongations of vowels—chiefly final *a*, *i*, and *u*—which are so frequent in all the Vedic texts. In the other treatises (Rik Pr. vii.-ix., Vāj. Pr. iii.95-128, Ath. Pr. iii.1-25), the rules tell us in what situations a vowel originally short is lengthened: this is more in accordance with the general method of the Prātiçākhyas, which take for granted, upon the whole, the existence of their *çākhās* in the analyzed condition of the *pada*-text, and proceed to construct the *saṁhitā* from it. Here, on the contrary, we are told what vowels, long in the ordinary text, are to be shortened when thrown out of combination with their surroundings. Such dissolution of the continuity of the text takes place, first, in *pada*, whenever a pause—either the *avagraha* separating the two members of a compound, in its repetition after *iti*, or the longer pause that divides between two words—comes to stand between the vowel in question and the consonant which was its next neighbor in *saṁhitā*: thus, *devāyata iti deva-yate*; *ava: nah* (s. *avā nah*). Second, it is made in the so-called *jaṭā*-text, examples of which are often quoted in the sequel, and to which the rules of the treatise are in more than one instance adapted; this text is constructed by thrice repeating each pair of words—first in

1. *athe 'ty ayam adhikārah: ādāu padādāv uttare padānte ca vartamānaḥ saṁhitāyām yo dīrgho 'sau vibhāge vibhāgasamaye vyañjanaparo hrasvam āpadyate: ' vyañjanaparātvam' atra ya-thāsaṁhitāsthām vijñeyam. nanu dīrghaḥ katham labhyate. 'hrasvānantarabhāvitvād dev āçikā (iii.2) 'digrahaneshu plutā-darçande ce' 'ti brāmaḥ. saṁhitāyām ity asyā 'yam arthah': karyabhājah padasyo 'ttarapadena saha sambandhaniyamah': 'na tu pārvapadena saha sambandhaniyamah'. vibhāgo 'tra*

their natural order, then inverted, then in the natural order again: for example, *āpo hi śthā mayobhuvah* would become *āpo hi hy āpa āpo hi: hi śthā stha hi hi śthā: sthā mayobhuvo mayobhuva stha sthā mayobhuvah: Mayobhuva iti mayah-bhuvah*: the treatment of the *ā* of *sthā* here illustrates the conditions of the restoration of the short vowel in such cases. Third, the same restoration takes place in the *samhitā*-text of the existing manuscripts and in the edition founded upon them, when the lengthened vowel happens to come at the end of one of those passages, of just fifty words each, into which the *anuvākas* or sections of the *Sanhitā* are divided. This division the Prātiśākhya does not recognize—or, at any rate, does not notice—not infrequently quoting in *sandhi*, without remark, words which are separated by it (for example, under rule 13, below, *uḥmasi gamadhye*, i.3.6¹⁻², where the edited text reads correctly *uḥmasi: 1: gamadhye*).

The comment upon this rule may be loosely translated, or paraphrased, as follows:

Here *atha*, 'now then,' is an introductory heading; *ādāu* [literally, 'at the beginning'] means 'at the beginning of a word' [including, also, a separable part of a compound word]; *uttare* [literally, 'in the latter part'] means 'at the end of a word:' a vowel occupying such a position, if it be long in *samhitā*, becomes short *vibhāge*, i. e. 'in case of separation,' when followed by a consonant—that is to say, when so followed in *samhitā*. But whence is derived the limitation to a "long" vowel? We answer, from its conversion into a short, and from the non-occurrence of any protracted (*phuta*) vowels among the instances included in the rules. The limitation "in *samhitā*" implies that the word whose form is in question is placed in euphonic connection with the word that follows it; not, however, with the word that precedes it [unless, as should be excepted, its initial vowel, instead of its final, is the one liable to change of quantity]. "Separation" (*vibhāga*) is to be understood as division from the words with which it stands in natural or original connection—that is, according to the reading of the fundamental text: otherwise, in the *ajāta*-text of the two words *sthā mayobhuvah* (see above), the *sthā* would retain its long *ā* in its second repetition, because of its standing in euphonic connection with the following word: and that should not be so. The sense of the word *vibhāga* is, in case of a long initial vowel, separation from the preceding word; in case of a long final, from the

prakṛtipadāir ucyate: prakṛtir nāma yathāpāthah: prakṛtipadāir iti kim: sthā m- ity atra jātāyām sthāgabdasya dvitīyocchrāṇe 'pi dirghah prasajyeta': uttarapadena vibhāgābhāvāt: sa mā bhād iti parihārah. vibhāgapadasyā 'yam arthah: padādāu¹⁰ dirghasya pūrvapadena vibhāgah: padānte¹¹ dirghasyo 'ttarapadena vibhāgah. vibhāge, vyañjanapara iti kim: ṛt---- ity atra mā bhād iti: nādhāmādhārayā (iii.8) iti prāptih. samhitāyām¹² dirgha iti kim: eṣa---- ity atra prāptisampādanārthan:

following word. The limitation "in case of separation, if followed by a consonant" is for the sake of excluding such cases as *ṛadadhā-mā 'si* (i.3.3: in separated form, *ṛadadhāmā: asi*), which would otherwise come under the rule iii.8 [among the specifications of which, *dhāmā* is included]. The limitation "a long vowel in *samhitā*" is intended to bring *esha vo bharatā rājā* (i.8.10² et al.; *pada*-text, *bharatāh*) under the action of the rules; since thus, and not otherwise, is pertinence given to the word *yājyā* in rule 11 of this chapter. Undue extension of the prescription to such cases as *tvā vāyavaḥ* (i.1.1) is provided against by the rules that follow [since these specify all the cases in which it is to be applied].

The only difficulty arising in connection with the understanding of this rule, or of the interpretation of it given by the commentator, grows out of the specification *vyañjanapara*, 'followed by a consonant.' Respecting this, we are explicitly told, near the beginning of the exposition, "the being followed by a consonant is to be understood here of the condition of things in the *samhitā*-text"—that is to say, any long vowel which appears in *samhitā* as a final, with a consonant following it, is to be regarded as falling under the rules of the chapter. This specification, then, makes the rules apply to such cases as *bharatā rājā* (the example quoted by the commentator: the *pada*-reading is *bharatāh: rājā*) and *adhā mā* (quoted under rule 9; *pada*-reading *adhāh: mā*), and they have to be specially allowed for and excepted—as is done in rules 9 and 11. It seems very strange, now, to have this implication made, requiring as a consequence that all the words which by euphonic processes come to exhibit in *samhitā* a long final vowel (*ā*) should be taken into consideration: but the number of cases actually needing to be guarded against in the rules on account of it is very small. For, in the first place, the question can arise only in regard to the words specially mentioned in the rules; and among these there are not many for which homophonous forms in *āh* or *āi* occur; and of these, again, only a part would occur otherwise than before a vowel, in which situation the hiatus would betray the omission of the former final element. The makers of the treatise, then, appear to have thought it safer to avoid a possible confusion of *adhā* from *adhāh* with *adhā* from *adhā*, and so on, by making the rules apply in general to both cases, and specially excepting the former. And this is what they have attempted to do: and it has cost them only two additional words—*agniyā-jye* in rule 9, and *yājyāsu* in rule 11—together with an artifice of

tathā sati bharatā yājyāsu (iii.11) *iti yājyāpadam sārthakam na 'nyāthā. vyāñjanam asmāt param*¹³ *iti vyāñjanaparah. tvā.... ity ādāv etallakṣaṇasambhavād*¹⁴ *ativyāptim*¹⁵ *uttara-sūtrāḥ pariharati.*

¹ G. M. ins. *padāntu ca padānte ca yo dirgho vyañjanottaro vibhāge kriyamāne hravān sañyāti.* ² G. M. -nam. ³ M. om.; G. hravānt-. ⁴ G. om. ca. ⁵ G. M. -dhah. ⁶ W. om. ⁷ G. M. -yate. ⁸ G. M. om. ⁹ G. M. -gaṇabā. ¹⁰ W. ādādi. ¹¹ W. -nta. ¹² G. M. ins. *yo.* ¹³ G. M. -ra. ¹⁴ G. M. eva tal-. ¹⁵ W. atiprā-

construction under rule 8, in connection with the word *prānāh*. Without a complete *index verborum* to the *Sanhitā*, or a laboriously minute examination of the whole text with reference to this particular point, I cannot tell just how nearly successful their attempt has been; but I have, I believe, discovered at least one case which they have overlooked. At i.4.24, namely, we read *rakshā mākih* (p. *rakshāh*), and, by rule 8, the *ā* of *rakshā* should be shortened. That the section containing these words was really a part of the text for which the *Prātigākhyā* was constructed is proved by the fact that two of its peculiarities of reading are provided for in later rules (vi.5 and xi.13).

But with the interpretation thus given appears to be quite at variance the phrase containing the illustration *rtadhāmā'si*, where *vibhāge* and *vyañjanaparaḥ* are immediately connected, and made to mean 'followed by a consonant in separated text' (not *rtadhāmā: asi*). This I can hardly believe to be a genuine part of the commentary. The second *ā* of *rtadhāmā'si* cannot be said to be either final or initial: it is a combination of both: it does not furnish a case to which the rules of the chapter apply with any propriety, as the *saṁhitā* reading cannot be affected by them. If not some later meddler, then the commentator himself, has suffered himself to be scared by an imaginary difficulty, and has unnecessarily twisted the rule a little awry in order to its removal.

The specification *vibhāge*, 'in case of separation,' applies in the *Tāittirīya pada*-text more generally and more strictly than in those of the other *Vedas*. Where the separation of a compound is suspended on account of its further composition, the restoration of its natural form is suspended also: and we read, for example, *virya-vat*, but *vīryāvat-tara*; *viśva-mitra*, but *vīśvāmītra-jamudagnī*; *anu-yāja* and *ananu-yāja*, but *prayāja-anūyāja*, and so on—and we shall find illustrations hereafter in connection with other changes than prolongation of vowels. Thus, also, in the full *pada*-readings, the word is given first, before *iti*, in its *saṁhitā* form, without change (except euphonic combination with the *iti*); and this part of the reading I shall accordingly usually omit in quoting the *pada*-text, setting down only the separated and restored form which follows *iti*, or the part which corresponds to the entire reading of the *Rik* and *Atharvan pada*-texts.

देवाशीकासुम्नाश्चर्तावयुनांहृदयाधोक्याशुद्धा ॥ २ ॥

2. *Devā, śikā, sumnā, çvā, rīā, vayunā, hrdayā, aghā,*

2. *ity eteshu grahaneshv avagraheshv¹ antyasvaro vibhāge vyañjanaparo hrasvam āpadyate. yathā: dev-----: śik-----: sumn-----: dyāv-----: 'apy akarādī' (i.52) iti vacanād² idam apy-udāharanum³: açv-----: rt-----: vay-----: hrđ-----: agh-----: ukth-----: āpo-----.*

¹ G. M. om. ² B. om. ³ G. M. *sātrād*. ⁴ G. M. *-hartavyam*.

ukthā, and *çuddhā*, as first members of a compound, shorten their final when separated.

This and the following rules, including the seventh, properly form one connected passage, with the specification *ity avagrahaḥ*, 'these, as former members of a compound,' which applies alike to them all, standing at the end.

The examples quoted from the Sanhitā in illustration of the rule are as follows. For *devā*: *devāyate yajamānāya çarma* (iii.5.5³: G. M. omit the last word of the citation), the only case, so far as I have noted, for *devāyant*; we have *devayate* (with short vowel) twice, at i.2.12³ and ii.5.9³: *devāyuvam* occurs ii.5.9⁶ and iv.1.1³, but *devayuh*, iii.5.11¹. For *çikā*, *çikāyate svāhā* (vii.5.11²), the only case. For *sumnā*, *sumnāyanto harāmahe* (i.5.11⁴), also alone. For *çvā*, *dyāvāprthivya çvāvīt* (v.5.20): *çvā*, however, by rule i.5², includes *açvā*, for which is quoted *açvāvatiṁ somavatiṁ* (iv.2.6⁴); I have noted farther only iii.3.11¹, but feel less than usual confidence in the completeness of my excerption. For *rtā*, *rtāyavah purā 'nnam akṣan* (ii.2.5⁵: G. M. omit the last word of the citation): there are more than twenty such cases in the text, for the themes *rtāyu* (e. g. i.4.5: but *rtayu* once, ii.2.12⁴), *rtāyant* (e. g. iv.2.9³), *rtāvan* (e. g. i.3.14²) and its feminine *rtāvārī* (e. g. i.1.3), *rtāvordh* (e. g. i.4.5), and *rtāsah* (iii.4.7¹: but this word reads in *pada* as in *sanhitā*). For *vayunā*, *vayunāvid eka it* (i.2.13¹ and iv.1.1¹). For *hṛdayā*, *hṛdayāvidhaç cit* (i.4.45¹). For *aghā*, *aghāyavo mā gandharvo viçvārusur ādadhat* (i.2.9: G. M. omit after *gandharvah*): other cases of *aghāyu* are found. at iii.3.11¹: iv.1.10³; 5.10⁴: v.7.3¹; and of *aghāyant*, ii.3.14¹. For *ukthā*, *ukthāmādānān dhenuh* (ii.4.11⁶): the same compound occurs again at iii.3.2¹ and v.6.8⁶, and *ukthāyu* at i.4.12, twice. For *çuddhā*, *āpo devīḥ çuddhāyuvah* (i.3.8² and vi.3.8⁴).

इन्द्रा वदन्वान्यः ॥३॥

3. Also *indrā*, when followed by *vat*, *van* and *vān*.

One example is quoted by the commentator for each of the three cases enumerated: *indrāvatim apacitīm ihā 'vaha* (v.7.4³: G. M. omit after *apacitīm*), *indrāvanto murutaḥ* (iv.7.14¹), and *indrāvānt svāhā* (i.1.12); and I have noted no others. As counter-examples, he quotes: first, to show that not every long *ā* is to be shortened before the three syllables named, *ūrṇāvāntam prathamah sīda yonim* (iii.5.11¹: G. M. give only the first two words), *asura prajāvān* (iii.1.11¹: but B. reads, I presume only by an

3. *indre 'ty asminn' avagrahe 'ntyasvaro vad van vān ity evamparā vikhāge hrusvam-āpadyate. yathā': ind-.....: ind-.....: ind-..... indre 'ti kim: ūrn-.....: as-.....: praj-..... evampara iti kim: ind-.....*

¹ G. M. *etasminn*. ² G. M. om.

error, *pratāpavān*), and *prajāvatir anamivā ayakshmāh* (i.1.1: but omitted in G. M.); second, to show that *indrā* is not altered except under the circumstances specified, *indrāvaruṇayor aham* (ii.5.12²). This last is a case in which no *vibhāga*, or 'separation,' would be made in any text of the other Vedas; but the Tāittirīya *padu* reads *indrāvaruṇayor itī 'ndrā-varuṇayoḥ*, and the example is therefore to the purpose.

चित्रा वपरः ॥४॥

4. Also *citrā*, when followed by *v*.

The illustrative passage cited is *citrāvaso svasti te pāram aṣṭya* (i.5.5⁴ and 7⁵: G. M. omit after *te*). As counter-examples, are given *mitrāvaruṇāv eva* (ii.1.7³ et al.: 'p. *mitrā-varuṇā*), and *citrāpārnāmāse diksheran* (vii.4.8²)—the former to show the necessity of the restriction to *citrā*, the latter, of the restriction to sequence by a *v*. I have found no farther instances falling under the rule.

प्रस्थेन्द्रियाद्रविणाविश्वदेव्यादीर्धावीर्याविश्वावातांवा-
भङ्गुराकर्णिकावृष्णिग्यासुगोपकसामाधासत्रावर्षाषुष्यामे-
धाप्रास्वा ॥५॥

5. Also *prasthā*, *indriyā*, *draviṇā*, *viṣvadevyā*, *dirghā*, *vīryā*, *viṣvā*, *vātā*, *tvā*, *bhaṅgurā*, *karnakā*, *vrshṇiyā*, *sugopā*, *rksāmā*, *aghā*, *satrā*, *varshā*, *pushpā*, *meghā*, *prā*, *svā*.

For each of these words, the commentator cites a single example. For *prasthā*, *prasthāvad rathavāhanam* (iv.2.5⁶), the only case. For *indriyā*, *indriyāvate puroddāgam* (ii.2.7¹): half a dozen cases of this word occur in the text, and several of *indriyāvin* (e. g. i.6.2⁴: ii.1.6³: vi.2.10⁶); the latter word, however, is not separated in the *pada*-text. For *draviṇā*, *draviṇāvatāḥ kurute* (v.3.11²), the only case. For *viṣvadevyā*, *viṣvadevyāvate śatrāḥ* (i.4.1¹): the word occurs also at iv.1.6^{1,2}. For *dirghā*, *dirghādhiyo rakshamānāḥ* (ii.1.11⁴), the only case. For *vīryā*, *vīryāvantam abhimātiśākam* (i.2.7): the same theme is found in other passages, as are also its comparative, *vīryāvat-tara* (e. g. i.7.6³), and superlative, *vīryāvat-tama* (ii.4.2¹), in which the shortening of the *ā* is not authorized by the Prātiśākhya, since, in the division, it does not stand next before the pause: and the *pada*-text reads accordingly. For *viṣvā*, *viṣvāmitrasya śaktam bhavati* (v.2.3^{3,4}: G. M. omit

4. *citrā ity asminn¹ avagrahe 'ntyasvaro vakāraparo² vibhāge³ hrasvam āpadyate. yathā³: cit-..... citre 'ti kim: mitr-..... vapāra iti kim: citr-.....*

¹ G. M. *etasminn*. ² G. M. *vap*. ³ G. M. *om*.

the last word): the same word occurs in other passages (iv.3.2²: v.2.3^{3,4}, 10⁵; 4.2²), as also in the compound *viçvāmitrajamad-agnī* (v.4.11³), where, as the division is *viçvāmitra-jamadagnī*, the *ā* is not shortened; and we have further the themes *viçvāvasu* (e. g. i.1.11¹), *viçvāvant* (iii.5.6²), *viçvārdj* (i.3.2¹), and *viçvāsah* (i.4.17; p. *viçva-sāham*). For *vātā*, *vātāvad varshan* (ii.4.7¹), the only case. For *tvā*, *tvāvato maghonah* (ii.2.12⁸; p. *tvā-vatah*): the Rik *pada*-text does not shorten the *ā* of this word. For *bhaṅgurā*, *bhettāram bhaṅgurāvatah* (i.5.6⁴ and iv.1.2⁵). For *karnakā*, *sārmā karnakāvaty etayā* (i.5.7⁶ and v.4.7³: G. M. omit the first word, W. B. the last). For *vrshniyā*, *vrshniyāvatas tava* (iii.5.6²⁻³). For *sugopā*, *sa sugopātamo janah* (iv.2.11²; p. *sugopā-tamah*: G. M. omit the first word): the Rik *pada* writes *su-gopā-tamah*. For *ṛksāmā*, *ṛksāmābhyān yajushā* (i.2.3³ and iii.1.1⁴). For *aghā*, *aghāçvād evāi 'nam antor eti bhūtam* (iii.1.7²; p. *agha-çvāt*: G. M. omit the last two words); the Rik and Atharvan *pada*-texts write *agha-açva*: the themes *aghāyu* (e. g. i.2.9¹) and *aghā-yant* (ii.3.14¹) are also found in the Saṁhitā. For *satrā*, *satrājītam dhanajītam* (iv.1.1³; p. *satra-jitam*): the word *satrā* occurs repeatedly (e. g. i.6.12¹) uncompound, and maintains its long final in the *pada*-text also. For *varshā*, *varshāhvām juhōti* (ii.4.10³; p. *varsha-hvām*). For *pushpā*, *pushpāvatiḥ supippalāh* (iv.1.4⁴ and v.10⁵). For *meghā*, *meghāyate svāhā* (vii.5.11¹; p. *megha-yate*; in the same division occurs also *meghāyishyate*, which is not divided: *meghayanti* is found at iv.4.5¹). For *prā*, *prāvanebhiḥ sajoshasah* (iv.2.4³; p. *pra-vanebhiḥ*); the Rik *pada*-text writes this word *pravana*, without separation: other words beginning with *prā* are *prāsah* (e. g. i.3.14⁶; p. *pra-sahā*), *prāçrṅga* (ii.1.3^{4,5}), *prāsaca* (vii.5.11¹; not divided in *pada*-text), *prākāça* (i.8.18; also not divided), and *prāvṛta* (iv.6.2² et al.; also not divided). And for *svā*, *svādhiyam janayat sūdayac ca* (i.3.14⁶; p. *svā-dhiyam*): but this the Rik *pada*-text writes *su-ādhiyam*.

लोकएवेशा ॥ ६ ॥

6. Also *ishtëā*, after *loke* and *eva*.

The commentator cites the two cases: *saṁ amushmiṇ loka ish-tāpārtena* (iii.3.8⁵ twice: G. M. omit the first word), and *sa tv eve 'sh-tāpārti* (i.7.3³; p. *ishta-pārti*). Then, to show that *ishtëā* after other words remains unchanged, he quotes *prati jāgrhy enam ish-tāpārte saṁ srjethām ayanī ca* (iv.7.13⁵; p. *ishtë-pārte*: W. B.

5.ity eteshv avagraheshv antyasvaro vibhāge vyañja-naparo hrasvam āpadyate. yathā: pras-----: inḍr-----: drav-----: viçv-----: dīr-----: vir-----: viçv-----: vāt-----: tvā-----: bhett-----: sār-----: vrsh-----: sa-----: ṛks-----: agh-----: satr-----: varsh-----: pushp-----: megh-----: prāv-----: svā-----.

omit before *enam*, G. M. after *-pārte*); and the same mode of treatment is followed by the *padu*-text at v.7.7², which is the only other case I have noted. The ground of this difference does not appear. To show, further, that only *ishtā* shortens its *ā* in the defined position, the passage *sākshād eva prajāpataye* (v.1.2⁵) is given.

शक्तीरथीविषीवाशीरात्रोषध्याद्भुतीव्याद्भुतीस्वाहा-
कृतीह्रादुनीशचीचितीश्रोणीपृष्ठीपृत्यभीचर्षणीपर्यधीपा-
रीशत्रूविषूवसूअनूहूनूसूविभू इत्यवग्रहः ॥७॥

7. Also *çaktî*, *rathî*, *tvishî*, *vâçî*, *râtrî*, *oshadhî*, *âhutî*, *vyâhrtî*, *svâhâkrtî*, *hrâdunî*, *çacî*, *citî*, *çronî*, *prshî*, *pâtî*, *abhî*, *carshanî*, *parî*, *adhî*, *pârî*, *çatrû*, *vishû*, *vasû*, *anû*, *hanû*, *sû*, *vibhû*—all these, as first members of a compound.

To the passages cited by the commentator I add, as above, notice of other cases which I have found in the text. For *çaktî*, the sole instance is *çaktîvanto gabhîrâh* (iv.6.6³). For *rathî*, *rathî-tamâu rathînâm* (iv.7.15³). For *tvishî*, *saspînjardya tvishîmate pathînâm* (iv.5.2¹: W. B. omit the last word, G. M. the first). For *vâçî*, *te vâçîmanta ishminah* (ii.1.11² and iv.2.11² * G. M. omit the last word). For *râtrî*, *râtrîbhir asubhnan* (ii.4.1¹): if there are other cases, I have failed to note them. For *oshadhî*, *oshadhîbhyo vehatam dlabheta* (ii.1.5³: G. M. omit the last word): I have noted half a dozen other cases, but they are not worth reporting. For *âhutî*, *âhutibhir andyâjeshu* (ii.6.9⁴). For *vyâhrtî*, *etâbhir vyâhrtîbhih* (i.6.10² and v.5.5³). For *svâhâkrtî*, *svâhâkrtîbhyah preshye 'ty âha* (vi.3.9⁵: G. M. omit the last two words). For *hrâdunî*, *svâhâ hrâdunîbhyah svâhâ* (vii.4.13: G. M. omit the first word, W. B. the last). For *çacî*, *viçvâ râpâ 'bhî cashte çacîbhih* (iv.2.5⁴⁻⁵: W. B. omit before *cashte*). For *citî*, *citîbhyâm upâyan* (v.7.5⁷). For *çronî*, *çronîbhyâñ svâhâ* (vii.3.16²): another case is found at v.7.15. For *prshî*, W. B. give *prshîtibhir divam* (v.7.17), but G. M. read *prshîtibhyah svâhâ* (vii.3.16¹). For *pâtî*, *pâtîgandhasyâ 'pahatyâti* (ii.2.2⁴). For *abhî*, *abhîvrtô ghrnâ-vân cetati tmanâ* (iii.5.11¹: G. M. omit the last two words): we have also *abhîshah* at ii.3.2⁶ (p. *abhi-sahâ*). For *carshanî*, *mîtra-sya carshanîdhrtañ* (iii.4.11⁵ and iv.1.6³): another case at i.4.16. For *parî*, *vîravantam parinasam* (ii.2.12⁶; p. *pari-nasam*: compare rule vii.4): For *adhî*, *adhîvâsam yâ hiranyâny asmâi* (iv.6.9²: G. M. omit the last word). For *pârî*, *pârînahyasye 'çe* (vi.2.1¹; p. *pârî-nahyasya*: compare rule vii.4). For *çatrû*, *ça-*

6. *loke: eva: ity evampârva ishte 'ty asmin' grahane' ntya-svaro vibhâge vyañjanaparo hrasvam âpadyate. yathâ: sam-----: sa-----: evampârva iti kim: prati-----: ishte 'ti kim: sâk-----.*

¹ G. M. *etasmînn*. ² G. M. *avagrahe*.

trāyato hantā (i.6.5³ and iv.2.1²). For *vishā*, *vishāvān vishāvan-
taḥ* (vii.4.3⁴): another case at vii.4.8². For *vasā*, *aramatir vasā-
yuh* (iv.3.13⁶). For *anā*, *anūrādā nakshatram* (iv.4.10²); we
have it also in the compounds *anūyāja* (e. g. ii.6.9⁴), *anubandhya*
(e. g. ii.2.9⁷), *anūkāṣa* (e. g. v.4.1³), and *anūvrj* (v.7.28). In the
further compound of the first, *prayājānūyāja* (e. g. i.7.1¹; p. *pra-
yāja-anūyājān*), the shortening is not authorized, since in it there is
no division after *anu*. Appealing to rule i.53 as his authority, the
commentator adds, as contemplated by the present rule, *ananū-
yājam prayānūyam* (vi.1.5³; p. *ananu-yājam*). For *hand*, *hand-
bhyāñ svāhā* (vii.3.16¹). For *sū*, *sūyavasini manave yaṣasye*
(i.2.13²): *sūyavasa* occurs more than once (e. g. i.7.5^{2,3}). For
vibhā, *vibhādāvne* (iii.5.8,9²).

The commentator notes that the specification at the end of this
rule defines the whole mass of words thus far enumerated as col-
lectively *avagraha* (i.49), 'first members of compounds.'

अवासचस्वानुदामृडावर्धाशिक्षारक्षायामवामजायत्रा-
चरापिबानाधामाधारयाधर्षाधावर्धयाबोधायत्रातत्रामुच्चाश्च-
स्यापृष्ठास्वादिष्टावंतराजनिघायुद्धाह ॥ ८ ॥

8. Also *avā*, *sacasvā*, *nudā*, *mrđā*, *vardhā*, *ṣikshā*, *rakshā*,
adyā, *bhavā*, *bhajā*, *yatrā*, *carā*, *pibā*, *nā*, *dhāmā*, *dhārayā*,
dharshā, *ghā*, *vardhayā*, *bodhā*, *atrā*, *tatrā*, *muñcā*, *aṣvasyā*,
prṇasvā, *hi śthā*, *tvam tarā*, *janishvā*, *yukshvā*, *achā*.

Henceforth we have to do only with independent words, the cate-
gory of *avagrahas*, or former members of compounds, having been
exhausted by the foregoing rules. There is cited in illustration,
for *avā*, *avā no devyā krpā* (iv.1.4¹). For *sacasvā*, *sacasvā
naḥ svastaye* (i.5.6²). For *nudā*, *pra nudā naḥ sapatnān* (iv.3.12¹
thrice, and v.3.5¹). For *mrđā*, W. B. give *mrđā jaritre* (iv.5.10⁴),
but G. M. read *mrđā no rūdra* (iv.5.10²): I have noted no other
case. For *vardhā*, *vardhā no amavac chavaḥ* (ii.6.11³). For *ṣik-*

7. ity eteshv avagraheshv¹ antyasvaro vibhāge vyañja-
naparo hrasvam āpadyate. yathā: ṣak-....: rath-....: sa-....:
te-....: rā-....: osh-....: āh-....: et-....: svā-....: svā-
hā-....: viṣ-....: cit-....: gro-....: prsh-....: pāt-....:
abh-....: mitr-....: vīr-....: adh-....: pār-....: gatr-....:
vish-....: ar-....: anā-....: ankārādi ca² (i.53) iti vacanād³
anan-.... ity etad⁴ 'uddharanam bhavati: han-....: sūy-....:
vibh-....: ity avagraha ity anena prakāreṇo⁵ 'ktiḥ⁶ padasam-
udāye⁷ vagraho vijñeyah⁷.

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. om. ³ G. M. sūtrāt. ⁴ G. M. ins. apy. ⁵ G. M. 'ktāh.
⁶ G. M. -muccayah. ⁷ B. viṣeshah.

śhā, śikshā no asmin puruhāta yāmani (vii.5.7⁴: W. B. omit the last two words): it is found again at iv.6.2⁵. For *rakshā, rakshā ca no adhi ca deva brāhi* (iv.5.10³ and vii.5.24; G. M. omit the last two words): the form occurs also at ii.3.14¹. I have pointed out in the note to the first rule of the chapter that a passage (i.4.24) in which *rakshā* appears as euphonic alteration of *rakshāh* before a sonant consonant ought to be somehow excepted here. For *adyā, adyā devān jushatatamaḥ* (iv.6.7⁵): also at ii.1.11⁶: iii.4.11²: iv.6.2⁶. For *bhavā, bhavā pdyur, viço asyā adabdhah* (i.2.14¹: G. M. omit the last two words): other cases are not infrequent; see i.1.14⁴; 4.32: iii.2.5³; 4.10¹: iv.1.7²; 2.5¹, 7⁴; 4.4⁷; and likewise ii.6.12¹, where *bhavā*, standing at the end of the first division of the *anuvāka*, is situated *vibhāge*, and loses its *ā* even in the *samhitā*-text. For *bhajā, ā gomati vraje bhajā tvam nah* (i.6.12¹: W. B. begin at *vraje*): another case at iii.3.9². For *yatrā, yatrā naro marutaḥ* (iii.1.11³): other cases at iv.4.4¹; 6.6⁴, 7². For *carā, pra carā soma duryān* (i.2.10¹). For *pibā, pibā somam indra mandatu* (ii.4.14³: G. M. omit the last word): another case at i.4.19. For *nā, ripavo nā ha debhuh* (i.2.14⁵⁻⁶): in connection with this word, the commentator runs off into a lengthy discussion, which I defer to the end of the note. For *dhāmā, dhāmā ha yat te ajara* (iii.1.11⁶): we have *dhāma*, plural, in *samhitā* also, at iv.6.5⁵; 7.13⁴. For *dhārayā, brhūspate dhārayā vasānā* (i.3.7¹ and vi.3.6¹): other cases at iv.1.5⁴, 7². For *dhārshā, W. B. have dhārshā mānushān adbhyah* (i.3.8¹), but G. M., *dhurshā mānushān iti nī yunakti* (vi.3.6³). For *ghā, uta vā ghā syālāt* (i.1.14¹): there is another case, if my manuscript reads correctly, at iii.4.11⁶. For *vardhayā, tam agne vardhayā tvam* (iv.6.3¹): other cases are at i.5.5²: iv.2.4⁴; 7.13⁵. For *bodhā, bodhā no asya vacaso yavishthu* (iv.2.3⁴: G. M. omit the last two words). For *atrā, atrā te rūpan* (iv.6.7³): other cases are at iv.6.7², 8². For *tatrā, tatrā ratham upa śagmam* (iv.6.6³). For *muñcā, pra muñcā svastaye* (iii.2.8³): again at iv.7.15⁷. For *acvasyā, ekas tvash-tur acvasyā viçastā* (iv.6.9³). For *prnasā, sapta yonīr ā prnasā ghrtena* (i.5.3³ and iv.6.5⁵). For *sthā* after *hi*, *āpo hi shīthā mayobhuvah* (iv.1.5¹: v.6.1⁴: vii.4.19⁴); and, as counter-example, to show that the correction takes place only after *hi*, *pratishthā vā ekaviñśah* (v.2.3⁶ et al.). For *tarā* after *tvam*, *agne tvam tarā mrdhah* (iv.1.9³), with the counter-example *antaratarā taptavrato bhavati* (vi.2.2⁷: G. M. omit the last word). For *janishvā, jani-*

8. ----- ¹ *eteshv anavagraheshv antyasvaro vibhāge vyañjana-paro hrasvam āpadyate. yathā: avā-----: śac-----: prā-----: mṛ-----: var-----: śiksh-----: rak-----: adyā-----: bhav-----: ā go-----: yat-----: pra-----: pibā-----: rip-----: api vikṛtam* (i.51) *apy akārādi* (i.52) *iti dvābhyām^{*} vacanābhyām prā----- ity atra hrasvādeṣah kim na syāt: māi 'vam: api vikṛtam* (i.51) *iti vacanām kañthoktapadavishayam^{*} na tv akārādi padavishayam^{*}: prānā^{*} ity asyā 'py akārādītvān nā*

shvā hi jenyō agne (iv.1.3⁴ and v.1.4⁵: G. M. omit *agne*). For *yukshvā*, *yukshvā hi devahūtamāt* (ii.6.11¹ et al.): other cases at iv.2.9⁶: v.5.3^{1,2}. For *achā*, *achā nakshī dyumattamah* (i.5.6³ and iv.4.4⁸): other cases at i.7.10²: ii.2.12⁹; 6.11¹: iv.2.4² twice; 4.4² (if my MS. is correct; the Rik reads *acha*); 5.1²; 6.7⁵: but the compound *achāvāka* (vii.1.5⁵) is left undivided and unchanged.

The occasion of the commentator's delay and discussion over the word *nā* is given by the fact that the *pada*-text of the Tāittirīya Sanhitā (unlike that of the Rik and Atharvan: see note to Ath. Pr. iv.39) divides the word *prānāh* thus: *pra-anāh*. Hence, when we read in the Sanhitā, as in the passage which he quotes, *prānā vā aṅcavaḥ* (vi.4.4⁴: W. B. read simply *prānā vāi*, which occurs in various other places; e. g. v.3.8²), he fears that, having this division in mind, we shall be misled into believing that the specification *nā* of the present rule applies to *prānā*, because we are taught in the first chapter (i.51,52) that a word cited in any rule comes equally under that rule when phonetically altered, or preceded by *a*. He sets aside this difficulty, however, by the arbitrary *dictum* that it is not permitted to vary the same word in both ways at once—that we may accept the altered form only of a vocable which is actually quoted entire, not of one made by the prefixion of an *a* to one so quoted: hence, he infers, the present rule does not apply to [the *anā* of] *prānā*, as it begins with *a*. But a further objection is interposed: in that case, why does it not apply to the part *anā* of the compound, in which is no altered *n*? He replies, because of the absence of a long vowel in *saṁhitā*, in a word wearing this form—or, as would seem a better statement, because of the absence of any such word in *saṁhitā* as *anā* (for *anāh*) with a long vowel as its final. The second objection, in fact, is a wholly futile one, scarcely worth the trouble of bringing up and setting aside. The original difficulty is one growing out of the extension of the leading rule in the chapter to cases of final *ā* in *saṁhitā* where a *visarjanīya* has been lost after it (see note to rule 1). The answer has a somewhat quibbling aspect, but the rule of interpretation which it involves is in accordance with that adopted in one or two analogous cases elsewhere.

अध्याग्न्याज्ये ॥ १ ॥

9. Also *adhā*, in *agni* and *yājyā* passages.

'yam vidhih. tarhi vikrtatvābhāvād* and ity āsyē' 'nygāṅcasya*
 kim nā syād ayaṁ vidhih. evanirūpasya saṁhitāyam dīrghābhā-
 vāt. dhā-----: brh-----: dhar-----: uta-----: tam-----: bṛ-
 dhā-----: atrā-----: tat-----: pra-----: ek-----: sap-----:
 āpo-----: hī 'ti kim: pra-----: agne-----: tvam iti kim:
 ant-----: jan-----: yuk-----: achā-----.

* ¹ G. M. ins. *ity*. ² G. M. om. ³ W. -*ktip*-; B. om. *pada*. ⁴ B. om. *pada*. ⁵ W. ins. *vā*. ⁶ G. M. *vāikṛtasyā* 'bh-. ⁷ B. G. M. om. ⁸ B. G. M. -*yāc*.

The commentator's first care is to define what parts of the Sanhitā are styled *agni* and *yājyā*.* The former name, he says, designates those *mantras* which celebrate Agni—namely, the fourth *kāṇḍa*: by the latter are intended the concluding *anuvākas*, or sections, of every *pragṇa*, or chapter, from the beginning of the Sanhitā to the third *pragṇa* of the fourth *kāṇḍa*, inclusive; and, besides, the eleventh *anuvāka* of *pragṇa* six, *kāṇḍa* two (i. e. i.1.14; 2.14; 3.14; 4.46; 5.11; 6.12; 7.13; 8.22: ii.1.11; 2.12; 3.14; 4.14; 5.12; 6.11,12; iii.1.11; 2.11; 3.11; 4.11; 5.11: iv.1.11; 2.11; 3.13—in all, twenty-three *anuvākas*). The name *agni* does not occur again: the *yājyās* are the subject of further prescription below, in rules iii.11, ix.20, xi.3. The compound *agniyājya* (neuter singular) is justified by a simple reference to Pāṇini's rule (ii.2.29) defining a copulative compound.

The passages cited in illustration of the rule are *adhā hy agne kratoh* (iv.4.4¹), *adhā ca nah śarma yacha dvibārḥāḥ* (iv.5.10³: G. M. omit the last word), *adhā te sumnam imahe* (ii.6.11⁴), and *adhā yathā nah pitarāḥ* (ii.6.12⁴: W. B. omit the last word): I have noted no other cases. As counter-example, to show the necessity of the restriction imposed in the rule, is quoted *adhā me 'ti tad viśṇave 'ti prāyachat* (ii.4.12⁴: W. B. omit *prāyachat*), where *adhā* stands for *adhāḥ*: see, for the bearing of the exception, the note upon the introductory rule of the chapter.

कुत्रादक्षिणेनास्वेनाहूतनाज्ञगामारुहेमाविद्वर्ध्यामाच-
कृमाक्षामास्तरीमाभरेमावर्षयथेरयथारियायाथायासिञ्चथा-
जनयथाज्ञयतीक्ष्णतावतायाताशृणुताकृणुताविभृता ॥ १० ॥

10. Also *kutrā*, *dakshinenā*, *svenā*, *hantanā*, *jagāmā*, *ruhemā*, *vidmā*, *rdhyāmā*, *cakrmā*, *kshāmā*, *starimā*, *bharema*, *varshayathā*, *irayathā*, *ārithā*, *pāthā*, *athā*, *siñcathā*, *janayathā*, *jayatā*, *ukshatā*, *avatā*, *yātā*, *ṣṇutā*, *kṛṇutā*, *bibhrtā*.

The commentator's illustrative passages are: for *kutrā*, *kutrā cid yasya samr̥tāu* (ii.1.11³: G. M. omit the last word). For *dak-*

9. *agnis ca yājyā cā 'gniyājyam*¹: *tasmin*²: *cā 'rthe dvandva iti samāsah*. *agnir ity agni prakāśakamantrā lakshyante: ca-turthakāṇḍa ity arthah*: *ubhā vām indrāgni* (i.1.14¹) *prabhr̥ty agnir vṛtrāni* (iv.3.13¹) *paryantāḥ pragnottamānuvākā yājyāsamjñā bhavanti yukshvā hi* (ii.6.11¹) *ity anuvākaḥ ca*. *'atra viśhaye*³ *'dhe 'ty asmin*⁴ *grahane 'ntyasvaro vibhāge*⁵ *vyatījānaparo hrasvam āpadyate*. *yathā: adhā hy*.....: *adhā ca*.....: *adhā te*.....: *adhā y*..... *agniyājya iti kīm*: *adhā m*.....

¹ G. M. -jya. ² G. M. -iñc. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ B. -paman. ⁵ G. M. om. ⁶ G. M. etasmin. ⁷ G. M. om.

shinenā, dakshinenā vasāni patih sindhānām asi (iii.4.11⁴: G. M. omit after *vasāni*). For *svenā, svenā hi vṛtrañ çavasā jaghantha* (vii.4.15: B. omits the last word; G. M. the last two). For *hantanā, tapasā hantanā tam* (iv.3.13⁴). For *jagāmā, ā jagāmā para-syāh* (i.6.12⁵). For *ruhemā, asravantīm ā ruhemā svastaye* (i.5.11⁵). For *vidmā, vidmā te agne tredhā trayāni vidmā te* (iv.2.2¹: G. M. stop at *agne*, thus instancing only one of the two cases; there are two more in the same verse): also at i.7.13³: ii.6.11⁴. For *ṛdhyāmā, ṛdhyāmā ta ohāih* (iv.4.4⁷). For *cakrmā, cakrmā kac canā "gah* (iv.7.15⁶): other cases at i.8.3: ii.6.12²: iv.1.11¹; 6.8³. For *kshāmā, kshāmā rērihad vīrudhah* (i.3.14²: iv.2.12²: G. M. omit the last word): other cases at ii.6.12⁴: iv.7.12³. For *starimā, sushtarimā jushāpā* (v.1.11²): here the application of rule i.51 becomes necessary. For *bharemā, añho-muce pra bharemā manishām* (i.6.12³: G. M. omit the last word). For *varshayathā, yūyam vṛshtīm varshayathā purishinah* (ii.4.8²: W. B. omit the first word). For *irayathā, ud irayathā marutah* (ii.4.8²). For *ārithā, yoner udārithā yajē tam* (iv.6.5⁴). For *pāthā, kshaye pāthā divo vimahusah* (iv.2.11²). For *athā, athā somasya prayati yuvabhyām* (i.1.14¹: G. M. omit the last word): other cases are numerous, namely i.1.13¹ twice; 5.5², 11³; 6.4² twice; 7.13⁴: ii.3.14³; 6.12²: iii.1.11²; 4.11⁶: iv.2.1⁴, 4⁴, 5³, 6^{1,2}; 6.3⁴ twice; 7.13⁵; and, as I doubt not, at the end of iii.2.11², where, however, the present *samhitā*-text reads *atha*, because the word stands *vibhāge*. For *siñcathā, yatrā naro marutah siñcathā madhu* (iii.1.11⁹). For *janayathā, āpo janayathā ca nah* (iv.1.5¹: v.6.1⁴: vii.4.19⁴). For *jayatā, upa pre 'ta jayatā nara sthīrāh* (iv.6.4⁴: G. M. omit the last word). For *ukshatā, ā ghṛtam ukshatā madhuvarnam* (iv.3.13⁸). For *avatā, asmān u devā avatā haveshu* (iv.6.4⁴): another case at iv.2.6³. For *yātā, devā rathāir yātā hiranyayāih* (iv.7.12¹: G. M. omit the first word). For *ṣṛnutā, marutah ṣṛnutā havam* (iv.2.11²). For *krnutā, samvatsarāya krnutā brhan namah* (v.7.2⁴). Finally, for *bibhṛtā, mâte 'va putram bibhṛtā sv enam* (iv.2.3²: W. B. begin at *putram*).

भरता याजयासु ॥११॥

11. Also *bharatā*, in *yājyā* passages.

10. *ity¹ eteshv anavagraheshv² antyasvaro vibhāge vyanjanaparo hrasvam āpadyate. yathā: kutrā.....: daksh.....: svenā.....: tap.....: āj.....: asr.....: vidmā.....: ṛdhy.....: cakr.....: kshā.....: susht.....: añh.....: yāyam.....: ud.....: yoner.....: kshaye.....: athā.....: yatrā.....: āpo.....: upa.....: ā.....: asmān.....: devā.....: mar.....: sam.....: mā.....*

¹ G. M. om. ² W. *avag*; G. M. om.

Which are the sections called *yājyā* has been pointed out above, under rule 9.

The cited passages are: *bharatā vasuvittamam* (iii.5.11⁴), *bharatā jātavēḍasam* (iii.5.11⁴), and *pūrvyam vaco 'gnaye bharatā brhat* (iii.2.11¹: G. M. omit the first two words), which are all that the text contains. As counter-example, to show the necessity of restricting the change to *yājyā* passages, is quoted *esha vo bharatā rājā* (i.8.10², 12²), where *bharatā* stands for *bharatāḥ*. If the text contained a *bharatā* as instrumental of the participle *bharant*, it would come more properly under the action of the rule, and would have better right to be specifically excluded; but I have not found such a form anywhere. Respecting *bharatā* as standing in *samhitā* for *bharatāḥ*, see what is said in the note to the first rule of this chapter.

अत्ताभवतानदतातरतातपताजुहुतावोचतामुच्चताचू-
ताधुष्याजन्यावर्तयासादयाफारयादीयाहुराभरापाससादा-
सृजातिष्ठयिना ॥ १२ ॥

12. Also *attā*, *bhavatā*, *anadatā*, *taratā*, *tapatā*, *juhutā*, *vocatā*, *amuñcatā*, *cr̥tā*, *ghushyā*, *janayā*, *vartayā*, *sādayā*, *pārayā*, *ḍiṃyā*, *harā*, *bharā*, *apā*, *sasādā*, *sr̥jā*, *tishthā*, and *yenā*.

The cited passages are: for *attā*, *attā haviṇshi* (ii.6.12²). For *bhavatā*, *ādityāso bhavatā mṛdayantah* (i.4.22 and ii.1.11⁴). For *anadatā*, *samprayatir ahāv anadatā hate* (v.6.1²: W. B. omit the first word). For *taratā*, *suvo ruhānās taratā rajāṇsi* (iii.5.4²: G. M. omit the first word). For *tapatā*, *gharmanā na sāmam tapatā svṛktibhih* (i.6.12²: W. B. O. [O. begins in the comment to this rule] omit before *tapatā*). For *juhutā*, *pitre juhutā viśvakarmane* (iv.6.2⁶). For *vocatā*, *viśve devāso adhi vocatā me* (iv.7.14²: G. M. omit to *adhi*). For *amuñcatā*, *padi shītām amuñcatā yajatrāḥ* (iv.7.15⁷). For *cr̥tā*, *ayasmāyām v̥t cr̥tā bandham etam* (iv.2.5³). For *ghushyā*, *parushparur anu ghushyā viçasta* (iv.6.9³). For *janayā*, *manur bhava janayā dāivyaṃ janam* (iii.4.2², 3⁷). For *vartayā*, *tābhir ā vartayā punah* (iii.3.10¹). For *sādayā*, *sādayā yajñān sukṛtasya yonān* (iii.5.11² and iv.1.3³). For *pārayā*, *agne tvam pārayā navyo asman* (i.1.14⁴: all but W. omit the last word). For *ḍiṃyā*, *brhaspate pari ḍiṃyā rathena* (iv.6.4¹⁻²: the text reads *ḍiṃyā*, as the word stands before the division between the first and second fifty of the section): another case is iii.1.11⁶. For *harā*, *nihāram in nī me harā nihāram*

11. *bharatā ity asmin' grahane' ntyasvaro yājyāvishaye' vibhāge vyañjanaparo hrasvam āpadyate. yathā: bhar----- bhar-----: pūr----- yājyāsv iti kim: esha-----*

¹ G. M. *etāmin*. ² B. *avagraheshv*. ³ G. M. *yājyāyām*, and put before the preceding word.

(i.8.4¹). For *bharā*, *mā no mardhîr ā bharā dadhi tan naḥ pra dāgushe* (i.7.13³: O. omits after *bharā*; B. G. M. after *dadhi*): there is no other case, *bharā* at i.3.14³ in the Calcutta edition being an erratum. For *apā*, *duro na vājañ śrutya apā vrdhi* (ii.2.12⁶: W. B. omit the first two words). For *sasādā*, *agnir hotā ni sha sādā yajiyān* (i.3.14¹ and iv.1.3⁴: G. M. omit the first word): there is another case at iv.6.2¹, requiring, like the others, the application of rule i.51. For *srjā*, *srjā vrshtim divah* (ii.4.8², 10³): there are other cases at ii.4.8²: iii.5.5², 10¹: iv.1.8³. For *tishthā*, *tishthā devo na savitā* (iv.1.4²): other cases at iii.1.4¹: v.2.1⁴, and perhaps also at iv.1.2³, where the word ends a division of the *anuvāka*. For *yenā*, *yenā sahasram vahasi* (iv.7.13⁴ and v.7.7³).

उश्मसीक्रयोक्थीश्रुधीयदो ॥ १३ ॥

13. Also *uśmasī*, *krayī*, *krdhī*, *śrudhī*, and *yadī*.

The quoted examples for these words, being the only ones which the text contains, are as follows. For *uśmasī*, *te te dhāmāny uśmasī gamadhye* (i.3.6¹⁻²: W. B. O. omit the first three words); here, as *uśmasī* stands at the end of a division, or *vibhāge*, its *i* is short in the accepted text. For *krayī*, *rudra yat te krayī param nāma* (i.8.14²). For *krdhī*, *krdhī sv asmān aditeḥ* (iv.7.15⁷: W. B. O. omit the last word). For *śrudhī*, *imam me varuṇa śrudhī havam* (ii.1.11⁶). For *yadī*, *yadī bhāmim janayan* (iv.6.2⁴).

सूतन्मिथूमक्षू ॥ १४ ॥

14. Also *sū*, *tū*, *nū*, *mīthū*, *makshū*, and *ū*.

The cited passages are as follows: for *sū*, *mo shā na indra* (i.8.3). For *tū*, *ā tū na upa gantana* (i.5.11⁴⁻⁵): there are two other cases, i.7.13³: ii.2.12⁷, both after *ā*. For *nū*, *etaśasya nū rane* (iv.6.1²). For *mīthū*, *gātrāny asinā mīthū kaḥ* (iv.6.9⁴: G. M. omit the first word). For *makshū*, *makshū devavato rathah* (i.8.22³). For *ū*, a part of the manuscripts give two examples,

12. *eteshv anavagraheshv¹ antyasvaro² vibhāge vyañ-janaparo hrasvam āpadyate. yathā: attā..... ād..... sampr.....: suvo.....: ghar.....: pītre.....: viśve.....: padī.....: ayas.....: par.....: man.....: tābh.....: sād.....: agne.....: brh.....: nih.....: mā.....: duro.....: agnir.....: srjā.....: tish.....: yenā.....*

¹ W. av.; G. M. gvahāneshu. ² O. begins here.

13. *ity¹ eteshv² anavagraheshv³ antyasvaro vibhāge vyañjanaparo hrasvam āpadyate. yathā: te.....: rudra.....: krdhī.....: imam.....: yadī.....*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. eshv. ³ W. av.; G. M. om.

asmābhir ā nu praticakṣhyā 'bhāt (i.4.33: wanting in G. M.), and *ārdhva ā shu na utaye* (iv.1.4²: W. B. O. omit the first word, G. M. the last): 'other cases are found at i.5.11⁵: ii.5.12²: iii.5.10¹: iv.1.10³: 6.5⁶: v.1.5³: vii.1.18²: 6.17².

व्युत्पूर्व आननुदात्तो ऽनूष्मवत्यनूष्मवति ॥ १५ ॥

15. Also *ān*, when unaccented, and preceded by *vi* or *ut*, in a word containing no spirant.

This rule applies simply to the compounds *vyāna* and *udāna*, in which the long *ā* of the radical syllable is treated by the *pada*-text as the effect of an irregular prolongation. The words are instanced by the commentator in their full *pada*-form, *vyānāye 'ti vi-anāya* (iii.5.8 et al.), and *udānāye 'ty ut-anāya* (iv.2.9¹ et al.). In the same manner, *prānāya* and *apānāya* are divided into *pra-anāya* and *apa-anāya*. As regards the treatment of this group of compounds, the different *pada*-texts are somewhat inconsistent and somewhat conflicting. The Atharvan *pada* (see Ath. Pr. iv.39) divides *vi-āna* and *san-āna*, without correction of the radical *ā*, but leaves *prāna* and *upāna* undivided. The Rik *pada* does not divide *prāna*: I do not know that any of the others are Rik words. The White Yajus, again (Vāj. Pr. v.33,36), divides *apa-āna* and *sam-āna*, but not *prāna*. The consistency of the Tāittiriya *śakḥināḥ* is to be commended; less, perhaps, their assumption that the *ā* of *āna* is a mere Vedic irregularity, requiring restoration to a correcter form. They also, it may be remarked, divide *prānatha* (iv.1.4¹) into *pra-anatha*.

The commentator goes on to cite counter-examples, proving the necessity of the restrictions imposed by the rule. To show that *ān* is to be shortened only after *vi* and *ut*, he gives *yad āncus tene 'yam* (vii.3.1³: W. B. O. omit the last word), and *paryānīyā havanīyasya* (vii.1.6⁶). To show that only *ān*, not *ā* followed by any other consonant, is shortened, he quotes *yad rukmanī vyāghā-rayati* (v.2.7⁶), and *udādāya pṛthivīm jiradānuḥ* (i.1.9³: G. M. omit the last word). To show that the *ān* must not be accented, he gives *viśvākarmā vyā'nat* (iv.2.10⁴), and *nēshtaḥ pātnīm uddā-naya* (vi.5.8⁶). Finally, to show that the presence of a spirant in the word prevents the correction, we have *pathā madhor dhārā vyānaṣuḥ* (v.7.7³: all but W. omit the first word), and *ud ānīshur mahīr iti* (v.6.1³).

The question is now in point, how complete is this rehearsal of the cases of prolonged vowels occurring in the Sanhitā; or, how closely does the *pada*-text which it assumes correspond with that

14. ity¹ eteshv² anavagraheshv³ antyasvaro vibhāge
vyañjanaparo hrasvam āpādyate. yathā: mo..... ā.....
eta..... gā..... mak..... asm..... ārdhva.....

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. eshv. ³ W. av.; G. M. om.

found in the existing *pada*-manuscripts? As regards the latter point, I am unable to speak with certainty, of course, without the possession of a *pada*-manuscript, and its careful examination throughout; but so much as this I can say—that, having referred a liberal selection of the most questionable cases to Dr. Haug at Munich, for verification in his *pada*-texts, no instance of a discordance between these and the Prāticākhya has come to light. Among the cases referred were several in regard to which I was beforehand very confident that I had caught the authors of the Prāticākhya in fault. Thus *yojā*, in the refrain *yojā nṛ indra te hari* (i.8.5^{1,2}), which is shortened to *yoja* in the *pada*-texts both of the Rik (by Rik Pr. vii.7) and the White Yajus (by Vāj. Pr. iii.106), remains *yojā* in that of our Sanhitā. Again, *eva* occurs six times in our text with its final lengthened (viz. at i.8.22²: ii.1.11³: iv.2.9²; 3.13³; 7.15⁷: v.2.8³), as it does also not infrequently in the other Vedic texts (as noticed and provided for in their Prāticākhyas: see Rik Pr. vii.12,19; viii.20: Vāj. Pr. iii.123: Ath. Pr. iii.16, note, I.1.c.): but the Tāittirīya *pada* reads in each case *evā*. Once more, in the passage *tava dharmā yuyopīma* (Rig-Veda vii.89.5; Ath. Veda vi.51.3; Tāitt. Sanh. iii.4.11⁶), the *pada*-texts of the Rik and Atharvan read *dhurma* (I do not find that the case is noted in the Rik Pr.; in the Ath. Pr. it would fall under the comprehensive rule iii.16), while that of our Sanhitā has *dharmā*, like the *saṁhitā*-reading.

I will add, as received from the same quarter, a few words respecting which a question might naturally arise as to how they were treated in the *pada*-text. Separated, without correption of the long vowel at the end of their first member, are *uttarā-vat* (v.4.8⁵), *sahasā-van* (i.6.12⁶), *malmalā-bhavant* (i.4.34), *vṛshā-kapī* (i.7.13²), such copulative compounds as *indrā-varuṇayoh* (ii.5.12²) and *agnā-vishnū* (i.1.12), and *ūrṇā-mradas* (i.1.11¹): while, nevertheless, we have *ūrṇa-mradas* at i.2.2², the *pada*-reading agreeing in both cases with that of the *saṁhitā*: where the Calcutta edition gets its authority for reading *ūrṇāmmradas* and *ūrṇanimradas* is more than I can imagine).

15. *vī 'ty evampūrva utpūrvo vā 'n ity esha ' svaro ' nudātto ' nūshnavaty' āshmarahite pade vartamāno vyañjanaparāḥ padā-dāu vartamānatvāt pūrvapadena' vibhāge sati hrasvam āpadyate. yathā: vyanāye 'ti vi-anāya: udānāye 'ty ut-anāya. evampūrva iti kim: yad..... pary..... nakārah kimarthah: yad.....: udā.....: anudātta iti kim: viṣv.....: nesh.....: anūshnavati 'ti kim: pathā.....: ud.....*

*iti tribhāshyaratne prāticākhyavivarane
trītyo 'dhyaḥ'.*

¹ G. M. ins. *ākra*. ² W. *āshm*. ³ G. M. *-de*. ⁴ G. M. add *grikṣhāya na-mah*.

Not separated, and therefore, of course, without correction of the vowel, are such words as *ṛtāshāt* (iii.4.7¹) and *turāshāt* (i.7.13⁴), also *tvashṭimant* (i.2.5²), *anyādr̥c* (i.8.13²), *ubhayādat* (ii.2.6³), *arātīyant* (i.6.1¹) and *arātīvan* (vii.4.15), *atikāṣa* (i.2.2²) and *prākāṣa* (i.8.18), *avāṣṛṅga* (ii.1.8⁵) and *prāṣṛṅga* (ii.1.3¹: as I doubt not: my information is deficient for this word), *upānah* (v.4.4⁴), *nivādra* (iv.7.4²) and *nīhāra* (iv.6.2²), and *purāravah* (i.3.7¹).

There is not, as in the other Vedic texts, any restoration of a theoretically correct short vowel which is not strictly a final or initial: thus we read in *pada*-text, for example, *vāvṛdhe* (i.4.20), *sāsa-hat* (i.3.14⁷), and *ushāsam* (iv.4.4²).

Many of these items constitute striking peculiarities of the Tāitirīya *pada*, and its careful study and comparison with the other works of its class would undoubtedly bring to light much that is curious.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTENTS: 1-4, introductory; 5-54, rehearsal of cases of *pragrahas*, or uncombinable final vowels.

अथ प्रग्रहाः ॥ १ ॥

1. Now the *pragrahas*.

A simple heading to the chapter, and explained as such by the commentator. The same subject is treated by the other Prātigākhyas, at Rik Pr. i.18-19, Vāj. Pr. i.92-98, Ath. Pr. i.73-82. It occupies here a great deal more space, because the Tāitt. Pr. avoids on principle the mention of grammatical categories in its rules, and is at infinite pains to catalogue, word by word, what the other treatises dispose of summarily, by classes. A rule in a later chapter (x.24) teaches that all the vowels here rehearsed and defined as *pragraha* are exempt from euphonic combination. The term *pragraha* is peculiar to this treatise, the rest using instead *pragrhya*.

नावग्रहः ॥ २ ॥

2. No former member of a compound is *pragraha*.

As the former member of a separable compound (*avagraha*: i.49) is regarded and treated as an independent *pada*, the rules declaring certain final vowels *pragraha* would apply to the finals

1. *athe 'ty ayam adhikārah : pragrahā ucyanta ity 'etaḍ' adhikṛtam veditavyam ita' uttaram yad vakshyāmaḥ.*

(1) W. om. (2) G. M. om.

of such members, but for this prescription to the contrary. The commentator cites rules 5,6,36,37,49 of the chapter as needing the restriction of their application here made, and quotes from the Sanhitā in illustration *tanūnapād asuraḥ* (iv.1.8¹: the *tanū* of *tanū-napād* would otherwise be *pragrahā* by rule 5), *agoargham yajamānum* (vi.1.10¹: *ago-argham* would fall else under rule 6), *agnishomāu mā* (ii.5.2²: it is implied that the *pada*-text would write *agnī-somāu*, bringing the word within the sphere of rule 36: such compounds are not divisible in the other Vedic texts), and *dvedve puronuvākye kuryāt* (ii.2.9²: the *pada* writes *dve-dve*, so that both members would be declared alike *pragraha* by rule 49). The present precept is therefore declared to be one making exceptions in advance to the rules specified.

अन्तः ॥ ३ ॥

3. Only a final is *pragraha*.

Or, as the commentator paraphrases, the end of a word is entitled to the designation *pragraha*. He cites, as example, the phrase *devate samrādhyāi* (ii.1.9³). The necessity of the rule, he explains, arises out of the fact that the following rules, in part—for example, rules 5,6,33—describe certain letters or syllables as *pragraha* without farther limitation, and it is desirable to specify that they bear that character only when final. This in answer to the criticizing inquiry “whether a letter not final can also be *pragraha*?”—that is, as I understand it, whether this predicate is not in the nature of things restricted to finals? But now a yet more troublesome objection is raised. The limitation to finals, urges the interpellator, is otherwise assured; for the word *api* of the next rule, in the sequel of this one, brings into action the principle “continued implication is of that which is last” (i.58). The objection is wholly futile and inept, both as implying that false interpretation of the rule appealed to to which attention was directed in the note upon it, and as attributing to *api* a mysterious force to which it can lay no claim whatever. Instead, however, of showing the

2. *avagrahaḥ pragraho na bhavati: ūkārah* (iv.5): *okāro 'sāñhito 'kāravyañjanaparaḥ* (iv.6): *gnī* (iv.36): *na hi paraḥ* (iv.37): *dve* (iv.49) *iti vakshyate: etad' uddiṣya puras-tādapavādo 'nena vidhīyate. yathā³: tan-----: ago-----: agn-----: dve-----: avagraha⁴ iti jātyapekshāyām ekavacanam.*

¹ W. -ti; B. O. om. ² G. M. tad. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ G. M. nā'v.

3. *pudasyā 'ntaḥ pragrahasamjño bhavati. yathā: dev----- atra 'ha: kim apadānto 'pi pragrahaḥ syāt. atro 'cyate: ūkārah* (iv.5) *ity avishesheṇa vakshyati: okāro 'sāñhito 'kāravyañjanaparaḥ* (iv.6) *iti: cī yatpraparaḥ* (iv.33) *iti ca: apadāntasyo 'kārasyāu 'kārasya cīcābdasya vā pragrahatvam' mā bhūd iti.*

objector to the door, the commentator proceeds elaborately to confute him. "We reply, not so: specification of finality is appropriate where there is a congeries of several letters; here, on the other hand, there is indication of a single letter. If the matter in question were the euphonic alteration or elision of *u* and the other letters treated of, a final would be designated in virtue of the principle quoted: but here it is a simple case of application of the term *pragraha*, not of an affected nor an affecting letter: hence continued implication has no force."

इतिपरो अपि ॥ ४ ॥

4. It is followed by *iti*.

This is the interpretation of the commentator, who declares that the "also" (*api*) brings in by implication, from the first rule of the preceding chapter, the specification *vibhāge*, 'in case of separation,' or in the *padā* or other artificially divided texts. As example, he cites *ubhe iti* (i.4.22 et al.: G. M. add *devate iti*, ii.1.9³ et al.).

If such be its real meaning, the rule is a very anomalous one, as giving a single direct prescription respecting the mode of construction of the secondary texts. These are elsewhere only referred to or implied, in a more indirect manner. I should therefore prefer to translate 'even when followed by *iti*'—that is to say, a word here defined as *pragraha* in the ordinary text has that character also in the other texts before *iti*, not being combined with the latter.

उकारः ॥ ५ ॥

5. A long *u* is *pragraha*.

nanu siddham evāi 'tat: etatsūtrapeshabhāta' uttarasūtre³ 'piṣa-bdenā 'nvādego 'ntyasya (i.58) eva kāryanirvāhāt'. ne 'ti brāmah: anekavarṇasamudāye hy antyātvaṃ⁵ upapannam: ayam punar ekavarṇanirdeśah: ukārah (iv.5) ity ādivarṇasya yāu vikāralopāu tayor⁶ anvādego 'ntyasya (i.58) ity anenā 'ntyah: pragraha ity uktam' pragrahasaṁjñāmātram⁸: na tu⁹ nimittam nimitti vā: tasmād anvādego na prasaratī.

¹ G. M. *grāhanam*. ² B. O. *-peshe*; G. M. *-bhāt*. ³ G. M. *ottarasya sū-*. ⁴ G. M. *-vāhakah*. ⁵ B. O. *anta-*. ⁶ G. M. *ins. eva*. ⁷ G. M. *'ntyapratyaya uktah*. ⁸ G. M. *-ha iti sam-*. ⁹ B. O. *om*.

4. *apiṣabdaḥ siṅhāvalokanena 'thā "dāv uttare vibhāge (iii.1) ity atra vibhāgapadam¹ anvādiṣati: so 'yam pragraho vibhāga itiparo bhavati. yathā: ubhe iti. itīṣabdaḥ paro yasmād asāv itiparah.*

¹ G. M. *-gam*. ² G. M. *ins. devate iti*.

The commentator adds the limitation that, "if long in *pada*-text," the final *ā* is universally *pragraha*; referring, in justification, to the cases treated of above, in rule iii.14, of an *u* irregularly lengthened in *samhitā*. His examples are *hanā vā ete yajñā-sya* (vi.2.11³: W. B. O. omit the last word), *vāsantikāv rtū cukraṣ ca* (iv.4.11¹: W. B. O. omit after *rtū*), and *harinasya bāhū upastutam janima tat te arvan* (iv.2.8¹: G. M. omit the last four words; the others, the first word).

ओकारो ऽसाक्षितो ऽकारव्यञ्जनपरः ॥ ६ ॥

6. Also an *o* which is not the product of euphonic combination, if followed by *a* or a consonant.

Of words exhibiting in *pada*-text, as well as in *samhitā*, a final *o*, there are (apart from the theme *go*, which occurs only as first member of a compound, and therefore, by rule 2 of this chapter, does not require to be regarded in the determination of *pragrahas*) two classes, the one composed of vocatives from themes in *u*, the other of words whose final *a* or *ā* is combined with the particle *u*. The present rule deals, in general, with the former class; the one next following, with the latter class. The right of the vocatives in *o* to be treated as *pragrahas* is a very dubious one, and is not unequivocally supported by the Prāticākhya; for to say that such words are *pragraha* before *u* or a consonant is not to distinguish them perceptibly from the euphonic *o* which comes from a final *as*; since this also is not capable of combination with a consonant, and does not necessarily absorb a following initial *a*. The only instances in which a vocative in *o* exhibits a *pragraha* character are the three which are cited under the next rule (i.4.27: v.7.2⁴: vi.5.8³); the cases in which it is regularly changed to *av* before other vowels than *a* are much more numerous: namely, before *ā*, at i.4.39: ii.2.12⁴; 6.11¹: vi.4.3³; before *i*, at ii.2.12³; before *u*, at i.2.13² twice; 6.12³: iii.2.10¹; before *e*, at ii.4.12³. I have noted but two cases in the text where such an *o* stands before initial *a* without absorbing it; they are found at i.3.8¹, 14⁷. And there are the same

5. *ākārah padāntah sarvatra pragraho bhavati: padasamaye vartamānah. yathā: hanā----: vās---- har----- padasamaye vartamānu iti kim: sātānāmīthāmākshāā¹ (iii.14) ity ādi.*

¹ G. M. omit after *mīthā*.

6. *asāmhita okāro 'kāraparo vā' vyañjanaparo vā pragrahah syāt. yathā: vad-----: vish----- asāmhita iti kim: so-----: 'pra----- evampara iti kim?: vish----- samhitānimittah sāmhitah: na sāmhitō 'sāmhitah: akāraṣ ca vyañjanam cā 'kāravyañjane: te pare yasmāt sa tatho 'ktah.*

¹ G. M. om. ³ W. B. O. om.

number of cases—namely, at ii.5.12⁵ and vi.4.3⁴—in which it causes the elision of a following *a*.

The commentator's citations in illustration of the rule are *vad-mā hi suno asi* (i.3.14⁷), and *vishno havyañ rakshasva* (i.1.3). To show the necessity of the limitation *asāṁhitah*, he cites *so 'bravit* (ii.1.2¹ et al.), and *pra so agne* (iii.2.11¹: omitted, however, by W. B. O.), where *so* is the *sāṁhitā* reading for *sah*; and, to show that the prescribed quality belongs to the vowel only before *a* or a consonant (the *lacuna* of W. B. O. extends through this explanation), he gives us *vishnav e 'hi 'dam* (ii.4.12³).

For the teachings of the other Prātiśākhya respecting this class of asserted *pragrahas*, see the note to Ath. Pr. i.81.

समहृदथापत्पूर्वश्च ॥ ७ ॥

7. As also, when preceded by *s*, *m*, *h*, *d*, *th*, and *pit*.

The *anuvṛtti* of this rule is even more blind and equivocal than usual. Instead of bringing down either the subject or predicate of the one preceding, we are to bring down both, only with the exclusion of one of the modifications included in the former. The meaning is, that an original *o*, preceded as here specified, is *pragraha* even when followed by other vowels than *a*. The commentator is in error in saying that *ca* implies *okārah* from above; he should have said *okāro 'sāṁhitah*.

As above remarked, this rule chiefly concerns the class of *pragrahas* composed of words whose final vowel, *a* or *ā*, is combined with the particle *u*. Of these, *atho* is vastly the most numerous, occurring about two hundred and fifty times in the *Sāṁhitā*. Before *a* it is met with twenty times, always without occasioning elision; before other vowels, twenty-nine times, always uncombined. Along with it, *tatho* is had in view by the rule, as presenting a final *o* after *th*: it is found but once, in the passage cited by the commentator (see below). The only word showing *o* after *s* is *so*, found only in two passages, as noted below. After *m*, we have *o* both in *mo* (in two passages, once before *sh*, at i.8.3; the other is cited by the commentator) and in *mo*, which latter is found only before *a* (iv.3.13⁶), and so does not necessarily come within the purview of the rule. The other words of the class occur before consonants alone, and are, therefore, here made no account of: they are *o* (once, i.4.33), *to*

7. *pūrvoktaparanimittābhāve 'pi kāryavidhānārtham okāram viṇinasṭi: cakāra okāram anvādiṣati. sa: ma: ha: da: tha: pit: evampūrho 'sāṁhita okāro 'kāravyañjanābhyām anyaparo 'pi pragraho bhavati. yathā: so----- mā----- upa----- indo-----: tatho-----: sa----- evampūrva iti kim: 'pat-----: asāṁhita iti kim': pra-----.*

(i.2.5² and vi.1.8⁵) and *uto* (five times), *upo* (four times), and *pro* (i.7.13⁵).

Of the remaining specifications of the rule, the *h* is made for but a single case of the exclamation *ho*, which the commentator quotes: *upahūtāñs ho ity āha* (ii.6.7³); the *d* is for the vocative *indo*, which occurs twice: *indo indriyāvatah* (i.4.27), and *indo ity āha* (vi.5.8³): the commentator quotes the latter passage; the *pit* is for the vocative *pito*, only found once, as cited: *sa no mayobhah pito ā viçasva* (v.7.24⁵: W. B. O. omit the first three words). These three, as was noted under the preceding rule, are the only instances which the Sanhitā affords of vocatives in *o* showing an uncombinable quality.

The commentator's explanation of the rule is "the *o* is here specially distinguished in order to the prescription of its quality even in the case of absence of the sequent determining circumstances before stated." As examples of words whose ending is combined with *u*, after the consonants specified, he gives *so evāi 'shāi 'tasya* (ii.2.9⁷; 5.5⁵), *mā bher māro mo eshām* (iv.5.10¹), and *tatho evo 'ttare nir vapet* (iii.4.9⁷: W. B. O. omit after *uttare*). His counter-examples are *çatakrataṁ ud vañçam iva* (i.6.12³: G. M. omit *iva*), and *pra so agne* (iii.2.11¹): but G. M., which have given the latter passage under the preceding rule, here substitute for it *mā so asmāñ avahāya* (v.7.9¹); their separate application is manifest.

The treatment by the Prātiçākhyā of words ending in *o* is awkward and bungling to a degree quite rare or wholly unknown elsewhere in its rules. We should be justified in inferring from its statements that *o*, *to*, *uto*, *upo* and *pro* were not regarded as *pragrahas* at all, nor the vocatives in *o* except under the conditions and in the places specified, and that (if the commentator's explanation of rule 4 is accepted) they are not written with *iti* in the *pada* text: while, doubtless, in every *pada*-text of the Black Yajus, as in those of the other Vedas, each word is treated uniformly, whether it happen to exhibit its uncombinable quality in *sanhitā* or not. Through the rest of the chapter, it will be noticed, the words mentioned are defined as *pragrahas*, without regard to the circumstances in which they may stand in the text.

अथैकारेकारौ ॥ ८ ॥

8. Now follow cases of *e* and *i*.

This is a heading for the remainder of the chapter, excluding all other vowels than final *e* and *i* from the action of its rules. The words exhibiting such finals are, of course, mainly duals, and are by the other treatises simply defined as such, with immense saving of trouble.

8. *athe 'ty ayam adhiḥkārah: ekārekārāñs' pragrahatvena vidhīyete? ity etad' adhiḥkṛtaṁ veditavyam.*

¹ G. M. *ekāra ikārah*. ² W. O. *-yate*; B. *-yayate*; G. M. *viçishyata*. ³ G. M. om.

अस्मे ॥ ९ ॥

9. *Asme* is *pragraha*.

The example cited by the commentator is, according to W. B. O., *asme te bandhuh* (i.2.7); according to G. M., *sampatte gor asme candrāni* (also i.2.7). Neither exhibits in *saṁhitā* the *pragraha* quality of the word, as is done at i.7.13⁵ and elsewhere: *asme* is not uncommon in the *Sanhitā*, occurring twenty-nine times.

वे इत्यनिंग्यान्तः ॥ १० ॥

10. Also *tve*, when not the final member of a separable compound.

The office of the word *iti* in this rule is differently explained by the two versions of the commentary: W. B. O. say that it indicates the quality of a separable cited word (they mean, doubtless, of an inseparable); G. M., that it indicates *pragraha* quality. Each interpretation is as good, and as worthless, as the other. The commentary is not infrequently at much pains to put some special, even wonderful, significance into *iti* when found in a rule; and generally with as little acceptable result as here.

The pronoun *tve* occurs seven times in the *Sanhitā* (at i.3.14²: 4.46¹: iii.1.11⁷; 5.10¹: iv.2.7³; 6.5⁴: vi.1.8⁵), exhibiting its *pragraha*-quality in *saṁhitā* only once (at iv.2.7³). The commentator's instance is *tve kratum api* (iii.5.10¹: G. M. omit *api*); and his counter-instance, to show the necessity of the restriction imposed in the rule, is *anāgāstve adititve turāsaḥ* (ii.1.11⁶: G. M. omit *turāsaḥ*), where the *pada*-text reads *anāgāḥ-tve : aditi-tve*.

देवतेउभेभागधेउर्ध्वेविशाखेशृङ्गेऽनेमेध्येतृषोतृद्येकनी-
निकेपार्श्वेशिवेचोत्तमेऽवोत्तरेशिप्रेरथन्तरेवत्सरस्यद्वपेवि-
द्वपेविषुद्वपेसदोहविर्धनेअधिषवणेअहोरात्रेधृतव्रतेस्तुत-

9. *asme ity asmin'* *grahane 'ntyasvaraḥ pragraho bhavati. yathā: asme...*

¹ G. M. *etasmīn*.

10. *itiṣabda ingyagrahanatvam'* *dyotayati: aningyāntas tve ity esha ṣabdaḥ pragraho bhavati. yathā: tve..... aningyānta iti kim: anā-..... ingyasyā 'nta ingyāntaḥ: ne 'ngyānto 'ningyāntaḥ.*

¹ G. M. *pragrahatvam*. T. W. B. O. write *ingy-* throughout.

शस्त्रेभ्यः सामेभ्यः क्तेभ्यः पितैर्वतेपूर्तेप्रत्तेविधृतेअनृतेअहिद्रे-
बद्धतेपूर्वजेकृणुध्वश्सदने ॥ ११ ॥

11. Also *devate*, *ubhe*, *bhāgadhe*, *ūrdhve*, *viçākhe*, *gr̥nge*, *ene*, *medhye*, *tr̥nne*, *tr̥dye*, *kan̐nikē*, *pārçve*, *çive*, *co 'ttame*, *evo 'ttare*, *çipre*, *ratham̐tare*, *vatsarasya rūpe*, *virūpe*, *vishvūrūpe*, *sadōhavir-
dhāne*, *adhishavane*, *ahorātre*, *dhrtavrate*, *stutaçastre*, *rksāme*, *akte*, *arpite*, *rāvate*, *pūrte*, *pratte*, *vidhr̥te*, *anr̥te*, *achidre*, *bahule*, *pārvaje*, *kr̥nudhvañ sadane*.

For the *pragrahas* catalogued in this rule—all of them dual cases of feminines and neuters—the commentator quotes illustrative passages as follows. For *devate*, *devate samr̥ddhyāi māi-
tram* (ii.1.9³: the last word in G. M. only). For *ubhe*, G. M. have *achidre bahule ubhe*: *vyucasvatī samvasāthām* (iv.1.3²); but W. B. O., blunderingly, *ime eva rasenā 'nakṭi* (vi.3.11³: B. O. have *ubhe* for *ime*): the word occurs also in other passages. For *bhāgadhe*, *bhāgadhe bhāgadha asmāi* (ii.5.6⁶): also in the preceding division of the same *anuvāku*, and at v.5.9². As counter-example, to show that *dhe* (itself a *pada*, *bhāga-dhe*) would not have answered the purpose alone, we have *agna udadhe* (v.5.9¹: *pada-
text*, *uda-dhe*). For *ūrdhve*, *ūrdhve samidhāv ā dadhātī* (ii.6.6³ and vi.2.1⁶). For *viçākhe*, *viçākhe nakshatram* (iv.4.10²): and as counter-example, to show the necessity of including the *vi* (of *vi-
çākhe*), we have *tasmint sahasraçākhe*, stated to be found “in the text of another school.” About a score of such alleged citations from “another text,” assumed to have been had in view by the authors of the *Prātiçākhyā* in constructing their rules, are given in various parts of the commentary (five of them in the comment upon this rule): they will be put together, and their bearing discussed, in an additional note at the end of the work. For *gr̥nge*, *antarā gr̥nge tam devatāh* (vi.2.8⁴: only G. M. have *devatāh*): the word also occurs at i.2.14⁷. The next two words, *ene* and *medhye*, occur in the same passage, *medhye evāi 'ne karoti* (vi.2.9¹), which the comment quotes, in W. O. giving *medhye* last, after the rest, by way of justifying the order in which the two words stand in the rule: but B. G. M. read the whole passage as it stands in the text, and G. M. make the rule read correspondingly *medhye ene* (T. has, like the others, *ene medhye*). *Ene* is also found in one or

11. ----- *etāni padāni pragrahasanijñāni* syuh⁸. *yathā*: *dev-
-----: achid-----: bhāg-----: bhāge* 'ti kim: *agna-----: ūr-
-----: viç-----: vī* 'ti kim: *tas-----: iti çākḥāntare*: *ant-----:
ev-----: me-----: asam-----: sam-----: yad-----: pār-----:
pit-----: vik-----: ce* 'ti kim: *sam-----: tatho-----: eve* 'ti
*kim: nāi-----: pīt-----: yad-----: samv-----: sam-----:
vish-----: vatsarasyavivishv* 'iti kim: *arū-----: 'rāpaçabdasya*

two other passages (iv.6.2⁴: vi.2.9¹ again; 3.9⁶). For *trṇe*, *asam-trṇe hi hanā atho khalu* (vi.2.11³: only G. M. have the last two words). For *trḍye*, *samtrḍye dhṛtyāi* (vi.2.11³). For *kanīnike*, *yad atirātrāu kanīnike agnishtomāu yat* (vii.2.9¹: W. B. O. begin at *kan-*): the same word occurs twice more in the next division. For *pārṇve*, *pārṇve parahsamānuh* (vii.3.10³): it is found a second time in the same division. For *give*, *pitarah somyāsuh give no dyāvāprthivī* (iv.6.6⁴: W. B. O. begin at *give*). For *co 'ttame*, *vikarṇm co 'ttame upa dadhāti* (v.3.7³: only G. M. have the last two words): and, to show the necessity of the *ca*, *samvatsarāṇ saṃpādyo 'ttame māsi* (vii.5.3¹). For *evo 'ttare*, *tatho evo 'ttare nirvāpet* (iii.4.9⁷): and, to show why *eva* had to be included in the rule, *nāi 'ti shodasya uttare tena* (vii.1.4³: only G. M. have *tena*). For *ṣipre*, *pītvā ṣipre avepayah* (i.4.30: W. B. O. begin with *ṣipre*). For *rathamtare*, *yad brhadrathamtare anvarjeyuh* (vii.5.3²: only G. M. have *yad*): the same compound occurs in several places elsewhere. For *vatsarasya rūpe*, *samvatsarasya rūpe āpnuvanti* (vii.5.1⁴). For *virūpe*, *samanasā virūpe dhāpayete* (iv.1.10⁴; 6.5²; 7.12³). For *vishurūpe*, *vishurūpe ahanī dyāvurivā 'si* (iv.1.11³: W. B. O. stop with *ahanī*). The necessity of including in the rule, besides the *pada rūpe*, the words *vatsarasya*, *vishu* (of *vishu-rūpe*), and *vi* (of *vi-rūpe*) is proved by the citation of *arākṣitam dr̥ṣa ā rūpe annam* (iv.3.13²), where *rūpe* is locative: and the commentary adds the remark (wanting, however, in the South-Indian MSS.), “the separate specification of the word *rūpa* is to be looked upon as for the sake of distinct enunciation.” For *sadohavirdhāne*, *sadohavirdhāne eva saṃ minoti* (ii.5.5⁵): the compound occurs twice more, at vi.2.6²; 5.1⁵. To justify the inclusion of *sadaḥ*, the commentator quotes *uparavā huvirdhāne khāyante* (vi.2.11¹); but the case appears to him one not to be so easily disposed of, and he enters into an elaborate discussion of it, which I defer to the end of this note, in order not to interrupt the connection. For *adhishavane*, *hanū adhishavane jihvā* (vi.2.11⁴): it is also found in the preceding division of the same section, and at iv.7.8¹. The *adhi* is justified by reference to *savanesavane 'bhi grhnāti* (vi.4.11⁴; 6.11³). For *ahorātre*, *ahorātre prā 'viṣaṇ* (i.5.9⁷): the word occurs not infrequently elsewhere. The passage *atirātre paṇḍakāmasya* (vi.6.11⁴) is given to account for the inclusion of *ahah*; this implies, of course, that the Tāittirīya *pada*-text treats the word as a separable compound, *ahah-rātre*. For *dhṛtavarate*, *dyāvāprthivī dhṛtavarate āvinna devī* (i.8.12²: G. M. omit the last

*prativīṣeshanam uccāranavispashtārtham⁹ drashtavyam⁷: sad-
----- sada iti kim: up----- nanu padagrahaṇeṣhu pa-
dān gamyeta (i.50) iti sāmāthyād⁸ dhavirdhāne ity ekapada-
syāt¹⁰ va kāryasiddhīḥ: sadaḥpadam vyartham. māi 'vam: pa-
dagrahaṇe sthālāntare¹⁰ bhinnarūpasya¹¹ sambhāvanādyām⁹ vi-
ṣeṣhaṇam sārthakam bhāvati¹²: bhinnarūpatvābhāve tu codyam
etad bhāvet¹³. nanu tarki devāte iti padagrahaṇasya sthālāntare¹⁴.*

word); and, to account for the inclusion of *dhr̥ta*, *yasya vrate pushtipatih* (iii.1.11³). For *stutaçastre*, *stutaçastre evāi 'tena duhe* (v.6.8⁶: G. M. omit the last word): it occurs again at vii.3.13. This time, resort is had to "another text" (*çākḥāntaram*) for a passage to explain why the rule does not say simply *çastre*: it is *ūrdhve çastre pratishthite*. For *ṛksāme*, *ṛksāme vāi devebhyaḥ* (vi.1.3¹): the word is found twice in this division, and also at vi.5.9²; 6.7⁴. Here, again, a passage in "another text," *brahma sāme pratishthite* (G. M. omit the last word, and B. O. omit the *sā* of *sāme*), is appealed to in justification of the *ṛk*. For *akte*, *purāravā ghr̥tenā 'kte vṛshanam dadhāthām* (i.3.7¹ and [except *purāravāḥ*] vi.3.5³: W. B. O. omit the first word, B. also the last). For *arpite*, *dyāvāprthivī bhuvanesv arpite* (iv.7.13²: only G. M. have the first word). For *rāivate*, *çākvīrarāivate sāmāni* (i.8.13² and iv.4.2³): the same compound is found again at iv.3.2³. For *pārte*, the different recensions give different examples: W. B. O. have *ishtāpārte sañ srjethām* (iv.7.13⁵); G. M., *ishtāpārte kṛnutāt* (v.7.7²): I have noted no other cases: for the treatment of the word in the *pada*-text see the note to iii.6. For *pratte*, *pratte kāmam annādyam duhāte* (v.4.9³: G. M. omit the last word). For *vidhr̥te*, again, W. B. O. have *vidhr̥te sarvataḥ* (vi.4.10³), and G. M. *tasmān nāsikayā cakshushī vidhr̥te samāni* (ii.3.8²), and the *vi* is justified by an alleged citation from "another text," *agnidhr̥te* (G. M., however, omitting the *agni*, thus leaving it to be understood that the simple word *dhr̥te* is found elsewhere not *pragraha*). For *ar̥te*, *satyār̥te avapaçyan* (v.6.1¹). For *achidre*, *achidre bahule ubhe* (iv.1.3²: only G. M. have *ubhe*), which answers also for *bahule*: it is the only passage containing either word. For *pūrvaje*, *pūrvaje pitarā naryasibhiḥ* (iv.1.11⁴: W. B. O. omit the last word): another passage beginning with the same word is the subject of rule 23 of this chapter. Once more a word, *prathamaje*, is cited from "another text," in order to explain why the rule does not say simply *je* (since the *pada*-text writes *pūrvaje*). For *kṛnudhvañ sadane*, finally, we have the sole passage in which it occurs, *gīrbhiḥ kṛnudhvañ sadane rtasya* (iv.1.11⁴: G. M. omit *rtasya*), with the counter-example *apām tvā sadane sādāyāmi* (iv.3.1: G. M. omit the last word), to show the necessity of *kṛnudhvam*.

To return, now, to the long word *sadohavirdhāne*. The objection is raised, that its part *sadaḥ* is unnecessary, and that it would

*soma.... iti bhinnarāpatvād*¹⁰ *viçeshanena bhavitavyam: tac ca nā'sti. ucyate: devate ity akhaṇḍapadasyai 'va kāryavidhānād atra viçeshanam na yujyate: akhaṇḍavidhānam*¹¹ *iti katham pratīyate: te ity asya te mā pātam* (iv.42) *ity ādinā prthakkarand ity brāmah: nāi*¹² *'vam havirdhāne*¹³ *ity asyā*¹⁴ *'khaṇḍa-tvadyotakam*¹⁵ *kimcid apy*¹⁶ *asti yena sadahpadavāyarthyam ālambate*¹⁷ *hanā....: adhī'ti kim: sav-....: aho-....: ahaṇ ity kim: atī-....: dyāv-....: dhr̥te'ti kim: yasya....: stu-*

have been sufficient to say *havirdhāne* simply; for rule i.50 teaches us that, in citations of *padas*, the cited *pada* alone is to be understood, not any collocation of words or letters phonetically equivalent with it: and *havirdhāne* is here a single *pada* (the compound being divided *sadaḥ-havirdhāne*, while its latter member, occurring by itself as a non-*pragraha*, is written *havir-dhāne*, and so is a congeries of two *padas*). It is replied: not so; a distinctive addition is properly made to a cited *pada*, in case of its occurrence in a different form in another passage; though the objection would hold good, were it not for such occurrence in a different form. But this explanation is not suffered to pass without challenge. In that case, retorts the objector, a distinction ought to be added to *devāte*, because it occurs elsewhere in a different form (made up of two independent words), as in *soma deva te matiridaḥ* (iii.2.5^{2,3}); and no such addition is made. The answer is, that no distinction need here be applied to *devāte*, because its treatment is defined as of an undivided word: and, if you ask how its indivisibility is established, we reply that rule 42, below, treats of *te* as a separate *pada* in the various situations in which it is *pragraha* [whence the inference is clear that it is here an inseparable part of the word *devāte*]; while there is nothing whatever to show in like manner the indivisibility of *havirdhāne*, and so to prove the addition of *sadaḥ* superfluous. The implication is, that if the *pada dhāne* happened to be described elsewhere as *pragraha* after certain other *padas*, of which *havir* was not one, then we could be sure that *havirdhāne* here meant a single undivided *pada*, and its mention by itself would be enough; while, as things are, one cannot be certain that its part *havir* is not, like the *vi* and *vishu* of *virūpe* and *vishurūpe*, a distinctive addition.

अमीचक्षुषीकाष्णीदिवताफल्गुनीमुष्टीधीनामीवपाश्र-
पणीअहनीज्ञन्मनीसुम्निनीसामनीविष्णावीरेक्षवीद्वीद्या-
वापृथिवी ॥ १२ ॥

.....: *stute 'ti kim: ardh-*..... *iti śākhāntare: rks-*.....: *rg iti*
kim: brah-..... *iti śākhāntare: pur-*.....: *dyāv-*.....: *śākv-*
.....: *ishṭ-*.....: *prat-*.....: *vidh-*.....: *vī 'ti kim: agn- iti śā-*
khāntare: "saty-.....: *ach-*.....: *pārv-*.....: *pārve 'ti kim:*
*prath- iti śākhāntare:*²³ *gīr-*.....: *kr̥ṇudhvam iti kim: apān*

¹ O. *praghyas-*. ² G. M. *bhavanti*. ³ G. M. *bhāgadhe*. ⁴ G. M. *viśākhe*. ⁵ G. M. *-rañ-*. ⁶ W. O. *vatsaraviv-*. ⁷ G. M. om. ⁸ B. *-pañ vi-*; W. O. *-tha-*. ⁹ G. M. om. ¹⁰ MSS. *sthāl-*. ¹¹ W. *patvañ-*. ¹² B. G. M. om. ¹³ G. M. om. ¹⁴ B. *sthāl-*. ¹⁵ W. B. O. *abh-*. ¹⁶ B. O. *-nditavi-*. ¹⁷ W. B. O. *mā-*. ¹⁸ W. B. O. *sadoh-*. ¹⁹ W. *asṭ*; B. *ḍ*; O. om. ²⁰ W. B. O. ins. *na-*. ²¹ W. B. O. *tathā*. ²² B. *-mbyate*; O. *-mbyate*; G. M. *apadyate*. ²³ B. om.

12. Also *amī*, *cakshushī*, *kārshnī*, *devatā phalgunī*, *mushtī*, *dhī*, *nābhī*, *vapācraṇā*, *ahanī*, *janmanī*, *sumninī*, *sāmanī*, *vāishnavī*, *āikshavī*, *darvī*, *dyāvāprthivī*.

The illustrative passages cited under this rule are as follows. For *amī*, according to W. B. O., *amī vā idam abhāvan* (iii.3.7¹); but according to G. M., *amī tvā jahati* (iii.2.11³): I have noted elsewhere only vi.1.5⁴. For *cakshushī*, *cakshushī vā ete yajñasya* (ii.6.2¹ et al.: G. M. omit *yajñasya*): the word occurs about a dozen times. For *kārshnī*, *kārshnī upānahāv upa muñcate* (v.4.4⁴; 6.6¹: G. M. omit the last two words). For *phalgunī*, *pitaro devatā phalgunī nakshatram* (iv.4.10¹): again in the next division of the same section. To show the necessity of including *devatā* in the rule, is given *yad dvitīyaṁ sū phalgunī* (ii.1.2²). For *mushtī*, *mushtī karoti vācam* (v.2.1⁷ and vi.1.4³: G. M. omit *vācam*). For *dhī*, *pradhī tāv ukthya madhye* (vii.4.11²: G. M. omit *madhye*). For *nābhī*, *rajatanābhī vāicvadevāu* (v.5.24). For *vapācraṇā*, *vapācraṇā pra harati* (vi.3.9⁶): it occurs also in the fourth division of the same section. As counter-example, to explain the presence of *vapā* in the rule, is given, "from another text," the compound *paṇḍrapaṇī* (or, as G. M. read, *bhasma-graṇā*): our Sanhitā has *paṇḍrapaṇam* at iii.1.3². For *ahanī*, *ahanī dyāvur ivā 'sī* (iv.1.11³). For *janmanī*, *ubhe nī pāsi janmanī* (i.4.22). For *sumninī*, *sumnāya sumninī* (i.1.13³). For *sāmanī*, *sāmanī pratishthityāi* (iv.4.2³): also at i.8.13². For *vāishnavī*, *valagahanāu vāishnavī brhann asi* (i.3.2²: only G. M. have the last two words). For *āikshavī*, *āikshavī tirage* (vi.2.1⁵ twice). For *darvī*, *darvī gr̥nīsha āsani* (ii.2.12⁷ and iv.4.4⁶). For *dyāvāprthivī*, *dyāvāprthivī eva svena* (ii.1.4⁷): the word is frequently found elsewhere. The commentator gives us here also a counter-example, *mahī dyāvuh prthivī ca nahī* (iii.3.10² et al.: G. M. omit *ca nahī*), as if the inclusion of *dyāvā* required justification: but, in ordinary Vedic usage (I have omitted to inform myself in season respecting that of the Tāittirīya *pada*-text), *dyāvāprthivī* is inseparable, and therefore itself a single *pada*.

पूर्वश्च ॥ १३ ॥

13. As also, the preceding word.

That is to say (by the application of rule i.58), the word preceding the last one mentioned in the rule next above, or *dyāvāprthivī*.

12.¹ *etāni padāni pragrahasaniṇṇāni syuh*². *yathā*³:
amī.....: *caksh*.....: *kārsh*.....: *pīt*.....: *devate* 'ti *kim*:
yād.....: *musht*.....: *pra*.....: *raj*.....: *vap*.....: *vape* 'ti
kim: *paṇ*.....: *iti gākhāntare*: *ah*.....: *ubhe*.....: *sum*.....:
sām.....: *val*.....: *āiksh*.....: *dar*.....: *dyāv*.....: *dyāve*..
 'ti *kim*: *mahī*.....

¹ G. M. ins. *iti*. ² G. M. O. *bhavanti*. ³ W. B. O. om.

vī. The examples given are *yāvatī dyāvāprthivī mahitvā* (iii.2.6¹), and *āvinne dyāvāprthivī* (i.8.12²: G. M. invert the order of the two citations): I have noted only two other cases of the application of the rule, at ii.2.12³; 6.7⁵.

न रुन्धे नित्यम् ॥ १४ ॥

14. But not *rundhe*, in any case.

The case intended to be excluded is quoted by the commentator: *paṣān eva 'va rundhe dyāvāprthivī gacha svāhā* (vi.4.1³: W. B. O. omit the first three words and the last). The specification *nityam*, 'constantly, in all cases,' is intended to exclude also the operation of any other rule under which *rundhe* might chance to fall: for example, in *rundhe yadā sahasram* (ii.1.5²), where, as preceding *yadā*, it would otherwise be *pragraha* by rule 38 of this chapter. I have noted no other case.

हरिसहुरिसहृतीकल्पयन्तीआप्रशतीआहुती ॥ १५ ॥

15. Also *harī*, *sahurī*, *sahṛtī*, *kalpayantī*, *ā prshatī*, and *āhūtī* are *pragraha*.

The cited examples are as follows. For *harī*, *harī te yuñjā prshatī abhātām* (iv.6.9⁴: G. M. omit the last two words): it occurs in toward a dozen other passages. For *sahurī*, *sahurī saparyāt* (iv.2.11¹); and the counter-example, to show the necessity of the *sa*, *tam āhurī hvayante* (but O. reads *tām*, B. *hvayate*, and G. M. *ahurī vācayati*), claimed to be found "in another text." This would imply, of course, that the *pada*-text reads *sa-hurī*—as is in fact the case. For *sahṛtī*, *sahṛtī vanatam girah* (ii.3.14¹); and, as counter-example, for the same purpose as the last, *hṛtī punar juhōti* (but G. M. read *manur* for *punar*), also from "another text." For *kalpayantī*, *adhvaram kalpayantī ārdhram yajnam* (i.2.13²: G. M. omit the first word, and W. B. O. the last): another case is found at vi.2.9³. For *ā prshatī*, the passage already quoted for *harī*, *yuñjā prshatī abhātām* (iv.6.9⁴); and, to justify the *ā*, the counter-example *prshatī sthūlaprshatī* (v.6.12). For *āhūtī*, *purodācam ete āhūtī juhōti* (i.5.23⁴: G. M. omit the first two words, W. B. O. the last): nearly the same phrase occurs again at

13. *cakāreṇā 'nvādishtadyāvāprthivī ity' asmāt' pārvo 'pi 'kāra ekāro' vā padāntaḥ pragraho bhavati. yathā: yāv-----āv-----*

¹ G. M. *etasmāt*. ² G. M. put before *ikārah*.

14. *rundhe ity antyasvaro' dyāvāprthivī ity etasmāt pārvo 'pi na pragraho bhavati: paṣān----- nityaṣabdah prāptyantartanishedhārthah: rundhe----- vīdādī' (iv.38) prāptih.*

¹ W. *antasv*; B. O. *antah sv*. ² O *vidāvāritv itī*.

i.5.4⁴. To account for the *ā* in this word, G. M. simply cites *huti* as found in "another text:" but W. B. O. give the phrase *huti tasmād evāḥ* (but W. O. read *hūti*, and B. *ādhati*: W. also has *vivā iti* instead of *evā iti*).

पूर्वश्च ॥ १६ ॥

16. As also, the preceding word.

Namely *ete*, occurring before *dhuti* in the passage already quoted: *purodāgam ete dhuti* (i.5.2³: W. B. O. here omit the first word).

वाससीतपसीरोदसी ॥ १७ ॥

17. Also *vāsasī*, *tapasī*, and *rodasī*.

The examples are: *vāsasī iva vivasāndu* (i.5.10¹; the word is also found at i.8.18); *sākshād eva dikshātāpasī ava rundhe* (vi.1.1²: the compound occurs again in the same division: only G. M. have the first two words); and *ime vāi rodasī tayoh* (v.1.5⁴: G. M. have dropped out *vāi*): the word is not rarely met with elsewhere.

परश्च ॥ १८ ॥

18. As also, the following word.

The passage contemplated by the rule is, as cited in the comment, *anv indrañ rodasī vāvaçāne* (i.7.13¹): there is, I believe, no other falling under it.

15. ----- ¹ *eteshv antyasvarah² pragrahah syāt³: harī-----*
sah----- se 'ti kim: tam----- iti gākhāntare: sah----- se 'ti
kim: hūti----- iti gākhāntare: adhv----- yuñjā----- 'e 'ti⁴
kim: pṛsh----- puro----- e 'ti kim: huti----- iti gākhāntare.

¹ G. M. ins. *ity.* ² B. O. *antyaḥ sv.* ³ G. M. *bhavati.* ⁴ G. M. *ākāreṇa.*

16. *cakārānvādeçād¹ dhuti ity etasmāt pūrva 'ikāra ekāro vā padāntah² pragraho bhavati. yathā: pur-----*

¹ G. M. *-anvādishta.* ² G. M. om.

17. ¹ ----- *ity etāni pragrahasamjñāni bhavanti¹. yathā:*
vās----- sāk----- ime-----

¹ G. M. *eshv antyasvarah pragraho bhavati.*

* 18. *cakārānvādishtarodasī¹ ity etasmāt para 'ikāra ekāro vā. padāntah² pragraho bhavati. yathā: anv-----*

¹ G. M. *-tād ro.* ² G. M. om.

व्यचस्वतीभरिष्यन्तीनःपृथिवी ॥ ११ ॥

19. Also *vyacasvatī*, *bharishyanti*, and *naḥ pṛthivī*.

The examples are: *vyacasvatī saṁ vāsāthām* (iv.1.3²); *agnim antar bharishyanti jyotishmantam* (iv.1.3²: G. alone has the last word); and *dyāvā naḥ pṛthivī imañ sidhram* (iv.1.11⁴). The needed counter-example for the last is supplied by *rejate agne pṛthivī makhebhyaḥ* (iv.1.11⁴).

येअप्रथेतामुर्वीतेअस्ययंकन्दसीहृन्दस्वतीतिआचरन्तीअ- न्तरैतासु ॥ २० ॥

20. Also in the verses beginning *ye aprathetām*, *urvī*, *te asya*, *yam krandasī*, *chandasvatī*, *te ācarantī*, and *antarā*.

The commentator cites only the beginning of each verse, as a word with *pragraha* final occurs at or near the beginning in every case. Thus: *ye aprathetām amitebhiḥ* (iv.7.15⁶: there are three other cases of *pragrahas* in the verse): with the counter-example *ye te panthānaḥ* (vii.5.24), to show that *ye* alone would not have defined the verse; *urvī rodasī varivah* (iv.7.15⁶: G. M. omit the last word: three cases, besides *rodasī*, already disposed of by rule 17); *te asya yoshane* (iv.1.8²: one more case: the *te* is therefore made no account of in rule 42, below): with the counter-example *te vārdhanta svatavaso mahitvanā* (iv.1.11³), to show the necessity of *asya*; *yam krandasī avasā* (iv.1.8⁵: contains two other cases): and, as counter-example, for a like purpose, *yam agne pṛtsu martyam* (i.3.13²); *chandasvatī ushāsā* (iv.3.11¹: it contains seven cases); *te ācarantī* (iv.6.6²: also seven cases): with *te no arvanto havanacrutah* (i.7.8²) as counter-example, to prove that *te* alone would not be enough; and, finally, *antarā mitrāvaruṇā carantī* (v.1.11²: with four cases).

नोपस्ये ॥ २१ ॥

21. But not *upasthe*.

19. ----- 'eteshv¹ antyasvarah² padāntah³ pragraho bhavati.
yathā: vyac-----: agn-----: dyāvā-----: na iti kim: rej-----

¹ G. eshv. ² B. -tyah sv. ³ G. om. ⁴ M. om.

20. ----- etāsv ṛkshv ikāra ekāro¹ vā padāntah pragraho bha-
vati. yathā: ye-----: aprathetām iti kim: ye te-----: urvī-----:
te-----: asye 'ti kim: te 'v-----: yam-----: krandasī iti kim:
yam-----: chand-----: te ā-----: ācarantī iti kim: te no-----:
ant-----

¹ G. M. put before *ikāro*.

That is to say, *upasthe* is exempted from the action of the preceding rule: it occurs but once in the verses forming the subject of that rule, namely in *māte 'va putram bibhrtām upasthe* (in the verse beginning *te ācaranti*, iv.6.6²: W. B. O. give only the last two words). To show that *sthe* would not have sufficiently defined the exception (*upa-sthe*), the commentator quotes *ye pratisthe (prati-sthe) abhavatām* (from the verse beginning with *urvi*, iv.7.15⁶).

इरावतीप्रभृत्या दधार ॥ २२ ॥

22. Also in the passage beginning with *irāvatī* and ending with *dādhāra*.

The passage in question is found at i.2.13², and contains six *pragrahas*, whereof one, *rodasī*, needs no further provision than was made in rule 17, above; it also contains a word in *e*, *manave*, which is not *pragraha*, being excepted by rule 54. The commentator quotes its beginning, *irāvatī dhenumatī hi bhātām*.

पूर्वजेप्रभृत्यायम् ॥ २३ ॥

23. And in the passage beginning with *pūrvaje* and ending with *ayam*.

Of this passage, found at ii.6.7⁵, the commentator quotes the first four words. In order to the better understanding of the following discussion, I set it down here in full, along with the word that precedes it: *hvyate pūrvaje rtāvarī ity āha pūrvaje hy ete rtāvarī devī devaputre ity āha devī hy ete devaputre upahūto 'yam*. It contains ten *pragraha* endings, of which, however, two (*pūrvaje*) fall under rule 11, above. The word *ā*, 'as far as,' in the rule, is declared here to exclude the two limiting words mentioned (com-

21. *etāsv ṛkshā 'pasthe ity antyasvarah' padāntah' pragraho na bhavati. yathā: māt----- upe 'ti kim: ye-----*

¹ B. O. *antah sv.* ² G. M. *om.*

22. *irāvatīprabhrtī 'rdvatī iti' śabdām ārabhyā "dādhāra dādhāraśabdaparyantam" ikāra ekāro vā padāntah' pragraho bhavati. yathā: irā-----*

¹ G. M. *om.* ² W. B. O. *paryantam.*

23. *pūrvajeprobhrtīyamparyantam' ikāra ekāro vā padāntah' pragraho bhavati. yathā: pūrv----- ānpadam' maryādāyām vartate. nanu pūrv----- ity ārabhyā 'yam----- ity etatparyantam sthalam' etatsūtravishayaḥ' kim na syāt. ucyate: bhavatkṣha upabandhāntahpātivāt' kṛṇudhvañ sadane (iv.11) iti grāhanasya' vādyarthyaṁ 'syāt: tan' mā bhād iti: tasmād*

pare Pāṇini ii.1.13)—an arbitrary restriction, directly opposed by the analogy of the preceding rule; intended, doubtless, to relieve the treatise of the reproach of declaring the word *pūrvaje* a *pragraha* by two separate rules; but this is a small gain, since the same word occurs a second time in the passage, and cannot there be reached by any such device.

A protracted, not to say tedious, discussion now arises, respecting the sufficiency and propriety of the rule as stated. The first objection is: how do we know that the passage had in view by the rule is not that which begins with *pūrvaje pitarā* (iv.1.11⁴) and ends with *ayam purobhuvah* (iv.3.2¹: B. O. omit *bhuvah*). Because, it is answered, the special citation (in rule 11) of *kr̥ṇudhvañ sadane* (iv.1.11⁴), which occurs within the limits mentioned, would in that case be rendered superfluous. Objection second: the word *pūrvaje*, at any rate, is useless, it having been already made *pragraha* by rule 11; the rule should read “beginning with *vari*” (the concluding *pada* of the separable compound *ṛta-vari*). This, too, is repelled: the rule reads as it stands because *vari* occurs twice in the passage, and the question would arise where the defined limit should be understood to be: moreover, as we are taught (i.25) in case of doubt to take the nearest, we should have to assume as intended the latter of the two, as being nearer to the other specified limit: in which case we should arrive at the untoward result that the *pragraha* character of the first *vari* would not be established at all. But now the objector triumphantly retorts, that there are also two instances of *pūrvaje*, and a like doubt as in the supposition last made would arise as to the identity of the one cited, and a like untoward result as was pointed out in connection therewith. Not so, is the defense: *pūrvaje* is not desig-

etat⁹ sthalaṃ etatsūtravishayo nā bhavati. nanv atra pūrvajegrahanam anarthakam: pūrvajekr̥ṇudhvañsadane (iv.11) *iti tatrdi 'vo 'ktatvāt: 'kim tu¹⁰ varīprabhṛty¹¹. etāvatāi 'vā 'lunt. ne 'ti brūmah: varīgrahanadvayasambhavāt: kutra vā 'vadhiniyamatvena¹² svikāra¹³ iti saṁdehaḥ syāt: kim ca: āsannañ saṁdehe* (i.25) *iti vacanād uttarādvadhisannikṛṣṭo¹⁴ dvitīyavarīcabda eva svikartavyaḥ: tathā sati pūrvavarīcabdasya¹⁵ 'pra-grahatvaṁ na syāt: tac cā 'nisṭam. nanu bhavanmate 'pi pūrvajedvayasambhavāt kutra vā grahanam iti saṁdehaḥ samānah: kim ca: yuktayuktam¹⁶ anisṭam ca¹⁷ samānam¹⁸. māi 'vam: pūrvaje iti padam atra kāryabhāktvena¹⁹ no 'cyate²⁰ yena pūrnaruktyam bhavet: 'kim tu pūrvac cā 'sdu jecabdaḥ ca pūrvaje: etatprabhṛti 'ty²¹ upalakshakatveno²² 'cyate²⁰. nanu tarhy²³ upahūta iti padam atikramyā 'yam ity avadhītena kimartham²⁴ ucyate: 'upahūta iti padānām bāhulye²⁵ 'py āsannañ saṁdehe* (i.25) *iti vacanād prāthamikasyāi 'va grahanasiddhiḥ²⁶. māi 'vam²⁷: upahūta iti padagrahane²⁸ tatra²⁹ gauravadoshah:*

nated by the rule as a word possessing the defined quality—which would indeed be a superfluous repetition (in view of rule 11); but it means ‘the former *je* of the two,’ and is given merely as a convenient limit to count forward from! Again: why, at the end of the passage, is *ayam* pitched upon as limit, to the neglect of *upahātah*; for, though this word is found several times in the immediate sequel, yet, in virtue of the principle already appealed to, “in case of doubt, take the nearest” (125), its first occurrence would be distinctly enough the one intended. This also is disallowed: to quote the whole compound word *upahātah* (*pada*-text, *upa-hātah*) would be to incur the charge of excess; and as for *upa* by itself, the first member of the compound, though it be a *pada*, its *pada* quality is of secondary rank, while that of *ayam* is primary [the latter being a complete word, but the former only a somewhat artificially separated portion of such]; hence, on the principle “where there is a primary, a secondary is not in place,” it was proper to cite *ayam*. The answer, however, suggests the further objection that, on the same principle, the first limit is unsuitable [*je* being also a fragment of a word; and its predecessor *hwayate* should have been taken instead]. That cannot be made good, is the reply; for there a want of suitableness in the primary word suggested: if you take the primary *hwayate*, then, on the supposition that the definition of limits is to be understood inclusively [*ā* being susceptible of both an inclusive and an exclusive interpretation], this word [as it ends in *e*] will appear to be cited as a *pragraha*: which is wrong. And if you urge that rule 54 of the chapter annuls this false inference, we reply that, on the principle “not to touch filth is far better than to wash it off,” it is better not

upe 'ty etāvanmātrasyā "dibhātasyā"³⁰ 'ñçasya³¹ padatvaṁ gāṇam: ayam ity asya tu³² mukhyam: mukhye sambhavati na gāṇam iti nyāyād ayam iti yuktam grahaṇam. nanv etenāi 'va nyāyenā "dyāvadhēr"³³ anupapannatā. nā 'yam pakṣaḥ: mukhyasambhavābhāvāt³⁴: tathā hi: hwayata iti mukhye svīkrte 'bhividdhinyāyena tasyā 'pi grahaṇam³⁵ syāt: tac cā 'nishtam: ate samānapade (iv.54) iti vacanād etad³⁶ anishtaṁ na³⁷ bhavati. 'ti³⁸ cet: prakṣhālanād dhi pañkasya dārād asparṇam varam iti nyāyād dhwayata ity uccārya tasya nishedhakathanād api tadanuccedraṇam eva ramanīyam³⁹. iti mukhyasambhavābhāvo 'vastha⁴⁰ eva: tasmād asmint sūtre 'nupapattileṣo nā 'sti.

¹ W. O. -ti āyam-; B. -ti āyam-. ² B. O. G. M. om. ³ G. M. ins. idam. ⁴ B. O. om. ⁵ B. O. sūtr-; G. M. -yam. ⁶ W. ins. pūrvaje. ⁷ W. pragrahasya. ⁸ W. B. O. om. ⁹ G. M. om. ¹⁰ B. om. ¹¹ W. B. rāivari-. ¹² W. vidhi-; G. M. -dhitvena. ¹³ G. M. svīkṛtyata. ¹⁴ G. M. uktaḥ-. ¹⁵ G. M. ins. ca. ¹⁶ W. O. yuktikyuktam; G. M. yad uktaḥ-. ¹⁷ G. M. om. ¹⁸ B. O. tulyam. ¹⁹ B. O. -loc. ²⁰ B. om. ²¹ G. M. om. ²² G. M. -kṣhaṇat-. ²³ G. M. om. ²⁴ G. M. kim. ²⁵ B. om. ²⁶ G. M. ins. ti. ²⁷ G. M. -dheh. ²⁸ G. M. om. pada. ²⁹ G. M. sūtra. ³⁰ W. G. M. om. ³¹ W. 'ñçadasya; G. M. ingyāñç-. ³² G. M. om. ³³ B. O. -dyopadasya. ³⁴ O. G. M. -khye s-. ³⁵ G. M. pragrahatvam. ³⁶ G. M. tad. ³⁷ G. M. om. ³⁸ G. M. om. ³⁹ W. svar-; B. O. varam. ⁴⁰ G. M. tadav-.

to quote *hvayate* at all than to quote it and then make it the subject of an exception. The case, then, is one where no suitable primary word is to be found; and not the slightest charge of impropriety can be maintained against the rule as given.

Both parties to this controversy are about equally open to the charge of hair-splitting absurdity; but the objector must be acknowledged to have the right of it so far as this—that the rule is really ambiguous, considering the presence of the two words *pūrvaje*. That *pūrvaje*, as used in it, means ‘the former *je*,’ I do not at all believe.

इमे गर्भमुपैवरसेनपरः ॥ २४ ॥

24. Also *ime*, when followed by *garbham*, *upa*, and *eva rasena*.

The passages referred to are: *yad ime garbham adadhātām* (iii.4.3²: G. M. omit the last word), *ime upāvartasyataḥ* (vi.1.3¹), and *ime eva rasenā 'nakti* (vi.3.11³). Two counter-examples are given: one to show the necessity of *rasena* after *eva*, *ima evā 'smādi lokāḥ* (ii.4.10³), and one to show in general the need of specifying the situations in which *ime* is *pragraha*, *adhvartavyā vā ime devāḥ* (iii.2.2³).

क्रूमापःसजूर्ब्रह्मज्ञतेषु च ॥ २५ ॥

25. As also, in the sections beginning with *krūram*, *āpah*, *sajūḥ*, and *brahma ja*.

That is to say, *ime* in the sections specified is always *pragraha*, even when otherwise followed than by the words mentioned in the preceding rule. The commentator quotes the beginning words of each section, and a single example from each: thus, from the section *krūram iva vāi* (v.1.5: only G. M. have the last two words), *rodasyor ity āhe 'me vāi rodasī* (v.1.5⁴: the only case in the sec-

24. *ime ity antyasvaro garbhaḥ: upa: eva rasena: evamparaḥ padāntaḥ' pragrahaḥ syāt. yathā: yad.....: ime.....: ime..... rasene 'ti kim: ima.....: evampara itī kim: adhv.....*

¹ G. M. om.

25. *ime itī caṣabdo 'nvādiṣati: krūram: āpah: sajūḥ: brahma ja: 'eteshv anuvākesv ime ity antyasvaraḥ pūrvoktaparanimit-tābhāve' pi pragraho bhavati. krā----- ity atra yathā: rod----- āpo----- ity atre 'me-----² saj----- ity atra yathā: etaga----- brah----- ity atra yathā: na-----: je 'ti kim: brāh----- ity atra traya----- ity asya³ pragrahatvam mā bhād itī.*

¹ G. M. put before *ime*. ² W. *jñāneshu*. ³ G. M. om. *para*. ⁴ B. O. om. ⁵ B. O. G. M. om. ⁶ B. om. ⁷ G. M. *atra*.

tion: B. O. begin the citation at *ime*); from the section *apo varu-nasya patnayah* (v.5.4: G. M. omit the last word), *ime evo 'pa dhatte* (v.5.4¹: there are two more cases in the following divisions); from the section *sajār abdah* (v.6.4: G. M. omit the last word), *etāḥ ime aṣvīnā sahvatsarāḥ* (v.6.4¹: the only case: only G. M. have the first word); from the section *brahma jajñānam* (v.2.7), *nā hi 'me yajushā 'ptum arhati* (v.2.7⁴: the only case: B. O. omit the last word). The last calls for a counter-example, to show the need of including in the rule the syllable after *brāhma*: there is another section beginning *brahmavādino vadanty adbhīḥ* (ii.6.5: B. O. omit *adbhīḥ*), which contains an *ime* not *pragraha*: *traya ime lokāḥ* (ii.6.5³: only G. M. have *trayaḥ*).

पूर्णं च ॥ २६ ॥

26. As also *pūrṇe*.

The *ca*, 'and,' in this rule merely brings down the heading of the last *anuvāka* named in the one preceding. In that *anuvāka*, *pūrṇe* is *pragraha*: to wit, in *pūrṇe upa dadhāti pūrṇe evāi 'nam* (v.2.7⁴); but not elsewhere, as for example in *yo vāi pūrṇa āsiñ-cati* (vii.5.6¹).

दृढे ॥ २७ ॥

27. Also *dr̥dhe* is *pragraha*.

The restrictions imposed in previous rules no longer hold good: *dr̥dhe* is *pragraha* wherever met with. The example given is *yena dyāur ugrā pr̥thivī ca dr̥dhe* (iv.1.8⁵). There is another case at iii.2.4³.

घ्रीचक्रे पपरे ॥ २८ ॥

28. Also *ghnī* and *cakre*, when followed by *p*.

26. *caṣabdo brahmajajñānam ity anuvāḍiṣati: pūrṇe ity antya-svaro brahmajajñānam ity anuvāke pragraho bhavati. yathā¹: pūrṇe-----²asminn anuvāka³ iti kim: yo-----*

¹ B. O. G. M. om. ² B. O. *brahmaja*.

27. *dr̥dhe ity asminn¹ antyasvarāḥ sarvatra² pragraho bhavati. yathā³: yena-----*

¹ B. O. om. ² B. O. om. ³ B. O. G. M. om.

28. *ghnī: cakre: ity¹ ete pade papare pragrahe² bhavataḥ. vār-----: cakre----- papare iti kim: yad-----: sam-----: ghnīcakre iti kim: śak-----: ye----- pakārah³ paro yābhyām te papare.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. *-gr̥hye*. ³ W. *paḥ*.

The examples are: *vārtraghnī pūrnāmāse* (ii.5.2⁵); *cakre prah-
thāni* (vi.6.8¹): I have noted no other cases. We have then two
pairs of counter-examples, to show that these words are *pragraha*
before *p* only, and only these words before *p*: the first pair are
yad virūpayā vārtraghnī syāt (vi.1.6⁷) and *samidhāna cakre nīcā
tam* (i.2.14²: only W. has *tam*); the second, *śakā bhūmī pān-
trah* (v.5.18) and *yeshām iṣe paśupatiḥ* (iii.1.4¹⁻²).

न्वती ॥ २९ ॥

29. Also *nvatī*.

Two examples are cited: *omanvatī te 'smin* (ii.6.9⁵: G. M. omit
the last two words), and *vr̥dhanvatī amāvāsyaḍyām* (ii.5.2⁵): also
a counter-example, proving that *vati* alone would not have been
sufficient: *karnākāvaty etayā* (v.4.7³).

पपरो न ॥ ३० ॥

30. But not when followed by *p*.

The case here excepted—the only one, so far as I have noticed—
is *mūrdhanvatī pūronuvākyā bhavati* (ii.6.2²: G. M. omit the last
word).

समीची ॥ ३१ ॥

31. *Samīcī* is *pragraha*.

For this word, G. M. cite *samīcī retah siñcatah* (v.5.4²); B. O.
cite *paścāt samīcī tābhiḥ* (v.2.3⁵); W. gives both passages. The
word is met with a dozen times or more in the *Sanhitā*.

नपरो न ॥ ३२ ॥

29. *nvatī ity antyasvarah¹ pragraho bhavati. yathā²: om-----
vr̥dh----- nakāreṇa kim: karṇ-----*

¹ B. *antah s-*; O. *antas-*. ² B. O. G. M. om.

30. *sānnidhyān nvatī iti¹ labhyate: paparo nvatī ity² antya-
svarah³ pragraho na bhavati. yathā⁴: mūr-----*

¹ O. om. ² B. om. ³ B. *antah s-*; O. *antas-*. ⁴ B. O. G. M. om.

31. *samīcī ity antyasvarah¹ pragraho bhavati. yathā²: sam-
----- paś-----*

¹ B. *antas-*; O. *antyah s-*. ² B. O. G. M. om.

32. *sānnidhyāt samīcī iti labhyate: na khalu samīcī ity antya-
svaro nakāraparah¹ pragraho bhavati. yathā²: sam-----*

¹ G. M. om. ² W. G. M. om.

32. But not when followed by *n*.

The case excepted is *samici nāma 'si* (v.5.10¹). I have noted no other.

ची यत्प्रपरः ॥ ३३ ॥

33. *Ci* is *pragraha*, when followed by *yat* or *pra*.

The passages had in view by this rule are: *āikshavi tiraçci yad āpavālah* (vi.2.1⁵: W. O. omit the first word, G. M. B. the last; and B. has the citation out of place, after the next but one), and *prāci pretam adhvaram* (i.2.13² and vi.2.9³); besides two other cases before *pra* at vi.2.1⁵; 3.9⁶. The commentator gives in addition a number of counter-examples: to show that *ci* is not always *pragraha*, *prāci diçān* (iv.3.3¹ et al.: but W. B. O. read instead *yā prāci dik*, which is not to be found in the Sanhitā: *prāci dik*, without *yā*, occurs at several places, e. g. iv.3.6²); to prove the necessity of the *t* of *yat* and the *r* of *pra*, *gāur ghrtāci yajño devān jigāti* (ii.5.7⁴: only G. M. have the last two words) and *tas-māt paçcāt prāci patny anv āste* (v.3.7³: only G. M. have the first two words); to indicate that other endings than *ci* are not *pragraha* in the situations specified, *yad agnir vajra ekādaçinī yad agnāu* (v.5.7¹: only G. M. have the first three words) and *prajanane prajananañ hi vāi* (i.5.9¹: only G. M. have the last two words).

आन्मही ॥ ३४ ॥

34. Also *ān mahi*.

The passage is *mahān mahi āstabhāyat* (ii.3.14⁶). Elsewhere, *mahi* is not *pragraha*: e. g. in *mahi dyāuh prthivī ca nah* (iii.3.10² et al.: G. M. omit the last two words); and even after *n* preceded by any other vowel than *ā*: e. g. in *vayunāvid eka in mahi devasya* (i.2.13¹ and iv.1.1¹⁻²: G. M. omit the last word).

पती श्रुतिः ॥ ३५ ॥

33. *ci ity antyasvaro yatparah praparo vā pragrahaḥ syāt*¹. *yathā*²: *āiksh-----: prā----- evampara iti kim: prā-----: ta-kārarephābhyām kim: gāur-----: tas-----: ci 'ti kim: yad-----: praj-----*.

¹ G. M. *bhavati*. ² G. M. *om*.

34. *ān ity etadvigishte mahāgrahane 'ntyasvarah pragrahaḥ syāt*¹. *yathā*: *mah----- ān iti kim: mahi-----: ākārena kim: vāy-----*.

¹ G. M. *bhavati*.

35. Also the combination of sounds *patī*.

The commentator explains: wherever there is *cruti*, i. e. 'hearing,' of *patī*, there we are to understand a case of *pragraha*-quality. Hitherto we have been dealing only with *padas*, or complete individual words; but the *i* of *patī* is uncombinable, even when that audible combination is only a part of a *pada*. The selected examples are, first, *dvāu patī vindate* (vi.6.4³) and *subhas patī idam aham* (iii.2.10²: only G. M. have the last word), where *patī* is a *pada*; then *yam āṣirā dūmpatī vānam aṇutah* (iii.2.8⁴: only G. M. have the first two words) and *priyam indrābrhaspatī* (iii.3.11¹), where it is part of a *pada*: there are a few other cases.

It is remarked at the end of the comment, that, from this rule on, parts of words are also subjects of prescription of *pragraha*-quality.

ग्री ॥ ३६ ॥

36. Also *gnī*.

I have noted a number of cases of *gnī* as dual of *agnī* and its compounds. The commentator gives two: *antarāgnī paṇḍam* (i. 6.7¹), and *viṣvāmītrajamadagnī vasishthēna* (iii.1.7³ and v.4.11³).

न हिपरः ॥ ३७ ॥

37. But not when followed by *hi*.

The case excepted is that of *gnī* occurring as nominative singular feminine of *āindrāgna*: *āindragnī hi bārhaspatyā* (v.5.6²). The commentator pleads the occurrence of *indragnī havāmahe* "in another text," as justification of the rule, in saying "by *hi*," instead of "by *h*." But we may question whether the justification is not officious and uncalled for.

वीङ्द्वारौकृष्णाश्चरावोयदापरः ॥ ३८ ॥

35. *patī ity asya yatra yatra crutiḥ¹ gravaṇam asti tatra tatra pragrahatvaṁ vijñeyam. yathā: dvāu-----: subh-----: crutir iti kim: yam-----: priy-----: ity ādāv api² padāikadeṣe pragrahatvāya³.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. om. ³ G. M. -*tvam*.

36. *gnī iti pragraho bhavati¹. yathā²: ant-----: viṣv-----.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. om.

37. *gnī iti sāmīdhyāḥ labhyate: na khalu gnī iti¹ padānto hi paraḥ pragraho bhavati². yathā: āindr-----: evampara iti kim: indr-----: iti pākhāntare.*

¹ G. M. ins. *api*. ² G. M. om.

38. Also an *i* or *e* followed by *vid*, *dvārāu*, *kr̥ṣṇaḥ*, *carāvah*, and *yadā*.

The quoted passages under this rule have each its counter-example. The first is *dhishane vīdā satī vīdayethām* (i.4.1²), a double case; and, to show that *vi* alone would not have been enough, *āpaṣ ca me vīrudhaṣ ca me* (iv.7.5¹). Next, *devī dvārāu mā mā* (iii.2.4⁴), with *dvādaṣa sam padyante dvādaṣa* (i.5.7³), to prove the need of the *rāu* of *dvārāu*. Again; *yajñāyā 'tishthamāne kr̥ṣṇo rūpaṁ krtvā* (vi.1.3¹: only G. M. have the first word; they also omit the last two words, while B. O. omit *krtvā*); and *cātvalē kr̥ṣṇavishānām prā 'syati* (vi.1.3⁸: G. M. omit the last two words) justifies the *h* of *kr̥ṣṇaḥ*. Again, *vivasānāu ye carāvah* (i.5.10¹), with *rāye ca naḥ svapatyāya deva* (v.5.4⁴: G. M. omit *deva*) to show that *ca* alone would not have been enough: to prove that more than *car* or *carā* is needed, the commentator does not attempt. Finally, we have *ajanan nannamāne: yade 'dam tāh* (iv.6.2⁴: only G. M. have *ajanan*). To this is raised the question whether *yatante*, as coming before *yad ā-* in *greniṣo yatante yad ākshishur divyam* (iv.6.7⁴: only G. M. have the first word), is not also *pragraha*? The answer is an appeal to rule i.50, "in citations of *padas*, a *pada* only is to be understood:" but how we are to know that an integral *padu* is meant to be signified by *yadā*, any more than by *vid*, the commentator does not inform us.

न ज्ञे ऽह्ने नित्यम् ॥३९॥

39. But not *jñe* and *ahne*, under any circumstances.

The passages quoted in illustration of the rule are *varunāya rājñe kr̥ṣṇaḥ* (v.5.11), and *vanaspatīnām enyahne kr̥ṣṇaḥ* (v.5.15: only G. M. have the first word): these are both exceptions to the preceding rule, and are the immediate occasion of the

38. ----- 'ity evampara¹ ikāra ekāro vā² pragraho bhavati³.
yathā⁴: dhish-----: dakārena⁵ kim: āpaṣ-----: devī-----: rāv
iti kim: dvād-----: yaj-----: visargena kim: cāt-----: viv
-----: rāva iti kim: rāye-----: aj-----: nanu⁶ sre----- ity
atra pragrahatvaṁ kim na syāt. padagrahaṇeshu padam
gamayeta (i.50) iti⁷ vacanān na bhavati⁸ 'ti brāmaḥ.

¹ G. M. *eshu pareshu*. ² G. M. ins. *padāntah*. ³ G. M. omi. ⁴ W. G. M. om.
⁵ G. M. *vid iti*. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ G. M. *atra*. ⁸ W. *pravartate*; G. M. om.

39. *jñe*: *ahne*: *ity*¹ *etayor antyasvaro nityam pragraho na syāt*. *yathā*: *var*-----: *van*-----: *vīdādi* (iv.38) *prāptir anayoh*. *nityaṣabdaḥ prāptyantarapratibandhakah*². *yathā*: *yaj*-----: *gamayatobhavataḥ* (iv.52) *ity ādinā prāptiḥ*: *sva*-----: *somāyasva* (iv.48) *iti prāptiḥ*.

¹ G. M. om. ² B. O. *-pratishedh*; G. M. *prāptyānishedhaprayojanakah*. ³ G. M. om.

introduction here of this one. But the addition of *nityam*, 'constantly, in all cases,' excepts the same words from the action of any other rule: for example, of rules 52 and 48, which would otherwise apply in the passages *yajñe 'pi kartor iti tāv abritām* (ii.6.7¹) and *svarājñe novāhāu* (v.6.21).

आकारैकारपूर्वस्तु बहुस्वरस्य ते थे ॥ ४० ॥

40. *Te* and *the*, however, are *pragraha* in a word of more than two syllables, if preceded by *ā* or *e*.

The class of words here aimed at, of course, is composed of second and third persons plural of present and perfect tenses middle of verbs. The commentator quotes several instances: *etasmīn vā etāu mrjāte yo vidvishānayoḥ* (ii.2.6¹⁻²: only G. M. have the first three words, and they omit the last word); *śukrā manthindū grhyate* (vi.4.10¹); *prā prthivyā riricāthe divaṣ ca* (iv.2.11¹: only G. M. have the first and the last two words); and *drñhanā yam nudethe* (iv.7.15²). Then, to justify the requirement of a preceding *ā* or *e*, we have given us *ā vr̥cyate vā etad yajamānaḥ* (iii.3.8¹: G. M. omit the last word); of a polysyllabic word, *tat pravāte vi śhajanti* (vi.4.7²: see under i.48) and *yad ete grhyante* (iii.3.6¹); the restriction to the endings *te* and *the*, *anūcyamāna ā sādāyati* (ii.2.5⁷, 11¹).

As to the special significance of *tu*, 'however,' in this rule, two of our commentator's three chief authorities, Vararuci and Māhishaya, are reported by him as at variance. The former maintains that it indicates the cessation of regard had to the words specified in rule 38 as occasions of *pragraha*-quality; the latter, that it prescribes the annulment of continued implication of the exceptions mentioned in rule 39, and of what was there signified by the word *nityam*. Vararuci's view is declared the better one, and with good reason—unless, indeed, we prefer to ascribe to the word a general change of subject, from mention of individual words to the description of a class.

40. *bahusvarasya padasya sambandhī te iti the iti vā* ² "kārapūrva ekārapūrvo vā pragraho bhavati. yathā: *et-----: śuk-----: pra-----: drñh-----* evampūrva iti kim: *ā vr̥-----: trīni-----: bahusvarasye 'ti kim: tat-----: yad-----: tethe iti kim: anūc-----* vīdādi (iv.38) nimittasāpekshatānivartakas tu-
cābda iti vararucipakṣaḥ: māhisheyapakṣas tu vakshyate³:
pūrvasātroktanishedhanityaṣābdañāpītānuvṛttim⁴ nivārayati⁵
'tī⁶: tatra⁷ vararucimatam ruciram. bahavaḥ svarā yasmīn tad
bāhusvaram: tasya. atra svarāṣābdepādānāc⁸ ca⁹ bahuṣābdena
vyaktibhedo vijñeyah.

¹ W. -dhiya. ² G. M. ins. *śābaddh*. ³ G. M. *ucyate*. ⁴ G. M. -dham nī-. ⁵ G. M. *vār*-. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ G. M. *atra*. ⁸ W. *bahusvaraṣābdepādānātā*; B. O. *bahusvaraṣābdena upādānātā*. ⁹ W. B. O. om.

The commentator's final remark as to *bahusvarasya* is obscure to me.

न शार्यति ॥ ४१ ॥

41. But not *çāryāte*.

Namely, in the passage *çāryāte apibah sutasya* (i.4.18: G. M. omit the last word). An exception to the preceding rule, by express mention of the excepted word.

ते मापातंनमश्नमभिवायुर्गर्भमुपाहस्तुपरः ॥ ४२ ॥

42. *Te* is *pragraha* when followed by *mā pātam*, *namah*, *enam abhi*, *vāyuh*, *garbham*, *upa*, *ahas*, and *tu*.

The passages, as quoted by the commentator, are: *vām ā rabhe te mā pātam ā 'sya* (i.2.2¹⁻²: only G. M. have the first three words), with *te mā 'smiñ yajñe* (iii.2.4¹), to show the necessity of including *pātam* in the rule; *punas te: namo 'gnorve 'pratividdhāya* (i.5.10¹: only G. M. have the last word), with *te na vy ajayanta* (v.4.1¹), to prove that *na* alone would not have been enough; *te enam abhi sam anahyetām* (ii.5.6⁵), with *ta enam bhishajyanti brahmanah* (ii.3.11⁴: W. omits the last word), to justify the inclusion of *abhi*; *te vāyur vy avāt* (iii.4.3¹), with *te vācāñ striyam* (vi.1.6⁵), to show why the *yuh* of *vāyuh* was needed; *te garbham adadhātām* (iii.4.3¹), without any counter-example to prove that *ga* would not have answered the purpose; *te upā 'mantrayanta* (vi.1.3¹); *te ahorātrayoh* (vi.1.3¹); *te tv āva no 'tsriye ity āhuḥ* (vii.5.7¹: G. M. omit the last two words), with *te te dhāmāny ugmāsi* (i.3.6¹), to show that *t* not followed by *u* is not enough to determine the *pragraha*-quality. Then, as further counter-examples, we have *te devāḥ* (i.4.10¹ et al.) in proof that *te* is not *pragraha* before other words than those here mentioned; and *bṛhad ukshe namah* (i.4.26), *amushmiñ loka upa çere* (v.3.7²), and *yanti*

41. *çāryāta ity antyasvarah¹ pragraho na² bhavati. yathā: çār----- pūrvasūtraprāptāu³ satyām kanthoktanishedho⁴ 'nena⁵ vidhīyate.*

¹ B. -yah s-. ² O. om. ³ G. M. -treṇa pr-; B. -tre pr-. ⁴ G. M. -ktyā n-. ⁵ G. M. om.

42. ¹----- *evamparas te iti çabdah pragrahaḥ syāt. yathā²: vām-----: pātam iti kim: te-----: punas-----: ma iti kim: te-----: te e-----: abhi 'ti kim: tu-----: te v-----: yur iti kim: te v-----: te ga-----: te u-----: te ah-----: te tv-----: ikā-reṇa kim: te te-----: evampara iti kim: te d-----: te iti kim: bṛh-----: am-----: yanti-----.*

¹ W. B. O. ins. te. ² G. M. om.

vā ete savanādye 'haḥ (vii.5.6³), showing that only *te* is *pragraha* in the situations defined.

These are not all the instances found in the *Sanhitā* of *te* as *pragraha*; one was disposed of by rule 20 above, and at least one or two others come under the action of other rules of this chapter.

अनुदात्तो न नित्यम् ॥ ४३ ॥

43. But not when unaccented, under any circumstances.

That is to say, even in such a situation as would bring it otherwise under the preceding rule. The example quoted is *bāhu-bhryām uta te namaḥ* (iv.5.1¹): if the text contains others, I have failed to notice them. The specification *nityam* has its usual force, as suspending the application of all rules to the contrary, wherever found: for example, that of rule 52, below, in the passage *namas te astv āyudhāya* (iv.5.1⁴).

एते तनुवौवैसमेवद्वियज्ञपदिष्टकपरः ॥ ४४ ॥

44. *Ete* is *pragraha* when followed by *tanuvāu*, *vāi sam*, *eva*, *hi*, *yajña*, *pad*, and *ishtak*.

The passages, as quoted by the commentator, are: *tasyāi 'te tanuvāu* (v.7.3³); *ete vāi samvatsarasya cakshushī* (ii.5.6¹: G. M. omit the last word), with *ete vā idāyāi stanāḥ* (i.7.1²: G. M. omit the last word) as counter-example, showing that before *vāi* not followed by *sam* the word is not *pragraha*; *sa ete eva namasyann upā dhavat* (ii.5.6⁵: only G. M. have the first word, and they omit the last two); *ete hi devānām* (ii.5.6⁶: another case at vii.5.7¹); *cakshushī vā ete yajñasya* (ii.6.2¹ et al.: compare also the nearly identical passage vi.2.11³); *yajñasya hy ete pade atha* (v.1.6^{3,4}: W. omits the first word); and *yad ete ishtake upada-dhāti* (v.3.5²). Counter-examples would have been in place to show that, in citing the last three fragments of words, the rule had taken no more than just what was sufficient for its purpose; but

43. *mā pātam ityādīparo 'pi te ity antyasvaro* 'nudatto nityam *pragraho na bhavati. yathā*: *bāh----- nityam iti kim: lakṣaṇāntaraprāptasyā 'pi pratishedho* *yathā syāt: na-----: gamayatobhavataḥ* (iv.52) *ity ādinā prāptih.*

¹ O. -*yah sv.* ² G. M. om. ³ G. M. *nish.* ⁴ O. G. M. om.; B. *antya.*

44. ¹----- *ity evampara ete ity antyasvarah* ² *padāntah* ³ *pragraho bhavati. yathā: tas-----: ete-----: sam iti kim: ete-----: sa-----: ete-----: cak-----: yaj-----: yad-----: 'evampara iti kim: atha-----: ete iti kim: man-----: push-----: agre-----: sapt-----.*⁴

¹ B. O. ins. *ete.* ² O. -*yah s.* ³ G. M. om. ⁴ W. B. O. om.

they are not furnished. The general counter-examples under this rule, like those under the last but one, proving that only *ete* is *pragraha* before the words specified, and *ete* itself before them only, are given by G. M., but omitted in the other manuscripts: they are *atha kutama ete devā iti* (ii.6.9³), *manuta evāi 'nam etāni* (v.5.6¹), *pushkaraparne hy enam upagritam* (v.1.4⁴: MSS. -*gru-tam*), *agre yajñapatiṁ dhattu* (i.1.5¹), and *saptame pade juhoti* (vi.1.8¹).

परश्च द्वयोः ॥ ४५ ॥

45. As also, the letter following the two last mentioned.

The "two" of the rule are *pad* and *ishtak*; and the commentator makes the further obvious specification that the letter following them is *pragraha* only when they themselves follow *ete*, as prescribed in the preceding rule. He quotes the passages referred to: *yajñasya hy ete pade atho* (v.1.6³⁻⁴: W. omits to *pade*, B. O. to *ete*), and *yad ete ishtake upadadhāti* (v.3.5²); adding, to show the necessity of the limitation made by him, the counter-examples *saptame pade juhoti* (vi.1.8¹), and *tasyās te devī 'shtake* (iv.2.9²).

स्यःपरः ॥ ४६ ॥

46. Also one followed by *sthaḥ*.

There is a natural reason for this rule, *sthaḥ* being a dual verb, and so, apt to be preceded by a dual noun. I have noted near a dozen cases in the text; the one cited in illustration by the commentator is *vishnoḥ gnyaptre sthaḥ* (i.2.13³). To show that *stha* instead of *sthaḥ* would not answer, is given *etasmīn loke stha yu-shmāns te 'nu* (iii.2.5⁶: only G. M. have the first two words, and they omit the last three).

परश्चाभयोः ॥ ४७ ॥

47. As also, one following them both.

Following, namely, a *sthaḥ* and a preceding *pragraha* word: for example, *gilpe sthas te vam ā rabhe* (i.2.2¹: but this citation is wanting in G. M.), and *drdhe sthaḥ githire samici* (iii.2.4³). A counter-example, of a word following *sthaḥ* only, is *vṛshanāu stha urvacī* (i.3.7¹).

45. *nimittina upari vartamānayoḥ padishtakabdayoḥ' para' ikāra ekāro vā' pragraho bhavati. yathā: yaj-----: yad-----: nimittina upari vartamānayoḥ iti kim: sapt-----: tas-----*

¹ B. O. *dvayoh padishtak ity etayoh cakārānvādishtayoh*; G. M. *pat ishtak ity etayoh cakārānvādishtayoh dvayoh*. ² B. O. *parata*. ³ G. M. om.

46. *stha ity evampara ikāra ekāro vā padāntaḥ pragraho bhavati. yathā: vish----- visargena kim: et-----*

The commentator then proceeds to point out that the difference in phraseology between this rule and the last but one—*dvayoh*, 'two,' being used in the one, and *ubhayoh*, 'both,' in the other—indicates a difference of meaning. Above, the two affecting causes (*nimitta*) specified in the preceding rule, each along with the word affected by it (*nimittin*), were intended; here, on the other hand, the two aimed at are an affecting and an affected word.

सोमायस्वैतस्मिन् ॥ ४८ ॥

48. Also in the section beginning *somāya sva*.

The section in question is v.6.21: it was necessary to add *sva*, in order to distinguish it from that beginning *somāya pitrmate* (i.8.5). It contains thirteen *pragrahas*, of which the commentator cites several together: *avī dve dhenū bhāumī* (v.6.21¹: G. M. omit *bhāumī*): three of these, however, would be disposed of by the three rules next following.

द्वे ॥ ४९ ॥

49. Also *dve*.

This word, which occurs about forty times in the Tāittiriya text, is, of course, always *pragraha*. The commentator cites two instances: *dvedve sam bharati* (i.6.8²), and *yad dve naçyetām* (ii.6.3⁵).

परश्च ॥ ५० ॥

47. *cakārānvādishṭayoh pūrvasūtroktananimittanimittinor¹ ubhayoh para ikāra ekāro vā padāntaḥ pragraho bhavati. yathā: ṣiḥ----- dr̥dhe----- ubhayor iti kim: vṛsh----- paraṣ ca dvayor* (iv.45) *iti² vācya ubhayor iti caḍāntaram³ arthāntara-jñāpakam⁴: nimittisāhitayoh⁵ pūrvasūtroktayor nimittayoh paraḥ pragraho bhavati: paraṣ ca dvayor* (iv.45) *iti sūtrārthaḥ: atra tu⁶ sūtre nimittanimittinor⁷ ubhayoh paraḥ pragrahaḥ syād iti viçeshād⁸ bhedo vijñeyah⁹.*

¹ G. M. *pūrvokta*-. ² B. ins. *kim ca*; O. ins. *ca*. ³ G. M. *-taraprayogaḥ*. ⁴ G. M. *-kah*. ⁵ G. M. *-ttas*-. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ G. M. *-ttinimittayoh*. ⁸ B. *-shaya*; O. *-shena*; G. M. *vishaya*. ⁹ G. M. *drashtavyah*.

48. *somāya svarājñe* (v.6.21) *ity asminn anuvāka ikāra ekāro vā padāntaḥ pragraho bhavati. yathā: avī----- ity ādi. ity kim: somāya pitrmate* (i.8.5) *ity atra mā bhād iti.*

49. *dve ity antyasvaraḥ padāntaḥ¹ sarvatra pragraho bhavati². yathā³: dve-----: yad-----.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. om. ³ G. M. O. om.

50. As also, the following word.

The comment instances but one case, a double one: *dve gukle dve kṛṣṇe mārḍhanvatī* (v.3.1⁴: G. M. omit the last word). Of such the text contains more than a dozen, but they are not worth referring to in detail.

एकव्यवेतो अपि ॥ ५१ ॥

51. Likewise the next but one.

The *api*, 'likewise,' in this rule is explained as bringing forward *dve* from the last rule but one; another application of the "principle of the frog's leap." The cited examples are *dve hy ete devate* (ii.1.9³: but G. M. omit this citation), and *dve vāva devasatre* (vii.4.5¹). By rule i.48, *devasatre*, though a divisible compound (*pada*-text, *devasatre iti deva-satre*), is reckoned as but a single *pada* for the purposes of this precept: another like case, *dve savane gukravati* (vi.1.6⁴), was expressly quoted as an illustration under the former rule. At vi.6.4³ (*dve jāye vindate*) is a case where the action of the rule is suspended by a later one, iv.54.

गमयतोभवतोऽनूकारात्परंतनूयदकरोत्कुर्यादिष्टिघ्नवृ-
तांप्रवृत्तास्तास्तभीतांवाचयतिबिभृतास्ताग्निंगायत्रंताभ्या-
मेवोभाभ्यामवान्तरं पर आ षष्ठात् ॥ ५२ ॥

52. Before, and within six words of, *gamayatah*, *bhavatah* (except when it follows *ū*), *tanū yat*, *akarot*, *kuryāt* (in *ishti* passages), *abrūtām*, *pra varta*, *āstām*, *stabhnītām*, *vācayati*, *bibhṛtas ta*, *agnim gāyatram*, *tābhyām eva*, *ubhābhyām*, and *avāntaram*.

Of the words here specified, some are duals, and so would naturally have other duals, with *pragraha* endings, in their vicinity; in other cases, the collocation is purely accidental.

The *ā* in the rule is declared to be intended this time "inclusively" (*tena saha*, 'along with the specified limit': compare the scholiast to Pāṇini ii.1.13); and the necessity of the specification

50. *cakāro dve ity anvādicati: dve ity etasmāt para ikāra ekāro vā padāntaḥ pragraho bhavati. yathā: dve.....*

¹ O. *asmāt*. ² B. O. *syāt*; G. M. om. ³ G. M. om.

51. *ekavyaveto¹ 'pi dve ity etasmāt para ikāra ekāro vā padāntaḥ pragraho bhavati. yathā: dve.....: dve..... ekena padena² vyaveta³ ekavyavetaḥ. apiṣubdo⁴ dve ity anvādicati manḍakaplutinyāyena.*

¹ B. O. *-vaho*. ² G. M. om. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ G. M. om. ⁵ W. *vyavahita*.

“within six words” is explained as arising from rule i.30, which would limit the meaning of “before” to ‘the word standing next before.’ This involves a misinterpretation of the rule referred to, which was made for quite another purpose (see the note upon it). No such special and technical ground is needed to justify the terms of the present rule, which are of obvious and incontestable propriety.

The commentator’s example for *gamayataḥ* is *te evāi ’nam pratishtān gamayataḥ* (ii.1.47): I have noted no other case. For *bhavataḥ*, he gives *uttarāvati bhavataḥ* (v.4.85); with the counter-example *dikshante ’ntandmānāv rta bhavataḥ* (vii.4.81), to show the necessity of the restriction imposed by the rule in the case of this word. There are quite a number of other passages where *bhavataḥ* assures the *pragraha*-quality to words in its neighborhood: I have noted ii.2.2³, 11⁴⁻⁵; 3.2⁹, 3⁵, 4^{3,4}, 8²; iii.1.7², 9³; 5.4⁴; v.4.6³; 5.1²; vii.1.4³; 2.1³ twice. With regard to the limitation *anākārāt*, the commentator remarks that although simple absence is the primary significance of its negative prefix, yet another meaning is here assumed, in accordance with the requirements of the case: that is to say, “after a not-*ā*” is to be understood as ‘after any letter but *ā*.’ For *tanū yat*, we have *ete vāi mahāyajñasyā ’ntyē tanū yat* (ii.2.7⁵: I have found no other case); and, as counter-example, to justify the inclusion of *yat*, *paripataye tvā grhnamī tanūnaptre tvā* (i.2.10²: only W. has the last word). For *akarot*, *budhnuvati agravati yājyānuvākye akarot* (ii.3.4³: another case at ii.2.8⁵). For *kuryāt*, *mānavi rcau dhāyye kuryāt* (ii.2.10²: another case at ii.3.3⁵); with the counter-example *agnaye dātre purodācam ashtākapālām kuryāt* (ii.5.5²), to explain the restriction to *ishti*-passages. The *ishtis* are defined as being “the three *pragṇas* beginning with the tenth, but excepting their final *anuvākas*” (which have before received the designation *yājyā*): that is to say, ii.2.1–11; 3.1–13; 4.1–13. There are other passages besides the one quoted proving the necessity of the restriction in question: thus v.4.7⁷; vii.5.5¹. For *abrātām* is cited *te abrātām varām vṛṇāvahāi* (ii.5.2⁵, 6⁵: another case at v.2.3³). For *pravarta*, *havirdhāne prāci pravartayeyuh* (iii.1.3¹); with the counter-

52. *gamayataḥ*: *bhavato ’nākārāt*: *ākāraavyatiriktavarnāt param bhavata iti* ¹: *yady apy abhāvo mukhyārthus tathā ’pi tad anyārthatā svīkṛtā lakshyānusārāt*: *tanū yat*: *akarot*: *kuryād ishtishu*: *ishtayo* ⁴ *daṣamādayas trayah praṇā uttamānuvāka-varjitāḥ*: *abrātām*: *ity evampara āshashthāt padāt pārvo vartamāna ikāra ekaḥ vā padāntah pragraho bhavati*. *abhividdhāv ayam ākārah*: *tēna sahe*. *’ty abhividdhiḥ*. *yathā*: *te*..... *utt*.....: *anākārāt param iti kim*: *diksh*.....: *ete*.....: *yad iti kim*: *pari*.....: *budh*.....: *mān*.....: *ishtishv iti kim*: *agn*.....: *te*.....: *hav*.....: *varte* *’ti kim*: *te*.....: *ime*.....: *vāig*.....: *utt*.....: *te*.....: *te* *’ti kim*: *manm*.....: *ete*.....: *gāya*

example *te 'dityāñ sam adhriyanta twayā pra jānāme 'ti* (vi.1.5¹: G. M. end at *pra*), to show why *varā* was added to *pra*. For *astām, ime vāi sahā "stām* (iii.4.3¹: another case at iv.3.10²). For *stabhnītām, vāigvadevāgnimārute ukthe avyathayanti stabhnītām* (iv.4.2³). For *vācayati, uttame ādumbari vācayati* (v.1.10²⁻³). For *bibhṛtas ta, te-eva yajamānasya reto bibhṛtas tasmāt* (v.6.8⁴); with the counter-example *manmahe yāv ātmanvad bibhṛto yāv* (iv.7.15³), to show that *bibhṛtaḥ* alone would not have answered the purpose of the rule. Doubtless the single case is provided for in this rule rather than in 42, above, because there are cases of *tu eva* in the *Sanhitā* which it would have made trouble to distinguish properly from this one. For *agnīm gāyatram, ete dadhāte ye agnīm gāyatram* (vi.3.5³); with the counter-example *sadhasthe 'gnim purishyam* (iv.1.3¹), to show that the addition of *gāyatram* was needful. For *tābhyām eva, ete vāi yajñasyā 'ñjasāyanī sruti tābhyām eva* (vii.2.1²; 3.5³, 7³, 9³; 4.1³, 2⁴, 4³). With reference to this passage, the commentator raises the difficulty that *ete*, one of the words intended to be determined as *pragraha*, is not within six words of *eva*, one of the two words specified in the rule as conditioning its *pragraha*-character within that distance; but he declares it of no account, since what is within reach of any part of the assigned cause (*nimitta*) is within reach of that cause in its entirety. For, he says, in common life also, a quality belonging to a part is ascribed to the whole which contains that part: for example, people say "Devadatta has an ear-ring," when it is really his ear that has the ring. Truly a most lucid and convincing illustration! The necessity of the *eva* is proved by the counter-example *apa hañsy agne tābhyām patema* (iv.7.13¹: G. M. omit the last word). For *ubhābhyām, ye dve ahorātre eva te ubhābhyām* (vii.4.4⁴). Finally, for *avāntaram, utsrjye ity āhur ye avāntaram* (vii.5.7¹); with the counter-example *sañ te 'va te heduḥ* (ii.5.12¹), to prove that *ava* would not have been enough alone.

न ग्रामीवर्चसीमिथुनीमासेलोकधत्ते ॥ ५३ ॥

53. But not *grāmī, varcasī, mithunī, māse, loke, dhatte*.

tram iti kim: sadh-----: ete-----: atra padadvayam ekam⁸ nimittam ity⁹ etepadam¹⁰ uddiṣyā "shashthaniyamabhaṅgaprasaṅga iti cet: "nā 'yam bhaṅgaprasaṅgaḥ¹¹: nimittāikadeśasya shashthatvopapatteḥ sakalasyā 'pi nimittasya¹² shashthatvam upapadyate: loke 'py avayavadharmenā 'vayavino 'pi¹³ viśeshasiddheḥ: tathā hi: karṇe kuṇḍalām dhārayantām kuṇḍalī devadatta iti vadanti. eve 'ti kim: apa-----: ye-----: ut-----: antaram iti kim: sañ-----: ā shashthād iti kim: para ity uttarāḥ (i.30) iti paribhāṣhayā 'nāntarasya¹⁴ 'va paratvam syāt: tan mā bhūd iti.

¹ G. M. ins. *padam* nañō. ² G. M. *-tām*. ³ G. M. *-kārya*. ⁴ G. M. ins. *nāma*. ⁵ G. M. *-karahitāḥ*. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ W. B. O. *-ste*. ⁸ G. M. *etan*. ⁹ O. *eve 'ty*. ¹⁰ O. *etat p.* ⁽¹¹⁾ B. O. *māi 'vam pras-*; G. M. om. *bhaṅga*. ¹² W. O. *-syā 'pi*. ¹³ B. O. G. M. om.

These are words which, occurring within six of those mentioned in the last rule, would be *pragraha* if not thus specially excepted. The commentator quotes the passages in which they occur, as follows: *grāmy eva bhavati gaṇavati yājñānuvākye bhavataḥ* (ii.3.3⁵; another nearly identical case is found at ii.2.11⁴); *brahmanavarcasy eva bhavaty ubhayato rukmāu bhavataḥ* (ii.3.2³); *atha mithunā bhavataḥ* (vi.5.8⁶); *pūrnamāse prā'yachāt tāv abratām* (ii.5.2³); *loke pratitishthanto yanti dvāu shaduhāu bhavataḥ* (vii.4.11³); and *dhatte jyotishmantāv asmā imāu lokāu bhavataḥ* (ii.6.2⁴).

अते समानपदे नित्यमवे चावे च ॥ ५४ ॥

54. Nor *ate*, in a single word, nor *ave*, under any circumstances.

After paraphrasing the rule, in a way which shows that he regards the specifications "in a single word" and "under any circumstances" as both alike referring to each of the "parts of words" mentioned, the commentator proceeds to cite illustrative passages, as follows: *ava rundhate tirātrāv abhito bhavataḥ* (vii.2.6³; 4.1³, 2⁵, 3⁶; another nearly identical case is found at vii.4.5⁴); *abhyāhvayate vajram enam abhi pra vartayati* (iii.2.9^{1,7}); and *anātātāya dhr̥ṣṇave: ubhābhyām uta te namaḥ* (iv.5.1⁴; B. O. omit the last word, and G. M. the last two). To show the necessity of specifying that *ate* should form part of a single word, he quotes *eva te ubhābhyām* (vii.4.4³). The limitation *nityam*, 'under any circumstances,' is explained in the usual manner, as intended to exclude the operation of other rules besides the one (iv.52) here especially aimed at: for the appropriate examples we are referred to the comment upon rule i.59, where they are given in connection with the illustration of another point.

53. ----- *eteshv¹ antyasvaro gamayato bhavata ityādīparo 'pi pragraho na bhavati. yathā²: grā-----: brah-----: atha-----: pār-----: loke-----: dhatte-----*

¹ G. M. *eshv*. ² G. M. *om*.

54. *nishedham cakāro 'nvādicati. ate: ave: ity anayoh padā: kadecayor antyasvarah samānapade vartamāno gamayato bhavata ityādīparo 'pi nityam pragraho na bhavati. yathā¹: ava-----: abhy-----: anā-----: samānapada iti kim: eva-----: atra nityaṣabḍaḥ prāptyantaraparihārārthaḥ. udāharanam² upabandhas tu deçāya (i.59) iti sūtre³ prasaṅgād uktam. samānom cā tat padam ca samānapadam: tasmint samānapade⁴.*

*iti tribhāshyaratne prāṭicākhyaavivarane
caturtho 'dhyāyah.*

¹ O: *om*. ² G. M. *iti sodā*.. ³ W. *sūtreṇa*. ⁴ G. M. *om*.

This finishes the rehearsal of the words with *pragraha*-endings contained in the *Sanhitā*. As to the economy of the method of their rehearsal—whether it would have been possible to state the facts in fewer or briefer rules—I cannot speak with confidence: it would be, certainly, a thankless task to endeavor to recast them in an improved form. Nor can I, without a *pada*-manuscript, or a much more thorough and detailed study of the text, with the aid of a commentary, than it has been in my power to make, judge absolutely the success of the method followed. It appears, however (with exception of the equivocal treatment of the words in *o*, pointed out under rule 7), to be complete: my excerption of the text has shown me no *pragraha*-endings in *i* and *e* which are not duly taken account of, nor any case of final *i* or *e* not *pragraha* as involved in the general rules of the chapter without being duly excepted by special precept. One or two words whose endings are treated as uncombinable without being *pragraha* are disposed of in another chapter (x.18).

CHAPTER V.

CONTENTS: 1-2, introductory, relation of *pada* and *saṁhitā* texts; 3, order of application of rules; 4-8, anomalous insertions of a sibilant and *d*; 9-10, anomalous conversions of *r* and *h*; 11-19, anomalous omissions of *v*, *s*, *h*, *m*, and *yā*; 20-24, treatment of final *n* and *t* before palatal letters; 25-26, before *l*; 27-31, of final *m* before a consonant; 32-33, of final *h*, *t*, *n* before sibilants; 34-37, of initial *ç* after consonants; 38-41, of initial *h* after consonants.

अथ संहितायामेकप्राणभावे ॥ १ ॥

1. The following rules apply in combined text (*saṁhitā*), within the compass of a single breath.

This is an introductory heading to the main part of the *Prāticākhya*—the rules for the construction of the euphonically combined text (*saṁhitā*) from its presupposed material, the *pada*-text, where

1. *athe 'ty ayam adhikārah: saṁhitāyām ekapṛāṇabhāva ity etad adhikṛtaṁ veditavyam ita uttaraṁ yad vakshyāmaḥ. saṁhite 'ti ko 'rthaḥ: nānāpadasaṁdhānasaṁyogaḥ' (xxiv.3) iti 'sūtreṇo 'ktaḥ' saṁhitārthaḥ: paraḥ saṁnikarṣaḥ saṁhite 'ti vāidyākaraṇāḥ' pathanti. ekasamutthaḥ pṛāṇa ekapṛāṇaḥ: tasya bhāvas tadbhāvaḥ: tasmin: ity ātreya matam. anyathā 'pi samāsah saṁgachāte: ekapṛāṇena bhāvyaṭe janyata uccāryata ity ekapṛāṇabhāvaḥ: ekeno 'chvāsena yāvān uccāryate vedabhāgas tāvān ekapṛāṇabhāva ity arthaḥ: ata evā 'vasāne pādavi-*

each word stands separate, as if occurring independently. It is a rule of far-reaching force, applying through many chapters (for an attempt to define precisely how far, see the comment to xxiv.2). The matters treated in the first two chapters—the mode of utterance of elementary sounds, definitions, general explanatory precepts, and the like—were with propriety first disposed of; the separate rehearsal of the *pragraha* endings, made in chapter iv., is more questionable, but defensible on the ground that those endings exhibit their *pragraha* character also in the *padu*-text, before *iti*: but the exclusion of the vowels irregularly protracted in *samhitā*, as rehearsed in the third chapter, is quite anomalous (see note to iii.1).

The commentator defines *samhitā* by quoting a later rule (xxiv.3), which declares it to be “the union of separate words in euphonic combination;” referring at the same time to the rule of Pāṇini (i.4.109), as the account of it given by “the grammarians.” For *ekapranābhāve* he first gives us Ātreya’s simple paraphrase; but then goes on to explain it more fully, as ‘that which is brought about, generated, uttered, with a single breath; such portion of the Veda, namely, as is uttered by the help of one expiration’—the condition of *padu*, or separated and euphonic independent words, recurring with the pause that follows the expiration. That is to say, if the repeater of the text has to pause to take breath where there is no regular *avāsāna*, or pause of interpolation (such as separates the *pādas* of a verse: its length is taught in rule xxii.13), his last word is thrown out of *sandhi* with the next, and the end of the one and the beginning of the other must assume their *padu* form.

Now is interposed an objection: of what use are the two specifications “in combined text” and “within the compass of a single breath?” the former is enough by itself. To this it is replied: if the latter specification were not made, then no pause after a *padu* would be authorized in the continuous *samhitā* arrangement: and if the other were not made, then that respecting the single breath would apply also to the *pādas*; hence doubt would arise as to where any direction to be given would have force: there is, therefore, good reason for the double specification.

dhih. nanu samhitāyām ity etāvatai vā¹ 'lam: ekapranābhāva itī vā ubhayārambhanena² kim. ucyate³: ekapranābhāva ity anārabhyamāne prāvṛttasya samhitāvidheḥ padāvāsānatvam ne 'shyate: samhitāyām ity anārabhyamāne tu padeshv apy ekapranābhāva upapadyata itī¹⁰ vakshyamānam¹¹ kāryam kva¹² bhavati 'ti samdehaḥ 'syāt: tasmād¹³ asminn¹⁴ ubhayārambhane¹⁵ prayojanam asti.

¹ B. O. -*nayoga*. ² G. M. *sūtrokta*. ³ G. M. *samhite 'ty ar*. ⁴ W. B. G. *vāiyyā*. ⁵ G. M. *bhananti*. ⁶ W. om. ⁷ B. O. om. *eva*. ⁸ B. O. -*bhena*; G. M. -*bhane*. ⁹ G. M. om. ¹⁰ G. M. om. ¹¹ B. G. M. -*ṇa*. ¹² B. O. G. M. *kutra vā*. ¹³ G. M. *tadā*. ¹⁴ G. M. *tas*. ¹⁵ O. G. M. -*bhe*; W. B. -*bhena*.

यथायुक्तादिधिः सा प्रकृतिः ॥२॥

2. Separation from the text as combined—that is the fundamental text.

I cannot but believe the intent of this precept to be the same with that of the rule which begins the second chapter of the Rik Pr., *samhitā padaprakṛtiḥ*, 'the *pada*-text is the foundation of the *samhitā*;' but such intent is not readily and distinctly deducible either from the rule itself or from its commentary. The latter explains that hereby is taught the *prakṛti*, or proper form, of *samhitā*, the reason being that a later rule (xxiv.5) prescribes as necessary to be understood, among other things, "*prakṛti, vikrama, krama*." An arrangement which does not deviate from the *pada*-text as constituted, taken as supreme, that is to be regarded as the fundamental text. By way of illustration is then quoted the whole series of passages falling under the action of rule x.13, below; passages in which the fundamental or *pada* form of certain words is maintained, against the ordinary rules of euphonic combination: they are *svadhā asy urvī cā 'si* (i.1.9³), *dhanvann iva propā asi* (ii.5.12⁴), *sahasrasya pramā asi* (iv.4.11⁵: G. M. put this citation before the preceding one), *pra budhniyā iratē* (iv.3.13⁶), *jyā iyañ samane* (iv.6.6²), *ā pāśhā etu* (ii.4.5¹: W. B. O. omit this), and *aminanta evāñ* (iii.1.11⁵). No explanation is attempted of the bearing of these examples upon the principle which is laid down in the rule now in hand: we may suppose it to be that, the application of the rules of *sandhi* being denied in the case of these particular words, they remain in *samhitā* in their regular or natural shape as shown in *pada*-text—*prakṛtyā*, as it is elsewhere termed. And in this office of the precept is to be seen the real ground of its statement, rather than in a provision against the requirements of xxiv.5.

The grand difficulty in this exposition lies in its quiet postulation of *avicolitah*, 'unremoved, not deviating,' as connective between *vidhih* and *yathāyuktāt*. I would sooner recur to the etymologic meaning of *vidhi*, 'disposal, putting apart,' and empha-

2. *prakṛtiḥ samhitāsvārūpam aneno 'cyate: prakṛtir vikramah kramah* (xxiv.5) *itī vijñeyatvavidhānāt*. *yathāyuktād yathāsthītāt*² *padapāthāt kṛtasthād avicolito*³ *yo vidhiḥ sa prakṛti-samhitā*⁴ *vijñeyā: vidhir vidhānam prakṛtir ity arthaḥ. yathā:* *sva-.....: dhan-.....: sah-.....: pra-.....: jyā-.....: ā pā-.....: ami-.....: atra sūtre padānām parasparānvayo mahābhāṣyavacandē*⁵ *cā' vijñeyah: tuc cā vacanam tād varṇaprakṛtayagḥ* (ii.7) *ity atra pathanti:*⁶ *evam atrā*⁷ *'pi svaritayor madhye yatra nīcam* (xix.1) *ity ādāu mantavyam.*

¹ W. *vijñeyatvavidhāt*; B. *tvena vi-*; G. M. *jñeyatvena vi-*. ² G. M. *-thāvas-*. ³ G. M. *-cāline*. ⁴ W. B. O. *-tiḥ s-*. ⁵ G. M. *om.* ⁶ G. M. *-canena*. ⁷ G. M. *om.* ⁸ O. G. M. *pathitam*. ⁹ G. M. *anyutrā*.

size its prefix *vi* sufficiently to make it take an ablative adjunct, meaning 'separation from [the state] as combined;' and I have so translated above, though far from being confident that I have found the true solution of the difficulty. Neither *vidhi* nor its synonym *vidhāna* occurs elsewhere in the text, although both are frequent in the commentary (see Index), usually with the meaning 'rule, prescription;' not infrequently also 'arrangement, disposal.'

The commentator concerns himself finally with the gender of *sā*, which, he says, comes under the rule already once quoted from the Mahābhāshyā in explanation of a like case (under ii.7); and he points out further that the same principle applies elsewhere—for example, in xix.1.

तत्र पूर्वपूर्वं प्रथमम् ॥ ३ ॥

3. And here, that which comes first is first taken.

That is to say, in the construction of the *samhitā* text, both the words to be treated and the rules to be applied must be taken up in their order, as they stand in the text and in the Prātiśākhya respectively. A variety of instances are given to illustrate the working of the principle. First, in *bhaksha: ā: ihi* (iii.2.5¹), the first two words are first combined, according to x.2, and then their result, *bhakshā*, is combined with *ihi*, by x.4, making *bhakshe* " 'hi, the true reading; whereas, if the second combination had been first made, forming *e 'hi*, this would have coalesced with *bhaksha* into *bhakshāi 'hi*—which (though in itself, as may well be claimed, the preferable reading) is unauthorized and incorrect. This exemplifies the application of the rule to the order in which words are to be treated; for its application to the use of rules there are three examples. The first concerns the production of the *samhitā*-reading *shannavatyāi* (vii.2.15) from the *pada*-reading *shatnavatyāi*: it is accomplished by the successive application of vii.2, which prescribes the conversion of *n* to *ṇ* after *shat*, and of viii.2,

3. *tatra samhitāvidhāne pārvampūrvam padam sūtram ca prathamam kartavyam. yathā: bhaksha: ā: ihi: ity atra dīrghañ samānākshare* (x.2) *iti dīrghah: ' bhakshā: ihi: iti sthita ivarṇapara ekāram* (x.4) *ity ekāre kṛte bhakshe "* 'hi 'ti *bhavati: anyathāi 'hi 'ti kṛtvā bhakshaḥabde' saindhīyamāne* *bhakshāi 'hi 'ti syāt: tac cā 'nisṭam: pārvapada-kartavyatva etad udāharanam. pārvasūtrakartavyatve pi³ vadāmaḥ: yathā:* *shattri-grāmanishpūrvah* (vii.2) *iti nakārasya ṇatve kṛta ut-taṇapara uttamāṇ savargīyam* (viii.2) *ity anena⁵ ṭakārasya ṇatve kṛte⁶ shannavatyā iti bhavati: anyatho 'ttamapara uttamam* (viii.2) *iti sūtre prathamam⁷ pravṛtte sati⁸ shattnavatyā iti syāt: tac cā 'nisṭam. tathā⁹: vaṭṭh¹⁰ svayamabhi-gartāye 'ty atra ṭanakārapūrvac ca takārah* (v.33):

which changes *t* before *n* to *n*: if, on the contrary, the latter rule had been applied first, changing *shat* to *shan*, the former would no longer have had force at all, and the reading would have stood *shannavatyāi*. The next case is that in which the words *vat* and *svayamabhiḡārtāya* come together (iii.2.8¹ seven times: G. M. read *vashat* for *vat*, doubtless by a clerical error). Here, v.33 requires the insertion of a *t* between the *t* and *s*, and this inserted *t* is then, by xiv.12, made *th*; so that we are finally to read *vatth svay*: if the latter conversion were first made, the reading would turn out instead *vatth svay*- (since v.33 would not then apply at all, but to the combination *thsv* would be prefixed a *t* of duplication, by xiv.1.5: the manuscripts, as usual in such cases, do not give these complicated readings altogether correctly: and W. B. even make the blunder of substituting at last *vat svāhā*, apparently having in mind *-vāt svāhā*, in the same division). Once more, in the passage *imam: vi: syāmi* (i.1.10² and iii.5.6¹), we are first to convert the *s* of *syāmi* to *sh* by vi.4, and then to duplicate the *sh* by xiv.1, making *vi shshyāmi*: if the duplication were first performed, making *vi ssyāmi*, then, by rule vi.4, we should have to read *vi shsyāmi*. Of the three examples thus given, only the first has to do with the form of the text as given in the manuscripts, since these very sensibly ignore the rules for duplication which make up the bulk of the fourteenth chapter of our treatise.

So far as regards the taking up of words for combination in their natural order, the Rik Pr. (ii.2) and Ath. Pr. (iii.38) have rules of like force with the present one.

त्रपुमिथुपूर्वः शकारश्चपरः ॥ ४ ॥

4. After *trapu* and *mīthu* is inserted a *ç* before *c*.

prathama ūshmaparo dvitīyam (xiv.12) *iti sūtradhvayam prasaktam: tatra pūrvatvāt tanakārapārvaç ca takāra*¹ *ityetad eva prathamam kartavyam*¹²: *anyathā* ¹³*vatth svayam iti*¹³ *syāt: tac cā* ¹⁴*'nishtam. athavā: imam vi shshyāmi* ¹⁵*'tyatro 'pa-sarganishpūrvō 'nudātte pade* (vi.4): *svrapūrvam vy-añjanam* ¹⁶*'dvivarnam vyañjanaparum*¹⁴ (xiv.1) *iti sūtra-dhvayam*¹⁵ *prāptam: tatra dvitvasūtre* ¹⁶*prathame kārye sati*¹⁶ ¹⁷*vi shshyāmi*¹⁸ ¹⁸*'ti syāt: tan mā bhād iti shatvam eva prathamam kartavyam.*

pūrvampūrvam *iti* ¹⁹*vīpsā sarvathā*²⁰ ²⁰*'vam artham samarthayati*¹⁹.

¹ G. M. ins. *tena*. ² W. -*dena na*. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ W. B. O. om. ⁵ G. M. om. ⁶ B. O. *sati*. ⁷ W. O. -*ma*. ⁸ G. M. om. ⁹ W. B. O. om. ¹⁰ G. M. *vashatth*; B. *vata*; O. *vatt*. ¹¹ G. M. om. ¹² O. M. put before *prathamam*. ¹³ W. B. *vāt svāhā* ¹⁴*'ti* ¹⁵*svayam iti*; G. M. *vashatth svayam iti*. ¹⁶ G. M. om. ¹⁷ G. M. -*tram*. ¹⁸ G. M. *prathamam* ¹⁹*krte*. ¹⁹ G. M. ins. *imam*. ²⁰ B. G. M. *shyāmi*. ²¹ G. M. *vīpsā sarvathā* ²²*'vad āhā 'yam iti samarthaniyam*; B. *vīpsā sarvathā* ²³*'vam arthayati*. ²⁴ O. *sarvathā*.

The passages are *sīsam ca me trapuṣ ca me* (iv.7.5¹), and *mīthuṣ carantam upayāti* (iv.7.15²): the existing *pada*-text reads *trapu* and *mīthā*, as this rule would lead us to expect. But the right of *trapuṣ* to be recognized as an independent word by the side of *trapu* is assured by the derivative adjective *trāpusha*, and the close analogy of *manu*, *manus*, *mānusha*.

The commentator adds a couple of counter-examples: one, *vibhu ca me prabhu ca me* (iv.7.4¹⁻²), to show that not every *u* has a *ṣ* added before *c*; the other, *asīnā mīthā kah* (iv.6.9⁴), to show that the insertion is only made before *s*, after the words specified.

सुपूर्वश्च चन्द्रपरः ॥ ५ ॥

5. As also after *su*, before *candra*.

The example quoted by the commentator is *succāndra dasma viṣpate* (iv.4.4⁶): the word occurs once more, at ii.2.12⁷. The *pada*-text reads *su-candra*. Counter-examples are: *pra candra-mās tirati dirgham āyuh* (ii.4.14¹: G. M. omit the last two words), and *ā mā sucarite bhaja* (i.1.12): their application is obvious.

संपूर्वः सकारः कुरुपरः ॥ ६ ॥

6. After *sam* is inserted *s* before *kuru*.

The commentator's example is *yajamānaḥ saṅskurute* (v.6.6⁴ and vi.5.5²). The *pada*-text reads *sam : kurute*. Counter-examples are *purodācān alaṁ kurv iti* (vi.3.1²: G. M. have a *lacuna* involving this passage), and *saṅskṛtya chādvakasāmam bhavati* (v.4.12³). The text has further *saṅskṛtya* and *saṅskṛta*, but (as is also implied in rule xvi.26) they are read in the *pada*-text as in *samhitā*, without division, or ejection of the intruded *s*.

अकुर्व च प्रत्ययात्परः ॥ ७ ॥

4. *trapu : mīthu : evampūrvah cakāra āgamo bhavati caparah¹. yathā : sīs----- : mīth----- evampūrvā iti kim : vi----- : evampara iti kim : as-----*

¹ G. M. *cakārap-*.

5. *cakārah cakāram anvādiṣati : supūrvah cakāra āgamo bhavati candraparah. yathā¹ : suṣ----- evampūrvā iti kim : pra----- : evampara iti kim : ā mā----- sv ity esha ṣabdaḥ pūrvā yasmād asṭu supūrvah.*

¹ G. M. om.

6. *sam ity evampūrvah sakāra āgamo bhavati kuruparah. yathā¹ : yaj----- evampūrvā iti kim : 'pur----- : evampara iti kim² : saṁ----- kuruṣabdaḥ paro yasmād asṭu kuruparah.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. om.

7. And before *akurva*, after the augment.

The passage is, as quoted by the commentator, *ta ishūñ sam askurvata* (vi.2.3¹); the *pada*-text reading *sam : akurvata*. The counter-example is *agnihotram vratam akurvata* (iii.2.2²). As *pratyaya* occurs nowhere else in the treatise, we cannot tell whether it signifies distinctively 'augment,' or, as in other of the Prātiśākhya, 'affix' in general. The commentator gives a scholastic explanation of the term, as indicating "that whereby the consonants are added unto, are made distinct."

नीचापूर्वी दकार उच्चापरः ॥ ८ ॥

8. After *nīcā* is inserted *d* before *uccā*.

The passage is *madhyān nīcā uccā* (ii.3.14⁶); and the *pada*-text actually reads *nīcā : uccā*. This is a proceeding to which it would be hard to find a parallel in the *pada*-texts of the other Vedas. To write *madhyena* for *madhyāt* just before would be in itself quite as defensible. As counter-examples, we receive *lokañ yanty uccāvuccā hni* (vii.4.3⁶), and *nīcā tam dhakshi* (i.2.14²).

At the end of the comment is made the remark "the above are cases of insertion" (*āgama*, 'accession'). The matter of irregular conversions is next taken up.

असंपूर्वी ऋमृकारः ॥ ९ ॥

9. After *asam*, *r* becomes *ar*.

The passage in which this anomalous change is made is *grhānām asamartyādi* (iii.3.8²), where the *pada*-text has, as the rule implies, *asam-rtiādi*. Here, again, we cannot praise the work of the *pada* text-maker. Nor is the rule of unexceptionable form, for the commentator is obliged to specify that the *asam* intended is one not made up of the parts of two words (not *-a sam*); else such passages as *kalyānī rūpasamrddhā* (vii.1.6⁶), and *vahī hy esha*

7. *cakārah sampūrvatvam¹ āgamañ² cā³ 'nvādiṣati. akurva 'ce'ti' grahaṇe pratyayāt paraḥ sakāra āgamo bhavati samparvāḥ. yathā: ta..... pratyayo nāmā 'kāra ucyate: pratyānta⁴ abhivyajyante vyañjanāny anene 'ti pratyayah. sampūrva iti. kīm: agn-----.*

¹ G. M. -rvam. ² G. M. sakārdg-. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ W. ca; O. G. M. itī. ⁵ B. O. pratyāyante; G. M. pratyayante.

8. *nīcāpūrvo dakāra āgamo bhavaty uccāparaḥ. yathā: madh----- evampūrva iti. kim: lok-----: evampara iti kim: nīcā-----.*

āgamā etc.

¹ G. M. O. om.

saṃrddhyāi (ii.2.2¹) would be included. As counter-example, to show that *r*, not a syllable containing *r*, is liable to the specified conversion, is quoted *asamtr̥ṇṇe hi hanā* (vi.2.11³: G. M. omit *hanā*).

अवग्रह आशीर्धुःसुवरिति रेफं परः सकारः पका-
रम् ॥ १० ॥

10. Of *ācīh*, *dhāh*, and *suvaḥ*, when first members of a compound, the *visarjanīya* becomes *r*, and a following *s* becomes *sh*.

The word *avagraha* in this rule is the locative *avagrahe*, says the commentator, and applies to each of the specified words, taken separately. He supplies *visarjanīya*, the omission of which, or of some other word answering the same purpose, is rather a serious defect in the rule. The illustrative passages quoted are *ity ācīrpadaya reā* (vi.2.9⁴; the *pada*-text reads *ācīh-padayā*); *dhārshāhāv anaśrā* (i.2.8²; p. *dhāh-sāhāu*), and *dadhishe suvarshām jīhvām agne* (iv.4.4¹; p. *suvaḥ-sām*: W. B. O. omit the first word of the citation, G. M. the last). The necessity of the specification "when first members of a compound" is shown by the counter-example *ye devā devasuva stha te* (i.8.10²: p. *deva-suvaḥ*: G. M. omit the first two words and the last). *Ācīh* shows the same irregular combination also in *anācīrkena* and *sācīrkena* (i.6.10⁴), but these words are not treated as divisible by the *pada*-text. The commentator goes on to point out the rules to which exceptions are established by this one: viii.23 would require *ācīshpadayā*, and ix.2

9. *asam ity evampārva ṛkāro 'ram vikāram āpadyate. yathā: gr̥h----- tatra' nimittam ekapadaśtham² vijñeyam: anyathā kaly-----: vahi-----: ity ādāv api bhavet. ṛkāra iti kim:*

¹ G. M. O. *atra*. ² B. -*dasanīstham*.

10. *avagraha iti saptamyantam padam ācīhprabhrtibhiḥ pratyekam abhisambadhyate. 'ācīh: dhāh: suvaḥ: ity' eteshv avagrahesu visarjanīyo repham āpadyate: ebhyaḥ² paro yadi sakāro³ vartate tarhi shakāram⁴ āpadyate. yathā: ity-----: dhār-----: dadh----- avagraha iti kim: ye----- kakhapakāraparah⁵ (viii.23) ity anenā⁶ "cīshpadaye 'ti prāptam: "aghosha-paras tasya sasthanam ūskmānam⁷ (ix.2) iti dhāssāhāu¹⁰ suvaśām¹¹ iti ca prāptam⁸: tadubhayabhaṅgāyā 'yam ārambhaḥ. iticabda eśhām evāi 'sha viśesho.nā 'nyeshām iti prakāravāci.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. *tebh-*. ³ G. M. put before *yadi*. ⁴ G. M. so 'pi *śatvam*. ⁵ G. M. om. ⁶ G. M. om. *parah*. ⁷ G. M. om. ⁸ W. om. ⁹ B. O. om. ¹⁰ B. O. *dhāhs-*. ¹¹ B. O. *suvaḥs-*.

dhāssāhu and *suvaśām* (or, as it is customary to write them, *dhāhsāhu* and *suvaśām*: only G. M. are conscientious about giving the double sibilant, as demanded by the Prātiçākhyā). The *iti*, he remarks finally, signifies that only the words mentioned, and no others, are intended—that is to say, it has no particular meaning at all. It would be well if he always as frankly acknowledged the insignificance of this word where it occurs in the rules.

अथ लोपः ॥ ११ ॥

11. Now for cases of omission.

An introductory rule or heading, having force as far as rule 19, below, inclusive.

इप्वा मकारः ॥ १२ ॥

12. A *m* is dropped, when preceded by *im*.

The passage aimed at is *im 'andrá suprayasaḥ* (iv.1.8²: p. *im*: *mandrá*): it is the only one of its kind in the text. The Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā reads in the corresponding passage (xxvii.15) *im mandrá*. To treat the loss of a *m* here as suffered by the second word instead of the first is most arbitrary and unreasonable. The particle *im* is reduced to *i* in quite a number of Rik passages, and before other letters than *m*: they are duly noted in the Prātiçākhyā (Rik Pr. iv.36). A series of counter-examples is added by our commentator: *imam me varuṇa* (ii.1.11⁶) shows that *m* is not dropped after another *m* in general; *agnim mitram varuṇam* (ii.1.11¹), that *m* after short *i* does not exercise the specified effect; *īṁkārāya svāhe 'īṁkrāya* (vii.1.19¹), that *im* elides no other consonant than *m*. The yet farther restriction is applied, that *im* here is a *padagrahana*, 'the citation of a complete *padā*;' for otherwise there would be an elision of a *m* in such cases as *prthivīm mā hiṁsīḥ* (iv.2.9¹): G. M. add the further example *utu gravaśā prthivīm mitrasya*, which I am unable to find in the Saṁhitā.

तुपूर्व उदात्तोर्वकारः ॥ १३ ॥

11. *athe 'ty ayam adhikārah: lopa ity etad adhikṛtaṁ veditavyam ita uttaraṁ yad vakshyāmaḥ. ayam adhikāras tish-thanty ekayā* (v.19) *itisūtraparyanto veditavyaḥ*.

12. *makāra im ity evampūrvaḥ lupyate. yathā': im----- evampūrva iti kim: im am-----: dirghena kim: agn-----: im iti padagrahanam': itarathā' prth----- ity ādāu makāro lupyeta'. makāra' iti kim: im-----*

¹ G. M. om. ² W. -hacarnah. ³ G. M. anyathā. ⁴ G. M. -yate; and add *tac ca* *nishitā*. ⁵ W. -rapara.

13. A *v* is dropped when preceded by *tu* or *nu*, in case these are accented.

It is when the particle *vāi*, or *vāva*, follows *tu* and *nu* that this anomalous mutilation is made. The commentator quotes *sa tv 'āi yajeta* (ii.6.6³ and vii.1.3¹: p. *sah* : *tu* : *vāi*), and *in nv 'ā upastīrṇam ichanti* (i.6.7³: p. *it* : *nu* : *vāi*). The same *sandhi* of *tu* and *vāi* is not infrequent elsewhere (the passages are i.7.1⁴, 6²: ii.2.4⁸; 5.4¹: iii.2.9²; 3.9²; 5.1³: v.5.9⁴: vi.4.3¹: vii.2.10³); that of *nu* and *vāi* is comparatively rare (only at i.5.9⁶ twice); that of *tu* and *vāva* I have found only once, at vii.5.6⁵. Here, again, it would seem better to regard the final *u* as suffering elision, instead of the initial *v*. The specification "if accented" is explained as intended to exclude such passages as *anu vrtrahatyē* (i.6.12¹; 7.13¹), where *anu* would fall under this rule by i.52 (even if the *nu* here, like the *im* in the preceding rule, were regarded as a *padagrahanam*). Other counter-examples, of obvious intent, are *idaṁ vām āsyē havih* (iii.3.11¹), and *pra tu jānayati 'ti* (i.7.2⁴) and *vidusho nu yajñam* (i.3.13¹⁻²).

उत्पूर्वः सकारो व्यञ्जनपरः ॥ १४ ॥

14. A *s* is dropped after *ut*, when a consonant follows.

The commentator's example is *praty uttubdhyāi sayatvāya* (vi.6.4⁶: p. *ut-stabdhyāi*). This is, so far as I have discovered, the only case in the *Sanhitā* from the root *stabh*: similar forms from *sthā* occur variously (*anātthāya*, iii.4.10³; *upotthāya*, vii.1.6⁸; 5.15¹⁻²; *utthāsyant*, vii.1.19³; *utthita*, vii.1.19³; 2.9³; and *utthāna*, vii.2.1⁴ thrice). As counter-examples are given *jagatsthā devāh* (ii.1.11⁴), *utkraṇsyate svāhā* (vii.1.19³), and *utsādena jihvām* (v.7.11).

This familiar *sandhi* is also the subject of *Ath. Pr.* ii.18, and *Vāj. Pr.* iv.95.

एषसस्य इति च ॥ १५ ॥

15. Also *eshah*, *sah*, and *syah*.

13. *tu* : *nu* : *ity evampūrvo vakāro lupyate tayos tunvor udāt-tayoh sātor iti vibhajya vijogo² vijñeyah. yathā: sa tv :---: in nv :---: valāttayor iti kim : anu :---: apy akārādi (i.52) iti prāptih : evampūrva iti kim : 'idaṁ :---: vakāra iti kim³ : pra :---: vid :---: tuḥ ca nuḥ ca tunū⁴ : tdu pūrvāu yasmāt sa ta-thoktah.*

¹ B. O. *nā*, as also B. in the rule itself. ² G. M. *vinij*. ³ B. *om*. ⁴ G. M. *tunu*.

14. *vyañjanaparaḥ sakāra utpūrvo lupyate. yathā: praty :---: vyañjanam asmāt param ity vyañjanaparaḥ. evampūrva iti kim : jag- :---: sakāra iti kim : ut :---: evampara iti kim : ut :---.*

Here the *ca*, 'also,' is declared to continue the implication of "when a consonant follows" from the preceding rule. The *iti* is added for the sake of clearness; it shows the final *visarjanīya* of *syah*, and attributes it by analogy to each of the other words also. What indicates that this final *visarjanīya* is the letter which is to suffer elision is not so evident. The illustrative examples are *esha te gāyatraḥ* (iii.1.2¹), *su te jānāti* (i.2.14²⁻³: but G. M. substitute *sa topo 'tapyata*, iii.1.1¹), and *esha sya vājī* (i.7.8³). The counter-example, showing that the omission occurs only before a consonant, is *dama evā 'syāi 'sha upa tishthate* (i.5.7⁴), where, if the *h* of *ēshah* were lost by this rule, x.5 would require the reading *esho 'pa*.

The corresponding rules in the other treatises are Rik Pr. ii.4, Vāj. Pr. iii.15,16, Ath. Pr. ii.57.

नासः ॥ १६ ॥

16. But not *asah*.

Namely, in the passage *hrtsvaso mayobhūn* (iv.2.11³; p. *hrtsu-asah*), which would otherwise fall under the preceding rule for *sah*, by i.52.

इदिदग्मांनश्नौषधीःपरः सः ॥ १७ ॥

17. And *sah*, when followed by *id u*, *id agne*, *imām*, *nah*, *enā*, *oshadhīh*.

These are the cases in the Sanhitā where, after the regular loss of the final of *sah*, its vowel is irregularly combined with the one that follows, against rule x.25. Such cases in the other Vedic texts are treated at Rik Pr. ii.33,34, and Vāj. Pr. iii.14. The commentator quotes the passages affected, as follows: *se 'd u hotā so adhvarān* (i.1.14⁴: B. O. omit the last word; G. M. the last two), *se 'd agne astu* (i.2.14³), *se 'mām no havyudātīm* (iv.6.6⁶), *sāi 'nā 'nīkena* (iv.3.13² and 6.1⁵), and *sdu 'shadhīr anu rudhyase* (iv.2.3³, 11³). The first two need counter-examples, to show that *it* not followed by *u* or *agne* does not coalesce with *sa*: they are *sa ij*

15. *vyāktivishaya' iticabdah pratyekam esha ity dān' visarjanīyāntān' dyotayati: cakāro vyañjanaparatām anvādicati. eshaḥ: sah: syah: eshu ' visarjanīyo vyañjanaparo lupyate. yathā': esha-----: sa-----: esha----- evampara iti kim: dama*

¹ G. M. -tiçishṭa; O. -tiviçishṭa. ² G. M. -nām. ³ G. M. -yāntatān. ⁴ G. M. ins. padeshu. ⁵ G. M. om.

16. *asa ity asmin' grahane visarjanīyo vyañjanaparo na lupyate. hrt----- apy akārādi* (i.52) *iti prāpter' nishedhaḥ*².

¹ G. M. etas-. ² G. M. -tiḥ. ³ G. M. om.

janena (ii.3.14³) and *sa id deveshu gachati* (iv.1.11¹). The third also wants a counter-example, to prove the need of *naḥ* after *imām*: it is found in *sa imām abhy amṛcat* (v.5.2⁴). Finally, to show that only *sah* undergoes the prescribed effect before the words specified in the rule, we have *paro divā para enā* (iv.6.2²).

अवग्रह इत्यकम् ॥ १८ ॥

18. Also *ity ekam*, when *ekam* is the former member of a compound.

The passage aimed at is *pāpiyānt syād ity ekāikam tasya juhuyāt* (v.1.1²: but as given by W. O., without the first two words, it is also found again at v.4.5⁵: G. M. omit *juhuyāt*); and the *pada*-text actually reads *ekam-ekam*. The case is akin with that which forms the subject of the next rule. Two counter-examples are given, to justify the terms of the rule: they are *ardhukaṇṇ syād ity ekam agre 'tha* (vi.2.3⁵: only G. M. have the first two words), and *yad ekamekaṇṇ sambharet* (i.6.8²).

तिष्ठत्येकया सपूर्वः ॥ १९ ॥

19. Also *tishṭhantī ekayā*, along with the preceding letter.

The commentator quotes the passage: *tishṭhantī ekāikayā stutayā* (vii.5.8⁴); the *pada*-reading is *ekayā-ekayā*. As counter-example, where the same word remains unmutilated, is given *samānānām karoty ekayādikayo 'tsargam* (vi.1.9⁴: only G. M. have the first word).

In this rule and the foregoing are noted, but at the same time ignored, the first occurrences of the compound *ekāika*, which (see the St. Petersburg Lexicon) is not very rare in the Ṣatapaṭha Brāhmaṇa and later.

17. ----- ¹ *evamparah saḥkāra*² *ity atra visarjanīyo lupyate. yathā: se 'd-----: se 'd----- v³ agna ity ābhyān⁴ kim: sa -----: sa-----: se-----: na iti kim: 'sa-----: sād-----: sād-----: sa iti kim: paro-----.*

¹ G. M. ins. *iti*. ² W. B. O. *sakāra*; G. M. *sa*. ³ W. B. *id*; G. M. O. *u*. ⁴ B. O. *etābhyām*. ⁵ A lacuna in B., to near the end of the comment on rule 18.

18. *itiṣabḍaviṣiṣṭa ekam ity asminn avagrahe makāro lupyate. yathā¹: pāp----- avagraha iti kim: ardh-----: itiṣabḍaviṣiṣṭa iti kim:² yad-----.*

¹ G. M. om. ² End of the lacuna in B.

19. *tishṭhāntiṣabḍaviṣiṣṭa ekaye 'ty asmin grahaṇe 'ntyo¹ var- naḥ sapūrvah pūrvasahito lupyate. yathā²: tish----- tishṭhantī 'ti kim: sam----- pūrvēna saha vartata iti sapūrvah.*

¹ G. M. *-yasvaro*. ² O. om.

The terms in which the rule is expressed show that, from rule 15 on, the implication has been of a "final" letter as liable to the effect prescribed. We have reason to be surprised that it was not distinctly stated when first made.

नकारः शकारं चपरः ॥ २० ॥

20. A *n*, when followed by *c*, becomes *ç*.

The commentator's illustrative examples are *ahñç ca sarvān jambhayan* (iv.5.1²), *rtññ ca tasya nakshatriyām ca* (vii.1.3²: G. M. omit *ca*), and *karnññ ca kurnññ ca* (i.8.9³). The counter-examples, to show that only *n* is so changed, and *n* itself only before *c*, not before other palatal mutes, are *çam ca me* (iv.7.3¹), and *tāñ chandobhir anu* (i.5.9⁷: G. M. omit *anu*).

The nature of the conversion taught in this rule, and of the kindred ones forming the subject of rules vi.14 and ix.20, as being a historical, not a euphonic process, has been sufficiently explained and illustrated in the note to Ath. Pr. ii.26. At the same place will be found noted the usage of the other Vedic texts as regards the *sandhi* ñç: the Atharvan and the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā make it uniformly, the Rik only occasionally. In the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā it is prevailingly usual: I have noted thirty-nine examples of it, against the eight exceptions mentioned in the next rule.

The definition of the *sandhi*, of course, is not complete without the aid of rules xv.1-3, which teach that, where *n* has been converted into a sibilant, the preceding vowel is nasalized, or has *anusvāra* added to it. A better course, according to our understanding of the history of the phenomenon, would be to teach the insertion of a *s* (or *visarjanīya*) and the change of *n* to *anusvāra* before it: but the makers of the Prāticākhyas concern themselves much less about the theoretical accuracy than the mechanical aptitude of their rules.

नायन्नैर्यन्नाध्वन्ननड्वन्धृणीवान्वारुणानेवास्मिन् ॥ २१ ॥

21. But not the *n* of *āyan*, *āirayan*, *ārdhnuvan*, *anadvān*, *ghrñvān*, *vārunān*, and *evā smin*.

The passages are: *lokām āyañ catasrah* (v.2.3⁴), *yām āirayan*

20. *cakāraparo*¹ *nakārah cakāram apadyate. yathā*²: *ah-----*: *rt-----*: *kar-----* *nakāra iti kim: çam-----*: *capara iti kim: tāñ-----* *cañ*³ *paro yasmād asdu caparah.*

¹ G. M. *caparo*. ² O. om. ³ G. M. O. *cakārah*.

21. ----- *eteshu*¹ *grahaneshu nakārah cakāram nā* "padyate *caparo* 'pi. *yathā*²: *lo-----*: *yām-----*: *loka-----*: *anadv-----*: *ghrñ-----*: *vār-----*: *evā-----* 'eve 'ti kim: 'asm-----

¹ G. M. *eshu*. ² G. M. O. om. ³ B. om.

candramasi (i.1.9³), *loka ārdhnuvaṇ caruṇā 'smiṇ* (v.5.1⁵: only G. M. have the first word), *anadvāṇ ca me dhenuṣ ca me* (iv.7.10²), *ghrṇvāṇ cetati tmanā* (iii.5.11¹), *vāruṇāṇ catuṣkapaḥlān nir va-pet* (ii.3.12¹: only W. has the last two words), and *evā 'smiṇ cak-shur dhattāḥ* (ii.2.9³⁻⁴; 3.8²). *Evā 'smiṇ* is found once more, in a slightly different connection, at ii.3.8¹: the others occur only in the passages cited. A counter-example, *asmiṇṣ cā 'mushmiṇṣ ca* (vii.3.4^{1,52}), is given to prove the need of specifying *eva* before *asmin*.

By rule 24, below, the *n* in all these cases is assimilated to the *c*, and should be so written in the text. My own manuscript of the Sanhitā, in fact, follows the authority of the Prātiśākhya, and represents the assimilated nasal in the same manner as an assimilated *m*, except in a single case (*ārdhnuvaṇ car-*). The Calcutta edition, however, in the part hitherto published, gives *n c* only once (i.1.9³), and everywhere else *n c*.

तकारश्चकारः शचक्षपरः ॥ २२ ॥

22. A *t*, when followed by *ç*, *c*, or *ch*, becomes *c*.

The form assumed by initial *ç* after this assimilation is taught in rules 34–37, below.

The commentator's examples are: *tac chaṇyoh* (ii.6.10^{2,3}), *tāc cā 'daduḥ* (vii.1.5³), and *tac chandusāṇ chandastvam* (v.6.6¹). He proceeds to point out that the *ç*, *c*, and *ch*, all mentioned in the rule as upon the same footing, are to be understood as original (not the products of previous euphonic processes), that being their chief or primary value: otherwise the mention of *ç* at all would be superfluous; since, the *ç* being (by v.34) ordered changed to *ch* after a mute, it would be enough for this rule to say "when followed by *c* or *ch*." Moreover, if the latter rule were applied, then, after it, the application of the earlier rule would not be suitable (*svarasa*, 'having its own proper flavor;') the word is not used elsewhere), as it would constitute an offense against the third rule of this chapter.

22. *çacachaparas takāraṣ cakāram āpadyate. yathā: tac-----: tac-----: tac----- atra çacachapara iti sāmānyoktānām¹ ni-mittānām² prakṛtitvaṇ³ vijñeyam: mukhyatvāt: tatra⁴ prakṛta-vādikṛtayoh prakṛtam⁵ mukhyam: anyathā çakāragrahaṇavādyar-thyāt: kuto vādyarthiyam: sparçapūrvāḥ çakāraṣ chakā-ram (v.34) iti çakārasya chatve kṛte takāraṣ cakāram çacachapara⁶ ity etāvatai⁷ 'va siddher⁸ iti brūmaḥ. kim ca: parasūtre pravṛtte sati paççādi pūrvāpātraprasaraṇam na svarasam⁹: tatra pūrvāmpūrvam prathamam (v.3) iti niyamabhaṅgaprasaṅgāt¹⁰.*

¹ G. M. B. O. -nyeno 'kt-. ² W. O. prani-. ³ G. M. prakṛtitva-. ⁴ G. M. om.
⁵ G. M. -tatvam. ⁶ G. M. -yāc ca. ⁷ G. M. B. çacacha-. ⁸ G. M. siddhir. ⁹ G. M. bhavati. ¹⁰ G. M. nydayabh-.

जपरो जकारम् ॥ २३ ॥

23. When followed by *j*, it becomes *j*.

The cited example is *taj jayānām jayatvam* (iii.4.4): rather superfluously, a counter-example is also given: *tat pravāte* (vi.4.7²).

नकार एतेषु जकारम् ॥ २४ ॥

24. A *n*, before the same letters, becomes *ñ*.

As *eteshu* is plural, we are obliged, having recourse to that which lies nearest, to regard as implied the letters pointed out in the last two rules as requiring certain changes in those that precede them: that is to say, *ç*, *c*, *ch*, *j*. These are, in fact, the whole class of palatals, since *ñ* never occurs at the beginning of a word, nor, indeed, in any independent position, and since *jh* is found nowhere in any Vedic text. The dental *n*, then, never maintains itself before a palatal, but is assimilated to it. The other treatises teach virtually the same doctrine: see note to Ath. Pr. ii.11.

The commentator's illustrative example for *n* before *ç* (where, to complete the combination, rule 34 below has also to be applied) is *tendī 'vāi 'nān chamayati* (iii.4.8⁴). As for *n* before *c*, he points out that the rule applies only to the cases where the *n* does not become *ç* by v.20, as excepted by v.21, and quotes again one of the examples given under the latter rule, *lokam āyañ catasrah* (v.2.3⁴). Before *ch*, he gives the phrase already quoted as counter-example under v.20, *tān chandobhir anu* (i.5.9⁷); and before *j*, *aparūpam ātman jāyate* (iii.5.7³). As general counter-example, finally, he gives *tānt subdhān* (ii.4.1¹), where *n*, coming before *s*, is treated in a quite different manner.

The occurrence of *n* before *ch*, which does not once happen in the Atharvan, is found not less than nine times in the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā. My own MS. reads every time *nch*, combining the dental nasal with the palatal aspirate. The Calcutta edition, at the only place which it contains as yet, reads *ñch*.

23. *sānnidhyāt takāra iti labhyate: japarās takāro jakāram āpadyate. yathā¹: taj----- evampara iti kim: tat-----*

¹ G. M. om.

24. *eteshu iti bahuvacananirdeṣāt¹ pratyāsannam evā. 'napekshya² sūtradvayastheshu paranimitteshu sampratyayaḥ³: tasmād eteshu iti: çacachajeshu⁴ parata⁵ ity arthah: nakāro ñakāram āpadyate. yathā⁶: te-----: çatvāpattāu nisāddho⁷ yo nakārah so 'tra çaparatvena vishayikriyate. lok-----: tān-----: apa----- evampara iti kim: tānt-----*

¹ W. -rdip-. ² G. M. 'napek-. ³ G. M. praty-. ⁴ W. O. -chabhujeshu. ⁵ W. parā; G. M. pareshu. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ G. M. B. O. put after *yo*.

The combination of final *n* with initial *ç*, producing, according to all the phonetic text-books (with trifling exceptions: see note to Ath. Pr. ii.17), *nch*, is decidedly of more common occurrence. But here, too, my own MS. reads, with but a single exception among the cases which I have noted, *nch*: the Calcutta text is inconsistent with itself, now giving *ñ* (as at ii.2.12³), now *n* (as at i.3.9¹).

Final *n* is found yet more frequently before initial *j*, or some scores of times in all. As regards its method of writing the combination, my manuscript is about equally divided between *nj* and *mj*. The Calcutta text is equally wavering; and there is no approach to consistency between the two authorities, or to recognizable principle in either: in both alike, the variation seems wholly accidental and arbitrary.

Such being the case, I think it clear that a careful editor of the *Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā* ought to disregard, as of no authority or consequence, the variations, or the unanimity, of his manuscripts upon all these points, and to adopt uniformly the reading prescribed by the *Prātiçākhya* (either *ñ* or *m*), wherever a final *n* comes to stand before a palatal mute.

तपरौ लकारम् ॥ २५ ॥

25. Both *t* and *n*, when followed by *l*, become *l*.

The dual *laparāu* indicates that the *t* and *n*, already treated of, are the letters aimed at in this rule, says the commentator. He cites as examples *yāl lohitaṁ parāpatat* (ii.1.7²: G. M. omit the last word), and *trīṇ lokān ud ajayat* (i.7.11¹: only G. M. have *ud ajayat*). The combination of *n* and *l* is finished by the next rule, and will be further remarked upon in the note thereto.

नकारो अनुनासिकम् ॥ २६ ॥

26. The *n* becomes nasalized *l*.

As the nasal quality of *n* itself is already established by rule ii.30, explains the commentator, it could not properly be defined here again as nasal. Hence the *anunāsikam* of the present precept must be understood as qualifying the *l* of like position into which the *n* is converted: this *l* is to be a nasal *l*. No additional example is given, the combination having been illustrated under the preceding rule.

There are in the *Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā* over a hundred cases of the meeting of final *n* with initial *l*, and in fully two-thirds of them

25. *dvivacanasamarthyād' grhītau prakṛtau takāranakārau lakāram āpadyete³ laparāu. yathā⁴: yāl.....: trīṇ.....: lah⁵ paro yābhyān tau laparāu.*

¹ G. M. *thyā*. ² G. M. om. ³ MSS. *-yate*. ⁴ G. M. om. ⁵ G. M. *lakārah*.

my MS. reads *nl* simply, without attempting any accommodation of the two sounds to one another. In the remaining cases, it treats the *n* in the same way as it would treat a *m*, substituting for it the ordinary *anusvāra*-dot over the preceding *akshara*. The Calcutta text varies between *nl* and *ñll*. Here, as in the cases treated above, there seems to be every reason why an editor should follow one consistent method, as the irregularities of the manuscripts have no ground but accident—and, not less certainly, the method prescribed by the Prāṭicākhya is the one better entitled to be followed. As to the way in which the nasal *l* shall be represented, there may be some question. As I have already mentioned (note to ii.30), I cannot think that the designation of the Calcutta edition is at all to be commended, since it properly implies the insertion of an *anusvāra* between the preceding vowel and a doubled *l*, and thus quite distorts the character of the combination—except as this is viewed by Ātreya, as noted in a later rule (v.31). The method followed in my MS., on the other hand, is theoretically unobjectionable, since there is no phonetic difference recognized, or to be recognized, by phonetic theory between the combination of *n* and *l* and that of *m* and *l*: it has only the practical inconvenience of not distinguishing to the eye these two combinations—and this is of very small account, since there can be few if any cases where the least ambiguity would result. If the nasal *l* is to be written separately, it should properly have the *virāma* beneath and the sign of nasality over it. That is to say, one ought always to print either अस्मिन् लोके or अस्मिं लोके, not अस्मिँल्लोके.

In romanized text, as the assimilated *m* is represented by *m̃*, so, by an analogous method and for the sake of convenient distinction, the assimilated *n* may be very suitably represented by *ñ*; and this is the sign with which I have chosen to write it, both before *l* and before the palatals.

All the Prāṭicākhyas (see note to Ath. Pr. ii.35) agree in converting both *n* and *m* before *l* into a nasal *l*.

मकार स्पर्शपरस्तस्य सस्थानमनुनासिकम् ॥ २७ ॥

27. A *m*, when followed by a mute, becomes a nasal of like position with it.

The commentator's examples are *yam̃ kām̃yeta* (i.6.10⁴ et al.), *gam̃ ca me* (iv.7.3¹), *tam̃ te duścakṣhāḥ* (iii.2.10²), and *tam̃ prat-*

26. *anusvārottamā' anunāsikāḥ* (ii.30) *iti nakārasya 'nu-*
nāsikātve siddhe ' punar atra 'pi tatkathānam unupapannam:
tasmā' atra lakṣaṇayā nakāro nāma tatsthāno lakāra' ity ar-
thaḥ: asdv ' anunāsikam bhajate'. pārvoktam̃ evo 'dāharaṇam.

¹ W. *nanu anunāsā-*. ² G. M. ins. *'pi*. ³ G. M. *nak*. ⁴ G. M. ins. *lakāra*.
⁵ G. M. *bhajeta*.

nathā (i.4.9). Of *m* before a lingual he is able to give no example, as such a concurrence is not to be found in the *Sanhitā*.

अन्तस्थापरश्च सवर्णमनुनासिकम् ॥ २८ ॥

28. Followed by a semivowel, it becomes a nasal of like quality with it.

From the class of semi-vowels is excepted *r*, by the next rule. Examples are given for the others, as follows: *san'yattā āsan* (i.5.1¹ et al.), *suvarṇam lokam* (i.5.4⁴ et al.), *sanivatsarah* (i.5.1³ et al.: the *paḍa*-text, like that of the Atharvan, reads *sam-vat-sarah*, while that of the Rik leaves the word undivided). No attempt is made in the manuscripts or the printed text of the *Sanhitā* to give a special representation to these nasal semi-vowels standing for an assimilated *m*: it is left to be understood that the sign of nasality over the preceding *akshara* stands for a nasal letter of like quality with the following consonant in the case of the semi-vowels, just as in that of the mutes, provided for by the preceding rule. Nor are the manuscripts of the *Prāticākhya* and its commentary any more particular—saving that G. M. usually write, instead of *my*, the combination *yy*, without any sign of the nasality of the first *y*.

Only the *Ath. Pr.* disagrees with our treatise in its treatment of *m* before the semi-vowels, acknowledging no nasal *y* or *v*, but a *l* alone (see note to *Ath. Pr.* ii.35).

The commentator explains the word *anunāsika*, 'nasal,' in the rule, by *anunāsikadharmaviśiṣṭa*, 'distinguished by nasal quality,' but afterward raises a difficulty over it, in terms which imply that he regards it as a noun, 'a nasal,' asking, how, we are to understand it here as equivalent to *sānunāsika*, 'combined with nasality.' As it is, in fact, originally and properly an adjective, signifying 'possessed of nasal quality,' and is constant-

27. *sparṣaṇo makāras tasya sparṣasya sasthānam anunāsikām¹ bhajate. yathā²: yaṁ-----: ṣaṁ-----: taṁ-----: taṁ----- samānam sthānam yasya³ 'sāu sasthānaḥ: tam³: sparṣaṇo paro yasmād asāu sparṣaṇaḥ.*

¹ W. om. ² G. M. om. ³ B. G. M. om.

28. *cakāro makāram anvādiṣati: antasthāṇo makāras tasya antasthāyāḥ savarṇam sadṛṣam anunāsikam¹ anunāsikadharmaviśiṣṭam bhajate. yathā: saṁ-----: suv-----: saṁ----- nanv anunāsikam² ity anena sānunāsikaṁ³ 'katham labhyate⁴. ucyate: 'nitarām parihārah⁵: yato dharmavācakah⁶ ṣabdo dharmaṇam⁷ api⁸ kathayati: ' suklaḥ paṭo nīlam utpalam ity ādivaḥ⁹.*

¹ B. O. om. ² W. om.; O. ity anena sānunāsikaṁ katham upa'ambhāmahe; G. M. sāka'am upalambhāmahe yathā. ³ O. om. ⁴ W. dharmena. ⁵ W. avika; O. avi. ⁶ G. M. ins. yathā. ⁷ G. M. adi.

ly so used and applied in the Prāṭiśākhya, the difficulty is worse than hair-splitting; it is a downright perversion. The answer by which it is met is a quibble worthy of being matched with it: "because a word expressing a quality also designates the object possessing that quality; as, for example, when we say 'a white cloth,' 'a blue lotus.'" As if the words "white" and "blue" strictly applied to the color alone, and did not just as properly mean 'of white color,' 'of blue color!'

न रेफपरः ॥ २९ ॥

29. But not when followed by *r*.

R being also a semi-vowel, *m* would be converted into a corresponding nasal before it by the previous rule, but for this special exception. The instances given of the treatment of *m* before *r* are *pra samrājyam prathamam adhvarānām* (i.6.12³; G. M. have only the first two words), and *sāmraṇyāya sukratuḥ* (i.8.16¹). They are particularly ill-selected, as neither case comes under the action of the preceding rule; they fall, rather, under xiii.4, and are, in fact, the two passages there given as examples of the peculiar treatment of *sam* before *rāj*. We ought to have, instead, such passages as *pratyushtaṁ rakshaḥ* (i.1.2¹), *vi vayan ruhema* (i.1.2²)—which, of course, are of exceedingly frequent occurrence in the Saṁhitā.

The omission of *m* before *r*, and the nasalization of the preceding vowel, or the insertion of *anusvāra* after the latter, are taught below, in rules xiii.2, xv.1-3. The written and printed texts are consistent in their recognition of the mode of combination thus prescribed, always setting the proper *anusvāra* sign before *r*, while before *y*, *l*, *v* they write the assimilated *m* just as before the mutes.

यवकारपरश्चैकेषामाचार्याणाम् ॥ ३० ॥

30. Nor, according to some teachers, when followed by *y* or *v*.

The authorities referred to, of course, would leave the *m* to be treated before these letters as before *r*, and would acknowledge no

29. *antasthātṛvād rephaparasyaḍ¹ 'pi makārasya tatsavarṇānūnāsikapráptir² anena nishidhyate: na khalu rephaparo³ makārah pārvoktam bhajate. yathā⁴: pra-----: sām----- rephaḥ paro yasmād asṭu rephaparah.*

¹ G. M. *rephasya tatp.* ² G. M. *-kāpattih prāptā.* ³ G. M. *-pakāro.* ⁴ G. M. om.

30. *cakāro nishedhānvādeṣakah¹: prakrto² makāra ekeshām ācāryānām pakṣe yakāraparo vā³ vakāraparo⁴ vā na savarṇam anunāsikam bhajate. yathā⁵: sa m- : sa m-.*

¹ G. M. *-ākārshakah.* ² W. B. *prāk-.* ³ B. O. om. ⁴ B. om. ⁵ G. M. om.

nasal semi-vowel save *l*. Their opinion is again quoted in connection with the rule respecting the actual treatment of *m* before *r* (xiii.3), and the commentator there calls attention to the fact that the "some teachers" spoken of are the same with those here noticed: who they are, he does not attempt to tell us. The view held by them is the same with that taken by the Atharva Prātiçākhyā, as pointed out above (see Ath. Pr. ii.35, and the note upon it); but, until we know much more than we do at present of the history and mutual relations of these phonetic treatises, it would be highly venturesome to conclude that the authors of this Prātiçākhyā had here in mind the other one and its authors.

I find it difficult to discover any good phonetic reason why the assimilation of *m* should not yield a like result before all the semi-vowels, and why, if we are to admit an *anusvāra* at all, it would not find a particularly appropriate place as representing the sound into which *m* might naturally pass before *y*, *r*, *l*, and *v*.

As examples, are repeated *saṁvatsarah* and *saṁyattāḥ* (see under rule 28, above).

उत्तमलभावात्पूर्वी ञ्नुनासिक इत्यात्रेयः ॥३१॥

31. Âtreya holds that, when a nasal mute becomes *l*, the previous vowel is nasalized.

As has been pointed out above, Âtrēya's view of the combination is the one represented accurately by the mode of writing adopted in the Calcutta edition. It is not elsewhere supported in the Prātiçākhyās. Its quotation here seems a little unprepared, or the expression of it given in the rule imperfect, as we have been directed to convert *m* and *n*, not into *l*, but into a nasal *l*. One might think, too, that it would be in better place at the beginning of chapter xv., where certain other differences of opinion on kindred points are rehearsed.

The commentator gives Âtreya the title of *muni*, 'sage,' instead of *ācārya*, 'teacher.'

To illustrate the sage's style of making the combination, he cites *trīṇ lokān* (i.7.11¹) and *suvarṅgāṇ lokam* (i.5.4² et al.); but not one of the manuscripts of the commentary takes the pains to write the extracts as they should be written, to serve their purpose as illustrations. Finally, he adds the caution that "this rule and the preceding are not approved."

उपूर्वः ककारः सषकारपरः ॥३२॥

31. *uttamasya nakārasya makārasya' vā labhāvāl lakārāpatteḥ pārvasvaro 'nunāsiko bhavati 'ty ātreya nāma munir manyate. yathā': trīṇ..... suv..... uttamayor labhāva uttamalabhāvah': tasmāt.*

sūtradvayam etad apishṭam.

¹ G. M. put before *nak*. ² G. M. om. ³ G. M. om.

32. After *ś* is inserted a *k* before *s* and *sh*.

The commentator's examples are *pratyāñk somo atidrutah* (i.8.21; but G. M. have instead *sadrñk samdnāih*, ii.2.8⁸), and *pratyāñk shadāho bhavati* (vii.4.2⁵: O. G. M. omit *bhavati*). As counter-examples, showing that the insertion is made only under the circumstances specified, he gives *pratyāñ hotāram* (vi.3.1⁵), and *tat savituh* (i.5.6⁴ et al.) and *tat shodaci* (vi.6.11¹).

The combinations here treated of are not otherwise than rare in any Vedic text. In the Tāittirīya-Sanhitā I have found no other instance of the meeting of *ś* and *sh* than the one quoted; of *ś* before *s*, besides the two here given, occur two others, at vi.3.1⁶ and iv.4.47⁻⁸; but, in the latter passage, the division of the section into half-centuries falls between the two letters, as the text is at present written, and prevents the exhibition of the *sandhi*. Neither the Calcutta edition (so far as yet printed) nor my manuscript makes in any of these passages the insertion required by the Prātiśākhya: and it may properly enough be considered a question whether the latter's authority ought to be followed in a matter of this character, any more than in regard to the duplications which form the subject of chapter xiv. Nevertheless, considering the phonetic reasonableness of this particular insertion, and its close analogy with that of *t* between *n* and *s* (see the next rule), I should myself decidedly incline to write *ñk s* and *ñk sh*. The manuscripts of the commentary, it should be remarked, try to follow the directions of the rule, W. B. O. reading *ñks*, and W. O. *ñksh* (with the *k* and *sh* united in the usual sign for *ksh*); while G. M. even yield to the requirement of xiv.12, and give us *ñkhs* and *ñkshs*. This last is a refinement which no one, probably, would care to see introduced into our printed texts.

As is shown in detail in the note to Ath. Pr. ii.9, the teachings of the Ath. Pr. and Vāj. Pr. are virtually in agreement with those of our own treatise as regards the insertions prescribed in this rule and the next, while the Rik Pr. merely mentions them as enjoined by some authorities.

टनकारपूर्वश्च तकारः ॥ ३३ ॥

33. After *t* or *n* is inserted a *t*.

The examples given for these combinations are *vashatt svāhā* (vii.3.12 nine times), and *vidvānt somena yajate* (iii.2.2³); and, in order not to be without an illustration for the collision of *t* with *sh*, one is dragged in from the *jātā*-text: *anāyājāu shatt shad anāyājāv anāyājāu shat* (vi.6.3³): to which G. M. even add, from the

32. *sakāraparah*¹ *shakāraparo vā kakāra āgamo bhavati nāpārvaḥ yathā: praty-----: praty----- evampara iti kim: praty-----: evampārva iti kim: tat-----: tat-----*

¹ G. M. ins. *vā*.

same source, *tānt, subdhānt subdhāns tāns tānt subdhān* (ii.4.1¹). Counter-examples are *shad vā ṛtuvaḥ* (iii.4.8⁶), and *tān rudrā abruvan* (v.5.2⁶).

The final lingual *t* occurs before *s*, according to my notes upon the text, in ten other passages (iii.2.8¹ eight times: iv.4.8¹; 6.1⁴: v.4.3⁴, 4²; 5.2⁶: vi.2.3⁴; 6.3³: vii.1.5¹; 4.10²); and my MS. does not once employ the intermediate *t*. The manuscripts of our commentary, however, all introduce it; and this time B. abets G. M. in converting it into *th*, by rule xiv.12. The combination is without doubt a very troublesome one, in the demand it makes upon the tip of the tongue: but whether the transition is helped by the intrusion of a *t* is a much more serious question—and one to exercise and gratify the subtlety of a Hindu phonetist. The Ath. Pr. also requires *tt*s (ii.8), but the Rik Pr. (iv.6) only notices the mode of *sandhi* as enjoined by certain teachers.

It is indeed true that the strict letter of the rule requires a *t* to be inserted between a *t* and *sh*, as illustrated by the commentator from the *jatā*-text. But it would be wholly preposterous to suppose that the authors of the Prātiçākhyā intended to teach any such insertion—which would convert the consonant combination from one wholly natural and easy to one in a high degree harsh and difficult, if not absolutely impossible. They evidently relied on the non-occurrence of *sh* after *t* anywhere in the Saṁhitā for the annulling of that part of the rule's prescription—either having no regard to a *jatā*-text, or overlooking the fact that in it the two letters would come in contact.

Twice in the Tāittirīya text we have a final *t* before an initial *sh* (at v.5.2⁶: vii.5.6³). Although their collision might seem to call for mediation in somewhat the same manner as that of *t* and *s*, the Prātiçākhyā makes no special provision for it, and the manuscript text simply combines the two letters.

The meeting of final *n* with initial *s*, the other case contemplated by the rule, is very frequent (there are sixty instances in the first two *kāṇḍas*: I have not collected them through the whole text). Neither the printed text nor my manuscript is absolutely faithful in inserting the prescribed *t*; yet I have found but six cases in the whole Saṁhitā in which the latter omits it; and out of the seven passages in *kāṇḍas* i. and ii. where the former leaves it out, my manuscript confirms the omission in only one. As the requirement of the Prātiçākhyā receives so much support from the usage of the scribes, and also accords with the prescriptions of the Ath. Pr. (ii.9) and Vāj. Pr. (iv.14), there can be no question that it ought to be followed by an editor of the Tāittirīya Veda.

33. cakārah sashakārāv anvādicati: takārapārvo vā nakārapārvo vā takāra āgamo bhavati sashakāraparah. vash-----: vid-----: anā-----: tānt----- evampara iti kim: shad-----: tān-----.

¹ B. om.

स्पर्शपूर्वः शकारश्चकारम् ॥ ३४ ॥

34. A *ç* preceded by a mute becomes *ch*.

The commentator gives only an example of a *ç* converted into *ch* after *t*, the *t* at the same time becoming *c* by rule 22, above: *çarac chrāutrī* (iv.3.2²). He adds a counter-example, *āçuḥ çigānah* (iv.6.4¹). The occurrence of any other final mute than *t* and *n* (for which an example is given above, under rule 24) before initial *ç* is very rare (excepting *m*, for which see the following rule); and it is properly only after a dental, or after a dental or lingual, that the conversion here prescribed has good phonetic ground—namely, in the coalescence of a *t*-sound and a *sh*-sound into the compound sound of our *ch* in *church* (see note to Ath. Pr. ii.17). There is one case of a preceding *t* (i.3.14⁶), where my MS. reads, as the Prāticākhya directs, *t ch*, while the Calcutta text has *t ç*. A single case of preceding *p* is treated of below, in rule 36.

न मकारपूर्वः ॥ ३५ ॥

35. But not when preceded by *m*.

By this rule, says the commentator, is annulled the conversion of *ç* to *ch* after *m*, which would otherwise be in order (according to the preceding rule), since *m* is a mute. He instances *sañcitam me* (iv.1.10³ and v.1.10²) and *sañgravā ha* (i.7.2¹). Being thus specially exempted from the operation of the foregoing rule, this combination, of course, falls under xiii.2 and xv.1–3, and the *m*, as before other spirants, becomes *anusvāra*. An objection is raised against the pertinence of the present precept, on the ground that xiii.2 directs the omission of *m* before a spirant, and that hence there could arise no occasion for any such conversion of *ç* into *ch* as is here contemplated and guarded against. The reply, however, is a very easy one; that, by rule 3 of this chapter, the requirement of the conversion into *ch*, as it is stated earlier, would have to be applied first, and that the result of so doing would be to pro-

34. *çakāraç çhakāram āpadyate sparçapūrvah¹. yathā²: çarac..... evampūrva iti kim: āçuḥ..... sparçah pūrvō yasmād asūi sparçapūrvah.*

¹ G. M. puts first. ² W. G. M. om.

35. *makārapūrvah çakāraç çhakāram nā 'padyate. yathā: sañ-----: sañ----- sparçatvān makārasya 'tatpūrve³ çakāre⁴ prāptvān chatvam⁵ anena nishidhyate. nanv etad anupapannam: 'atha makāralopah⁶ (xiii.1): rephoshmaparah⁷ (xiii.2) iti makārasya lopavidhānān nā⁸ çakārasya chatvāpattinimittam⁹ asti. 'ti. māi 'vam: 'chatvāpādakam malopāpādakāt pūrvam: atas¹⁰ tatra pūrvampūrvam prathamam¹¹ (v.3) ity nyā-*

duce, in the passage already quoted, the reading *sañchitam me brahma*; which is wrong.

पकारपूर्वश्च वाल्मीकेः ॥ ३६ ॥

36. Nor, according to Vālmīki, when preceded by *p*.

There is but a single case in the Sanhitā of *p* before *ç*, namely the one here quoted by the commentator, *anushtup çârādî* (iv.3.2²): so my manuscript reads, according to the requirement of rule 34, above. Vālmīki thinks it would be better to read *anushtup çârādî*—and I presume we shall have little hesitation in approving his opinion.

व्यञ्जनपरः पौष्करसादेर्न पूर्वश्च जकारम् ॥ ३७ ॥

37. Nor, according to Pāushkarasādi, when followed by a consonant; and a preceding *n*, in that case, does not become *ñ*.

This translation is made in accordance with the commentator's exposition. One might be tempted to understand the last part of the rule otherwise, not regarding the continuance of the negative as implied from the other part; translating 'and a preceding *n* becomes *ñ*,' but, besides the authority of the comment against it, this would be a mere repetitious enactment of the rule already given above (v.24). The inquiry is raised, how we know that *pūrvah*, 'the preceding letter,' means here 'a preceding *n*.' The reply is; because only *n* is liable to conversion into *ñ*, and annulment is only made of that which would, without direction to the contrary, be liable to take place.

The examples given to illustrate this peculiar view of Pāushkarasādi are *ādityān çmagrubhiḥ* (v.7.12), and *pāpiyān çreyase* (i.5.7⁴). The edition has *pāpiyān chreyase* in the latter passage, in accordance with the approved rules of the Prātiçākhyā; but my MS. seems to have been written by a sectary of Pāushkarasādi at this point (namely, in the margin: a line or two of the context was omitted just here by the original scribe). In the former, I

*yena chatvam eva pūrvam*¹⁰ *kartavyam syāt: tathā sati makāra sparças*¹¹ *tatpare*¹² *çakāre chatvam*¹³ *āpanne sañ-.... iti syāt: tan mā bhūd ity etat sūtram upapannam eva.*

(¹) B. om., excepting *lokavidhānān na*. (²) G. M. -*vasya*. (³) G. M. -*rasya*. (⁴) G. M. put before *prāptam*. (⁵) G. M. O. om. (⁶) G. M. put before *asti*. (⁷) G. M. -*ttatvān*. (⁸) G. M. *chatvāpādakasya sūtrasya malopasya ca chatvāpādakasyādi 'va sapūrvatvāt*. (⁹) W. B. O. om. (¹⁰) G. M. om. (¹¹) B. -*ça*. (¹²) G. M. *lasye 'ti makāre nākaram*. (¹³) B. *pare*.

36. *çakārah pratishedhārthakah*¹: *vālmīker mate pakārapūrvah*² *çakāraç çakāram*³ *nā "padyate. yathā: an-....*

¹ B. G. M. *dhākarshakah*. ² G. M. *pūrv*. ³ G. M. *chatvam*.

find the reading *ādityān chmaçrubhih*, which would satisfy neither side. There is one other case of the collision of *n* with *çr* (at v.6.7³), where I find read *n chr*. So also, at v.7.1³ my MS. has *n chv*; and at vii.3.14, *n chy*. These are the only instances, I believe, which the text affords of the combinations contemplated by the rule.

The commentator, at the end, declares this rule and the preceding not approved, and with reason: the evident intent of the treatise is that the conversion of initial *ç* to *ch* shall take place in all the cases falling under rule 34.

प्रथमपूर्वे हकारश्चतुर्थं तस्य सस्थानं प्लाक्तिकौण्डिन्यगौतमपौष्करसादीनाम् ॥ ३८ ॥

38. According to Plākshi, Kāuṇḍinya, Gāutama, and Pāushkarasādi, a *h* preceded by a first mute becomes a fourth mute corresponding with the latter.

The examples of this, the approved and customary combination of an initial *h* with a final surd mute, are, as given by the commentator, *arvāg-ghy enam* (vi.3.3¹), *sarad dhavā agvasya* (v.3.12²: G. M. omit *agvasya*), and *tad dhiranjam* (v.4.2³ and vi.1.7¹). In giving the first two quotations, W. O. G. M. (following a vicious and indefensible mode of combination, which occasionally appears even in carefully written Vedic manuscripts, and has incautiously been admitted into some edited texts) write *ghgh* and *dhdh* instead of *ggh* and *dgh*; and in the latter of them my MS. of the Sanhitā does the same (see the note to xiv.5). As counter-examples, establishing the restrictions imposed by the rule, we have *pratyah hotāram* (vi.3.1⁵), *vāk ta ā pyāyatām* (i.3.9¹), *vashat te* (ii.2.12⁴); and, in W., *ā tishthipat te* (iv.6.9⁴), but in all the other MSS. *tat te* (i.3.9¹ et al.).

This is one of several instances in which the Prāticākhya, instead of stating first, categorically, its own doctrine, and then mentioning others at variance with this, puts forward the conflicting views of different authorities, without appearing itself to decide in favor of any one against the rest. The commentator here points out (at the end of the chapter) that the present rule presents the accepted doctrine of the treatise, the three that follow being dis-

37. *pāushkarasāder mate vyāñjanaparāḥ çakara sparçapūrvo 'pi chatvan nā "padyate: çakārapūrvo nakāraç ca ñakāram nā "padyate. yathā': ād-----: pāp-----: pūrva ity ukte nakāra iti katham labhyate. ñakārāpattir asyāi 've 'ti brāmaḥ: prasaktasyāi 'va' hi' pratishedhāt. vyāñjanam asmāt param ity vyāñjanaparāḥ.*

nāi 'tat sūtradvayam iṣṭam.

¹ W. om. ² G. M. om. *eva*. ³ B. O. om. ⁴ G. M. -*dhah*.

approved; but this does not satisfy us. We might, to be sure, regard ourselves as justified in assuming that the doctrine of the authors of the work is first stated, with due and respectful mention of the authorities upon whom they especially rely in maintaining it: but such an assumption does not in all cases help us out of the difficulty.

अविकृत एकेषाम् ॥ ३९ ॥

39. According to some authorities, it remains unchanged.

That is to say, the authorities here referred to would read, for example, in one of the passages already quoted (vi.3.3¹), *arvāk hy enam*.

As the euphonic treatment of *h* as a sonant instead of a surd letter is one of the most perplexing anomalies of the Sanskrit phonetic system; such indications as this of the fluctuating and antagonistic views of the old Hindu phonetists respecting it, and the willingness of some of them to give it the value of a surd in making combinations, are worth a great deal to us.

चतुर्थो अन्तरे शैत्यायनादीनाम् ॥ ४० ॥

40. According to Āityāyana and others, a fourth mute is interposed.

These respectable authorities would, if their views are not misrepresented, approve the very strange-looking and hardly defensible reading *arvāgh hy enam* (so writes W., with the utmost possible explicitness; B. reads *arvāk hya hy*; O. gives *arvāgh hy*; G. M. have *arvāghy*). The commentator tells us (one would like to know on what authority) that the "others" are Kāuhalīputra, Bharadvāja, Old Kāundinya, and Pāushkarasādi. All are mentioned elsewhere (see Index) in the text itself.

38. *plākshiprabhṛtīnām mate prathamapūrvo hakāras tasya prathamasya sasthanām caturtham bhajate. yathā': arv-----: sarad-----: tad----- evampūrva iti kim: prat-----: hakāra iti kim: vāk-----: va-----: ā 'ti----- prathamah pūrvo yasmād asdu prathamapūrvah.*

¹ G. M. om.

39. *ekeshām mate prathamapūrvo hakāro 'vikṛto bhavati. yathā: arv-----.*

40. *āityāyānādīnām mate hakāraprathamayor antare madhye prathamāsasthanāṣ caturthāgamo bhavati. yathā: arv-----: ādigabdena kāuhalīputrabharadvājasthavirakaundinyapāushkarasādayo¹ grhyante.*

¹ G. M. *ādīnyānām*, and then a lacuna to *pūjārtham* under the next rule.

मीमांसकानां च मीमांसकानां च ॥ ४१ ॥

41. As also, according to the Mīmāṃsakas.

The especial mention, in a separate rule, of the agreement of this school with the view of Āityāyana and his abettors, is made, says the commentary, with an honorific intent.

He adds, as was above remarked, that rules 39 to 41 are disproved.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTENTS: 1-5, conversion of *s* and *h* into *sh*; 6-13, exceptions and counter-exceptions; 14, insertion of *s* between final *n* and initial *t*.

अथ षकारः सकारविसर्जनीयौ ॥ १ ॥

1. Now for the conversions of *s* and *visarjanīya* into *sh*.

An introductory heading to the rules of this chapter—excepting the last rule.

स्वानासोदिव्यापोक्ष्यमुकमूमोप्रोत्रीमहिद्यविपद्यवग्रहपूर्वः ॥ २ ॥

2. A *s* is converted into *sh* when preceded by *svānāso divi*, *āpo hi*, *ayam u*, *kam u*, *ū*, *mo*, *pro*, *trī*, *mahi*, *dyavi*, *padi*, or a former member of a compound.

The illustrative passages, as given by the commentator, are as follows: *uta svānāso divi shantv agneh* (i.2.14¹: only O. has *agneh*; B. omits both that and the preceding word): with the

41. *cakārah pūrvoktavādhim anvādigati: mīmāṃsakānām cā 'ntarāgamamataṃ sammatam. pūrvoktam evo 'dāharanam. mīmāṃsakānām' pūjārtham prthaksūtrārambhah.*

nāi 'tat sūtratrayam iṣṭam.

*iti tribhāshyaratne prāticākhyavivarane
pañcama 'dhyāyuh.*

¹ G. M. omit to here.

1. *athe. 'ty ayam adhikārah: sakāravisarjanīyāu śakāram āpadyete ity etad adhikṛtam veditavyam ita uttaram yad vak-shyāmah.*

counter-example *trītyasyām ito divi somo āsīt* (iii.5.7¹), to show the powerlessness of *divi* to effect the change except after *svānāsah*. Then *āpo hi śhthā mayobhuvah* (iv.1.5¹: v.6.1⁴: vii.4.19⁴: only G. M. have the last word): the necessity of *āpo* is shown by the counter-example *na hi svah svāñ hinasti* (v.1.7¹). Next *ayam u shya pra devayuh* (iii.5.11¹), and *kam u shvid asya senayā* (ii.6.11²): with the counter-example *tad u soma dha* (iv.2.8¹), to prove that *u* changes *s* only after *ayam* and *kam*. For *ū*, the example is *ūrdhva ū shu na ūtaye* (iv.1.4²: only G. M. have the first word): the other passages in which it exerts a like influence upon an initial *s* are i.5.11⁵: iii.5.10¹: iv.6.5⁶: v.1.5³: vii.1.18²; 4.17². For *mo*, the only passage is the one quoted, *mo shā na indra* (i.8.3). For *pro*, only *pro shv asmāi puroratham* (i.7.13⁵). For *trī*, only *trī shadhashtā* (ii.4.11² and iii.2.11¹). For the three remaining words, also, the text affords only the single examples given by the commentator: *mahi shad dyuman namah* (iii.2.8²), *ya upa dyavi shtha* (ii.4.14⁵), and *padi shītāni amuñcatā yajatrāḥ* (iv.7.15⁷: G. M. omit the last word). To the prescription conveyed in the last item of the rule, which seems to demand that every *s* beginning in *pada*-text the latter member of a compound should be changed to *sh*, rule 7, below, makes the very important general exception "not after a consonant, or an *a*-vowel;" it means, then, that *s* is so changed after the *i*, *u*, and *ṛ*-vowels and the diphthongs. The commentator illustrates only one or two of the cases in which the conversion would be required: *hañsah gucishad vasuh* (iv.2.1⁵; p. *guci-sat*: only G. M. have the first word), *ayā vishthā janayan* (i.7.12²; p. *vi-sthāḥ*: only G. M. have *ayā*), and *goshtomam dvitiyam* (vii.4.11¹).

I have collected from the Sanhitā all the words coming under the operation of this part of the rule, concerning the initial *s* of the latter member of a compound (just about a hundred in number, and some of them of quite frequent occurrence), but I do not think the list worth the trouble of giving here. So far as regards the Prātiśākhya and its relation to them, the important point is to determine whether its rules and exceptions precisely cover them—and I have to say that I have not succeeded in discovering any want of exact adaptedness to them. There is a single participle, *anusthita*, whose unaltered *s* is unnoticed and unprovided for in the chapter, but it occurs only as final member of a compound, *vishṇvanusthitah* (ii.4.12^{2,4,5}; p. *vishṇu-anusthitah*), and so, not being itself separated into its constituents, is exempted from the action of the present rule.

2. ity evampūro 'vagrahapūrvac ca sakārah shakāram
 āpadyate. yathā: uta....: svānāsa' iti kim: trt....: āpo
: āpa iti kim: na....: ayam....: kam....: ayanikam
 iti kim: tad....: ūrdh....: mo....: pro....: trī....:
 mahi....: ya....: padi....: hañs....: ayā....: go....
 avagrahaḥ pūro yasmād asāv avagrahapūrvah.

¹ W. B. svāna.

असदामासिञ्चश्च ॥ ३ ॥

3. Also *asadāma* and *asiñcan*.

The “also” (*ca*) in this rule implies, the commentator says, that the words mentioned are preceded by an *avagraha*, according to the final specification of the preceding rule: else such passages as *ajāyām gharman prā 'siñcan* (v.4.3³) would fall under the prescribed action. The examples are *yena kāmena nyashadāme'ti* (vii.5.2¹; p. *ni-asadāma*), and *mitrāvaruṇāv abhyashiñcan* (i.8.11; p. *abhi-asiñcan*). The rule is given, we are told, for the purpose of ordaining that, in the case of these two words, the conversion into *śh* after an *avagraha* takes place even notwithstanding the interposition of an *a*. Why not, then, puts in an objector, say “even when *a* interposes,” without specification of the words concerned? Because, is the reply, the rule would then apply to such cases as *hr̥tsvaso mayobhūn* (iv.2.11³; p. *hr̥tsu-asah*).

उपसर्गनिष्पूर्वी ञ्नुदात्ते पदे ॥ ४ ॥

4. Also in an unaccented *pada*, when a preposition or *nis* precedes.

This rule can apply only to unaccented verbal forms, since they alone can be technically *anudatta* throughout, having the *anudatta* sign written under every syllable. In any compound beginning with a preposition like *pāri*, for instance, having an acute on the first syllable and an enclitic *svārīta* on the second, the syllables of the other member of the compound would not have the *anudatta* accent, but the *pracaya*: such would fall under rule 2 of this chapter. The word *pada* in the rule, we are told, is intended to specify the text: “a word which is *anudatta* throughout in the *pada*-text” is what the Prāṭiśākhya means—it being, in fact, impossible that any word should be so accented in *saṃhita*-text.

The commentator's examples are, for prepositions, *aṣmann īrjam iti pari shiñcati* (v.4.4¹), *imam vi shyāmi* (i.1.10² and iii.5.6¹), *sāmraḍjyenā 'bhi shiñcāmi* (i.7.10³ twice, and v.6.3³: but B. O. read *shiñcati*, I presume by a copyist's blunder, as I find no such phrase in the text), *yajamāne prati shthāpayanti* (vi.1.4²), and *ni shasāda dhrtavrato varuṇaḥ* (i.8.16¹: only B. O. have *varuṇaḥ*);

3. *asadāma: asiñcan: ity etayoḥ sakārah shakāram' āpadyate. yathā: yena..... mitr..... cakāro'vagrahapūrvatvānvādeṣa-kaḥ'. anvādeṣenā 'nena' kim: aj..... avagrahapūrvatve 'py' akāreṇa vyāveta ity ayam ārambhah. nanu lāghavād akāravya-veto 'pi'ty etāvātāi 'vā'lam: kaṇṭhoktyā kim. ucyate: hr̥t---- ity ādāu mā bhūd iti.*

¹ G. M. *shatvam*. ² W. B. and O. p.m. om. *pūrvā*. ³ B. O. G. M. om. ⁴ G. M. *sati*.

for *nis*, *ni shtanihi duritā* (iv.6.6⁷: all the manuscripts of the comment, along with my manuscript of the Sanhitā, read thus, as required by ix.1: compare the similar cases noted under rule 13, below). A number of counter-examples are given, showing the effect of absence of any one of the conditions contained in the rule: they are *sudane sīda samudre* (iv.3.1), *brhataḥ carmanī syām* (iv.1.5¹), *vi simataḥ surucaḥ* (iv.2.8²: G. M. omit this example), and *abhi savanā pāhi* (i.4.10,11).

The cases coming under this rule are not so numerous but that it may be worth while to report them. Of verbal forms after *adhi* I have found none; after *abhi*, I have noted *abhi shyāma* (i.4.46³), and forms of *abhi shiñcāmi* (i.7.10³ et al.) and *abhi shuñomi* (iii.1.8²); after *prati*, forms of *prati shtāpayāmi* (i.7.5² et al.), and *prati shtobhanti* (ii.2.12³); after *pari*, forms of *pari shicye* (iii.3.11¹ et al.), and *pari shtāt* (i.7.13³); after *vi* (besides that quoted under rule 13, below), *vi shajanti* (vi.4.7²), and forms of *vi shyāmi* (iii.4.11⁶); after *ni* (besides the one under rule 13), *ni shāsāda* (i.8.16¹ et al.), and forms of *ni shiddāmi* (iii.5.11⁴ et al.). Such cases as *ni-shādāyati* (v.3.7²), where the preposition, losing its accent before the accented verbal form, is combined with the latter in the *pada*-text, belong under rule 2, above. The same is the case with *vyātishajet* (vi.6.4² et al.), where the verb has two prepositional prefixes, and is therefore written in combination with them (*vi-ātishajet*), and with altered sibilant. But for this circumstance, we should require a separate and special treatment of the word; for *ati* is by this Prāṭigākhya (i.15) excluded from the list of *upasarga*, 'prepositions,' and so could not by the present rule cause the alteration of an initial *s* of a root. *Anu* is also thus excluded, whence the passage *anu sthana* (v.6.1³) does not fall under the rule, and the retention of its dental sibilant needs no specific authorization. It is the only case, so far as I have discovered, in which the restriction of the class of prepositions to half its usual number has any bearing upon the objects of this rule.

रासःसत्तेऽग्निनिर्विडुमीदुःपायुभिर्वेःसुमतिर्माकिरीयुरायुरा-
भिःसधिर्नक्लिस्तकारपरो नित्यम् ॥ ५ ॥

5. Also the *visarjanīya*, when followed by *t*, of *agniḥ* preceded by *rāsaḥ* or *sapte*, and of *niḥ*, *viduḥ*, *mīdhuḥ*, *pāyubhiḥ*,

4. *sarvānudātte pade vartumanah sakāra upasargapūrvō nishpūrvō vā shatvam āpadyate. yathā: aṣm-----: imam-----: sām-----: yaj-----: ni-----: etāny' upasargapūrvān'. nishpūrvam api: ni sh-----: evampūrvā iti kim: sad-----: brh-----: sarvānudātta iti kim: vi-----: abhi-----: pada iti kim: kālārtham: padakāle' nudātta ity arthaḥ.*

¹ G. M. etc. ² G. M. -rgd. ³ W. -kd a.

veh, *sumatih*, *mākih*, *īyuh*, *āyuh*, *ābhih*, *sadhih*, and *nakih*, under all circumstances.

This is, the commentator remarks, a rule establishing exceptions in advance to rule 2 of the ninth chapter, which would require in every case *s* instead of *sh*. The examples are: for *agnih*, *avidushtarāsaḥ*: *agnish tad viśvam* (i.1.14⁴) and *medhyaś ca sapte*: *agnish tvā* (v.1.11¹); with a counter-example, *varshishthe adhi nāke* 'gnis *te tanuvam* (i.1.8: only G. M. have the first two words), to show that *agnih* becomes *agnis* after other words than the two specified in the rule. For *nis*, *nish tapāmi goshtam* (i.1.10¹). For *viduh*, *vidushtarañ sapema* (ii.5.12⁵; p. *viduh-taram*), and also, in virtue of rule i.52, *avidushtarāsaḥ* (i.1.14⁴; p. *aviduh-tarāsaḥ*): *vidushtarah* occurs at ii.6.11¹. For *mīdhuh*, *mīdhushtama śivatama* (iv.5.10⁴; p. *mīdhuh-tama*). For *pāyubhih*, *pāyubhish tvāñ śivebhih* (i.4.24): with the counter-example *tasmād aśvas tribhis tishthāñs tishthati* (v.4.12¹: only G. M. have the first two words), to show that the quotation of *bhih* (of *pāyu-bhih*) alone as *nimitta* would not have answered the purpose. For *veh*, *śoce vesh tvāñ hi yajvā* (iv.3.13⁵). For *sumatih*, *sumatish te astu bādhasva* (i.4.45¹: only G. M. have the last word): and, to justify the text in quoting *sumatih* (p. *su-matih*) in full, instead of *matih* simply, we receive an asserted quotation from "another text," *pramāṣis te devāndm*. For *mākis*, *mākish te vyathir ā dadharshīt* (i.2.14²). For *īyuh*, *īyush te ye pūrvaturām apacyan* (i.4.33). For *āyuh*, *āyush ta āyurdā agne* (ii.5.12¹: only G. M. have *agne*): we have *āyush te* again at i.3.14⁴. For *ābhih*, *ābhish te adya gīrbhih* (iv.4.47: G. M. omit the last word). For *sadhih*, *apsv agne sa-*

5. *rāsaḥ*: *sapte*: 'ity etābhyañ viśishte 'gnir ity asmin' *grahane*: *niḥ*.....^{1,2}..... *nakih*: *ity eteshu visarjanīyas takāraparah shakāram*⁴ *āpadyate*². *yathā*: *avid*.....: *medh*.....: *etābhyañ viśishta iti kim*: *varsh*.....: *nish*.....: *vid*.....: *apy akārādi* (i.52) *iti vacanād avidushtarāsa ity apy udāharaṇam*: *mī*.....: *pāy*.....: *pāyv*⁵ *iti kim*: *tasm*.....: *śoce*.....: *sum*.....: *sv iti kim*: *pram*..... *iti śākhāntare*: *māk*.....: *īyush*.....: *āyush*.....: *ābhish*.....: *apsv*.....: *nakish*..... *nityaśabdaḥ kimarthah*: *rkārarephavati* (vi.8): *avagrahaḥ* (v.9) *iti nishedham*⁶ *vakshyati*: *avidur*⁷ *ity atra visarjanīyasyā* 'vagrahasthatvāt *shatvam na syāt*: *tan mā bhād iti*: *kañthoktir*⁸ *vidur ity asyāi* 'va' *na tv avidur ity asye* 'ti dāurbalyāt: *tat-samrakshaṇārtho nityaśabdaḥ prayujyate*.

aghoṣaparas tasya sasthanam (ix.2) *ity asya puras-tād apavādo* 'yam.

(1) (2) W. transposes, breaking *mīdhuh* in the middle. ³ G. M. *etasmīn*. ⁴ G. M. *shatvam*. ⁵ W. O. -*yur*; G. M. -*yubhir*; B. corrupt. ⁶ G. M. *pratishedho*. ⁷ G. M. *vid*. ⁸ G. M. ins. *api*. ⁹ G. M. ins. *shatvam*.

dhish tava (iv.2.3²,11³). And for *nakih*, *nakish tam ghnanti* (ii.1.11⁴): *nakish tam* is found also at i.8.22⁴.

The final specification of the rule, *nityam*, 'under all circumstances,' is explained as intended to assure the inclusion in the rule of the word *aviduṣhtarāsaḥ* (i.1.14⁴), already quoted, which would otherwise be liable to exclusion by the operation of rules 8 and 9, below. The word *viduḥ* itself, we are told, is all right, because of its specific mention in the text, but a little additional force is needed to bring in *aviduḥ* as its hanger-on. The explanation is by no means of the most satisfactory character, but I have nothing to suggest in its place. We have already once (see note to iii.8) had a case arising under i.52 treated as demanding a special handling.

अथ न ॥ ६ ॥

6. Now for exceptions.

An introductory heading, of force in the rules that follow (through rule 13).

अवर्णव्यञ्जनशकुनिपत्युतुमृत्युमलिभुबृहस्पतिपूर्वः ॥ ७ ॥

7. Excepted is a *s* preceded by an *a*-vowel, a consonant, *ṣakuni*, *patnī*, *rtu*, *mṛtyu*, *malimbu*, or *br̥haspati*.

The bearing of the first two items of this rule on those which precede it has been noticed under rule 2. The commentator's examples are, for a preceding *a*-vowel, *antarikshasad dhota* (i.8.15² et al.: only G. M. have the second word) and *ā siñcasva* (i.4.19: but G. M. omit the passage), of which one falls as an exception under rule 2, the other under rule 4; and, for a preceding consonant, *rksāme vāi* (vi.1.3¹). Then, for the words specified, we have *ṣakunīśādena* (v.7.14), *patnīsamnyājānam* (ii.6.10⁴: G. M. read *-yājāh*, which is found twice in the same division of the same section, but not elsewhere), *rtusthās tasya* (v.7.6⁶: the same compound is found at v.5.8¹), *mṛtyusamnyuta iva* (i.5.9⁴: only G. M. have *iva*), *nāi*

6. *athe 'ty ayam adhikārah: ne 'ty etad' adhikṛtaṁ veditavyam ita uttaram yad vakshyāmaḥ*².

¹ G. M. om. ² W. *vadayaṁmah*.

7. *avarṇapūrvō vyañjanapūrvāḥ ca ṣakuni..... br̥haspati: ity' evampūrvāḥ ca' sakārah śhakāram' nā "padyate. yathā: ant-----: avagrahapūrvatvāt ' prāptih: 'ā siñ-----: upasarga-pūrvatvāt prāptih: r̥k-----: ṣak-----: patn-----: rtu-----: mṛt-----: nāi-----: br̥h-----: 'avagrahapūrvatvād eṣhām prāptih*⁵.

¹ O. om. ² G. M. om. ³ G. M. *shatvam*. ⁴ G. M. ins. *eṣhām*. ⁵ G. M. om. ⁶ G. M. om.; W. adds *sa visasyah: avagrahapūrvatvāt prāptih*.

'nam malimbuseṇā vindati (vi.3.2⁶: only G. M. have the first two and the last words), and *brhaspatisutasya te* (i.4.27 and vi.5.8³); all of which, as the commentator points out, are cases falling under the last specification of rule 2, respecting the conversion of initial *s* of the latter member of a compound.

ऋकाररेफवति ॥ ८ ॥

8. Also in a word containing *r* or *r*.

The commentator gives one example of each case, the former constituting an exception under rule 4, the latter under the last specification of rule 2: *vi srjate śāntyāi* (i.7.6⁷), and *tasmāt sa visrasyah* (vi.2.9⁴, 10⁷: only G. M. have *tasmāt*).

Of other words falling under this rule, I have noted *parisrutam* (i.8.21), *visarjanam* (i.1.5²), *bahusūvarī* (iii.1.11⁴), and *gosatram* (vii.5.1¹). Compare the nearly corresponding rules of the other treatises, Rik Pr. v.11, Vāj. Pr. iii.81, Ath. Pr. ii.102, 106.

अवग्रहः ॥ ९ ॥

9. Also in the former member of a compound.

We should expect the word *avagraha* in this rule to be put in the locative case, so as to accord in construction with the preceding rule; and I have translated it as a locative. Its being a nominative makes the commentator some trouble: he declares *avagraha* here equivalent to *avagrahastha*, 'standing in *avagraha*,' and quotes as corresponding and customary expressions "the stages cry out," "the fat one knows," where "those occupying the stages," "the soul inhabiting a fat body," are really meant.

The occasion for such a precept as this arises out of rule 4, above, which provides for the conversion into *śh* of the initial *s* of a word wholly *anudatta*, after a preposition. It was aimed, as is there pointed out, at unaccented verbal forms. But the former members of compounds which are accented on the latter member

8. *ṛkāraṣ ca rephaṣ ca ṛkārarephāu: tāv asmint sta ity ṛkāra-rephavat: tasmīn pade vartamānaḥ sakāraḥ śhakāraṁ¹ nā² pad-yate. yathā³: vi-----: upasargapūrvatvāt prāptiḥ⁴: tasm-----: avagrahapūrvatvāt prāptiḥ⁴.*

¹ G. M. *śhatvam*. ² G. M. *om*. ³ W. B. O. *om*. ⁴ W. *om*.

9. *avagrahasthaḥ sakāraḥ śhakāraṁ¹ nā² padyate: upasarga-pūrvāḥ³ ca³: avagraha ity avagrahastho⁴ lakshyate⁵: mañcāḥ kro-ṣantī⁶ 'ty atra⁶ mañcasthāḥ: 'sthālo jānāti⁷ 'ti⁸ sthāladehasthaḥ. udāharanāni: tasy-----: mukh-----.*

¹ G. M. *śhatvam*. ² W. -*va*; G. M. *visarjaniyaḥ*. ³ W. *sat*. ⁴ G. M. change place with *avagraha*. ⁵ B. O. *labhy-*. ⁶ G. M. *ins. yathā*. ⁷ G. M. *ins. yathā*. ⁸ B. O. *om. iti*.

would also come under the rule, as being *anudātta* throughout, and also entitled to the designation *pada*, 'word,' equally with completely independent vocables: hence the necessity of providing for their exclusion from its action. The commentator illustrates with a couple of examples: *tāsyān devā ādhi samvāsantaḥ* (iii.5.1¹), and *mūkham yajñānām abhi samvidāne* (v.1.11²: only G. M. have the first word). W. B. O. introduce a third, between the other two, namely *abhi sām agachantē 'ti* (ii.5.3⁷); but, as is shown by the accentuation and division, it does not fall under either the fourth rule or this, and has evidently come in by somebody's blunder.

It is very possible that the Sanhitā contains other cases requiring the application of this rule; but if so, they have escaped my notice.

सवस्थानम् ॥ १० ॥

10. Also in *sava* and *sthānam*.

The cited passages are *agnisavaḥ cityaḥ* (v.6.1⁵), *anusavanam purodācān* (vi.5.11⁴ and vii.5.6⁴), *savanesavane 'bhi grhṇāti* (vi.4.11⁴; 6.11³), *prasavāya sāvitraḥ* (vi.6.5²: G. M. omit the last word; and the whole example is a blunder, since there is nowhere a rule requiring the lingualization of the sibilant in *prasavāya*), and *gacha gosthānam* (i.1.9^{1,2}).

The word *sthānam* being cited with its special case-ending, the rule would not apply to such forms as *sthānaḥ*, *sthāni*, which in fact occur in the compound *pratishthāna* (e. g. i.7.6⁶: ii.4.4¹), with their sibilant converted to *sh*. *Sava*, however, having no case-ending, falls under rule i.22, and is employed as "part of a word, in order to the inclusion of a variety of cases," as the comment duly points out, and as his selected examples illustrate.

न धिपूर्व ॥ ११ ॥

11. But not when *dhi* precedes.

The examples are *adhishavanam asi* (i.1.5²: W. omits this example), *adhishavane jihvā* (vi.2.11⁴), and *adhishthānam āram-*

10. *sava: sthānam: ity' etayoh sakārah sakāraṁ' nā "pad-yate. save 'ti paddikadeḥo bahūpādānārthaḥ'. agn-----: anus-----: sav-----: pras-----: gacha-----.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. shatvan. ³ B. bahūnām padānām arthaḥ.

11. *sava: sthānam: ity ayoh' sakāre' dhipūrve' nishedho na prasarati. yathā: adh-----: adh-----: adh----- dhī 'ty ayaṁ varṇaḥ' pūrvo yasmād asdu dhipūrvah: tasmin.*

¹ B. G. M. etayoh. ² G. M. sakārasya pūrva. ³ G. M. put first. ⁴ W. om.

bhanam (iv.6.2⁴). There are no other words illustrating the rule, although *adhishavana* occurs in one or two other passages.

Considering that an appended specification constituting a rule often applies only to the last word given in the preceding rule (e. g. iv.13,16), it might well enough have seemed advisable to the authors of the Prātigākhya to read here *dhīpārvayoh*, in the dual, instead of *dhīpārve*.

संतानेभ्यःसप्ताभिःसंमितास्तनाःसीतःस्यशःसकसनि-
सनिःसनीःसभेयःसत्त्वासस्ययै ॥ १२ ॥

12. Also in *sañtānebhyaḥ*, *saptābhiḥ*, *saṃmitām*, *stanām*, *sītam*, *spaṇah*, *sak*, *sani*, *sanīḥ*, *sanīḥ*, *sabheyah*, *sattvā*, and *sasyāyāi*.

The examples, as quoted by the commentator, are as follows. For *sañtānebhyaḥ*, *parisañtānebhyaḥ svāhā* (vii.4.21). For *saptābhiḥ*, *trisaptābhiḥ paṇukāmasya* (v.2.6²: G. M. have only the first word). For *saṃmitām*, *vedisaṃmitām minoti* (v.6.8²). For *stanām*, *dvistanām karoti* (v.1.6⁴). For *sītam*, *anusītam vapati* (v.2.5⁵). For *spaṇah*, *tanūpānah pratispaṇah* (v.7.3¹). *Sak* is declared a part of a word, implying a variety of forms; for example, *paṇcāt prṇisaktho bhavati* (ii.1.3³), *prṇisakthās trayo hāi-mantikāḥ* (v.6.23: G. M. omit the last word), *prṇisaktham ā labhetu grāmakāmah* (ii.1.3²: G. M. O. omit the last word), and *prṇisakthāya svāhā* (vii.3.18): I have noted no other cases, and should regard *saktha* as (by i.22) the preferable form for the *grahana* in the rule. For *sani*, *tasmād etad gosani* (vii.5.2²); for *sanīḥ*, *asi stanayitnusanir asi* (iv.4.6²: G. M. omit the first word); for *sanīḥ*, *vṛshṭisanir upa dudhāti* (v.3.1³, 10¹): *gosaniḥ* is found also at iii.2.5⁷, and *vṛshṭisanīḥ* at iv.4.6². As it would satisfy all these cases to cite *san* alone, in the character of part of a word (like *sak*, above), the commentator inquires why that was not done, and the citation of whole words avoided; and he brings up in reply *mṛdhā vā esho bhishanno yasmāt samāneshv anyah greyān uta* (ii.4.2³: all but W. stop at *-shanno*), and *nishannāya svāhā*

12. eteshu¹ sakārah² shakārah³ nā "padyate. yathā: pari-----: tri-----: vedi-----: dvi-----: anu-----: tan-----: sag iti padārikadeṣo bahūpādānārthaḥ: yathā: paṇc-----: prṇ-----: prṇ-----: prṇ-----: tas-----: asi-----: vṛsh-----: 'sann ity'⁴ etāvatāi 'vā'⁵ siddhe kim akhilapadapāthena⁶: mṛdhā-----: nish-----: ity āddu mā bhād iti: sus-----: abhis-----: sus-----: "sattvāstīntānebhya ity etayor upasargapūrvatvāt prāptiḥ:⁷ 'sarveshām⁸ anyeshām avagrahapūrvatvāt prāptiḥ⁹.

¹ G. M. eshu. ² G. M. shatvan. ³ W. B. O. san ity; G. M. sani 'ty. ⁴ G. M. om. eva. ⁵ G. M. om. pada. ⁶ W. satvāsasyāyā ity ayor upasargāvagrahapūrv-; B. O. sañtānebhyaḥ svāhā: ity etayor up-. ⁷ W. om. ⁸ G. M. om.

(vii.1.19¹), as examples of the alteration of *san*. *Sani* would not cover all the cases; and the treatise makes no provision for the citation of a theme ending in *i*, or any other vowel than *a*, as representative of all the forms derived from that theme. For *sa-bheyah* is quoted *susabheyo ya evam* (vii.1.8¹: G. M. omit *evam*). For *sattvā*, *abhisattvā sahojāh* (iv.6.4²: all the MSS. read everywhere, in text, commentary, and *Sanhitā*, *sattvā*). And for *susyā-yāi*, *susasyāyāi supippalābhyah* (i.2.2³).

All these are exceptions under rule 2, being cases of compounds whose second member begins with *s*, after a vowel other than an *a*-vowel. The commentary tries (with much discordance between the different manuscripts: see the various readings below) to claim two of them as exceptions under rule 4; but there is no ground for so doing.

न स्वरस्यर्धास्तरीमसाहस्रसारथिस्फुरतीस्तुज्योति-
रायुश्चतुःपूर्वस्तो ॥ १३ ॥

13. But not in *svara*, *spardhāh*, *starīma*, *sāhasra*, *sārathih*, *sphurantī*, *stubh*, and in *sto* when preceded by *jyotih*, *āyuh*, or *catuh*.

Of these words, the first six constitute counter-exceptions under rule 8, which excepted words containing *r* or *r* from the conversion of their initial *s* into *sh*. The examples, as quoted by the commentator, are as follows: *amba ni shvara* (i.4.1² and vi.4.4³); *vi shpardhāc chandah* (iv.3.12³)—these two, it is noted, are cases under rule 4, of unaccented verbal forms after a preposition—*sushtarīmā jushānā* (v.1.11²); *dvishāhasram cinvīta* (v.6.8²: G. M. omit *cinvīta*), and *trishāhasro vā asāu lokah* (v.6.8³: G. M. omit after *vāi*)—both forms are, we are made to observe, included in the citation of *sāhasra* by its theme-ending *a*, according to rule i.22: other forms do not occur in the *Sanhitā*, nor these elsewhere than in the two divisions quoted from—*kāmayate sushārathih* (iv.6.6²); and *vishphurantī amitrān* (iv.6.6²).

The next case is a very anomalous one, being the conversion of *s* into *sh* after *a*, contrary to the first specification of rule 7. The phrase is *sashtup chandah* (iv.3.12²; p. *sa-stup*). Compare similar cases as noted in *Ath. Pr.* ii.95.

The combination of *sto* with the three words mentioned, although

13. ----- *stup*: *ity eteshu sakārah*: *jyotih*: *āyuh*: *catuh*:
*evampūrvac ca*¹ *sto ity atra sakāra ṛkārarephavati* (vi.8):
avarṇavyañjana (iv.7) ²*iti co 'ktam*² *nishedham nā* ³*padyate*:
kim tu shatvam pratipadyate: *iti pratiprasavārtho 'yam nakā-*
rah. yathā: *amba*-----: *vi sh*-----: *upasargapūrvatvād anayoḥ*
prāptih: *susht*-----: *grahanasya ca*³ (i.22) *iti vacanād akā-*
ragrhitam ⁴*sāhasragrahanam anekārtham*: *yathā*: *dvish*-----:

not quite regular, has nothing strange in it. The final *visarjanīya* of the first member of the compound is lost by ix.1, and the sibilant is treated as it would be had no *h* been present. The examples are *jyotishtomam prathamam* (vii.4.10¹, 11¹), *dyushtomam tritīyam* (vii.4.11¹), and *catushtomo abhavat* (iv.3.11²): *jyotishtoma* and *catushtoma* occur in a number of other passages, which it is not worth while here to rehearse. The exception this time is to the second specification of rule 7, according to which the consonant *h* at the end of the former member of the compound would prevent the lingualization of the sibilant. Of course, according to the theory of the Prātiçākhyā (by v.3), the lingualization is first performed, giving *jyotiḥshtoma* etc., and then, by ix.1, the *visarjanīya* disappears, making *jyotishtoma*, as all the manuscripts, of comment and Sanhitā, constantly read.

The commentator remarks the fact that, from *starīma* on, the cases are such as fall under the last specification of the second rule of this chapter. He then adds, as counter-examples under *sto*, *yad akshnayāstomīyāḥ* (v.3.3¹), *catustanām karoti* (v.1.6⁴), and *jyotis tv 'ā asya* (ii.2.4³: but G. M. omit this example).

There are a few other words which we might expect to see included among those forming the subject of this rule. Such is *barhishad* (iv.6.1⁴ et al.), i. e. *barhiḥ-sad*: but the Rik and Atharvan *pada*-texts adopt the omission of the final *h* as part of their own reading, and the Tāittirīya (p. *barhi-sad*) does the same, so that the irregularity of the word lies outside the Prātiçākhyā. Such, again, are *duštara* (iv.4.12²) and *duṣṭaritu* (iv.4.12¹), provided that, as seems to me probable (compare note to Ath. Pr. ii.85), they are regarded as compounds of *duḥ* with *stara* and *staritu*. But these words are written by the *pada*-texts of the other Vedas *du-stara* and *duṣṭaritu*, and the *pada*-text of the Tāittirīya-Sanhitā reads *duštara* and *duṣṭaritu*, so that there is no reason for their peculiar phonetic form being noticed by the Prātiçākhyā. Once more, *trishshamṛddhatvāya* (ii.4.11⁵) would call for inclusion here, but that the addition of the suffix *tva* at its end annuls the separation which would otherwise be made of the first element of the compound, *trih*, and the word stands in *pada*-text *trishshamṛddhatvāya*, and so does not require alteration in *sanhitā*.

तर्ह्यस्तस्मिंलोकान्विद्वांस्तस्त्रीन्युष्मानूर्ध्वानम्बका-
नृतूनश्मन्कृण्वन्पितृननान्कपालांस्तिष्ठन्नायुदात्तेनेमि-

trish-----: *kām*-----: *vish*-----: *sash*-----: *jyot*-----: *dy*-----
-----: *cat*-----: *starīmādīndm* *eshām* *avagrahapārvatvāt* *prāptih*:
jyotirādipārvatvena *kim*: *yad*-----: *sto iti kim*: *cat*-----: *jyot*-----

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. *ity ādi*. ³ W. B. om. ⁴ W. B. O. om.

देवान्सवनेपशूस्तकारपरः सकारं प्राकृतो नित्ये प्रा-
कृतो नित्ये ॥ १४ ॥

14. In *tarhân*, *tasmin*, *lokân*, *vidvân*, *tân*, *trîn*, *yushmân*, *ûrdhvân*, *ambakân*, *rtûn*, *açman*, *kṛṇvan*, *pitṛn*, *anân*, *kapâlân*, *tishthan* when accented on the first syllable, *nemir devân*, and *savane paçûn*, an original *n*, followed by a *t*, becomes *s*, when the *t* is a constant one.

There seems to be no particular reason why this rule is introduced here, instead of anywhere else in the work, as it has no relation with the rest of the contents of the chapter. It is a complete rehearsal of the cases in which the old *s*, with which most Sanskrit words in *n* originally ended, is retained under the protection of a following initial *t*. The combination, of course, is historically identical with that of *n c* into *ñce*, treated of in the preceding chapter (v.20: see the note upon that rule). The "conversion" of *n* into *s*, as the treatise chooses to state the case, involves, by xv.1-3, the prefixion of *anusvāra* to the sibilant.

The examples quoted by the commentator are as follows. For *tarhân*, *çatatarhâñs trîñhanti* (i.5.7⁶ and v.4.7⁴). For *tasmin*, *tasmiñs tvâ dadhâmi* (i.6.5¹; 7.5¹). For *lokân*, *imân eva lokâñs tirtvâ* (iii.5.4³): there is another case of *lokâñs* at ii.3.6¹. For *vidvân*, *ya evaiv vidvâñs traidhâtavîyena yajate* (ii.4.11⁴: G. M. stop with *-yena*: the Tâittirîya-Saṁhitâ has *paçukâmo* before *yajate*, which W. B. O. have doubtless dropped out by an oversight). For *tân*, *kaksheshv aghâyavus tâñs te dadhâni jambharyoh* (iv.1.10³: only G. M. have the first two words, and they omit the last one): *tâñs* is also found at ii.4.11⁴: iii.1.9⁵: iv.1.10² twice: vi.3.1⁴ twice; 4.10^{3,4}. For *trîn*, *trîñs trcân anu* (ii.5.10¹). For *yushmân*, *yushmâñs te nu* (iii.2.5⁶): we find *yushmâñs* again at vii.1.5². For *ûrdhvân*, *yân ûrdhvâñs tân upabdimatah* (iii.1.9¹: only G. M. have the first word). For *ambakân*, *tryambakâñs trtîyasava-nam akurvatu* (iii.2.2³: G. M. omit the last word). For *rtûn*, *rtûñs tanvate kavayah prajâmatih* (iv.3.11³: G. M. omit after *tanvate*). For *açman*, *açmâñs te kshut* (iv.6.1¹ and v.4.4¹). For *kṛṇvan*, *punaç kṛṇvañs tvâ pitarâni yuvânâni* (iv.7.13⁵: only W. has the last word). For *pitṛn*, *oja iti pitṛñs tantur iti* (v.3.6¹:

14. *âdyudâtte tishthangrahane* *eshu grahaneshu prâkrto nakârah padasumaye vartamânas takâraparah sakâram âpadyate. yathâ: çat-....: tasm-....: imân-....: ya-....: kaksh-....: trîñs-....: yush-....: yân-....: tryam-....: rt-....: açm-....: punaç-....: oja-....: prân-....: api vikṛtam* (i51) *iti vacanâd etad bhavati: dvâd-....: tribh-....: âdyudâtta iti kim: na-....: apy akârâdi* (i52) *iti prâptih: nem-....: nemir iti kim: jât-....: mâdh-....: savana iti kim:*

only G. M. have the first two words). For *anān*, *prāndāns tasyā 'ntar yanti* (vii.1.8¹; p. *pra-anān*): here rule i.51 is invoked to show that the lingualized *n* does not render the citation inoperative. For *kapālān*, *dvādaśakapālāns trtiyasavane* (vii.5.6⁴). For *tishthan*, *tribhis tishthāns tishthati* (v.4.12¹): as counter-example, proving the necessity of the requirement as to accent, we have *na praty atishthan tā vasuko 'si* (v.3.6³: G. M. omit *na*), which would fall under the operation of the present rule by i.52. For *nemir devān*, *nemir devāns tvam paribhāsi* (ii.5.9³: G. M. omit *asi*); with the counter-example *jātavedo vapayā gacha devān tvañ hi* (iii.1.4⁴: G. M. omit the first word), to show that *devān* is so treated only after *nemih*. For *savane paṣān*, *mādhyaṇdine savane paṣāns trtiyasavane* (iii.2.9²: G. M. omit the first word); with the counter-example *prajān paṣān tenā 'vardhata* (vii.4.3²), to prove the need of *savane* in the rule. Then, as general counter-example, to bring out the fact that *n* is thus converted into *s* only before *t*, we have *tasmīn prajāpatir vāyuh* (vii.1.5¹): G. M. add also *lokān dravināvatah* (v.3.11²). And finally, the commentator proceeds to explain and illustrate the limitations "an original (*prākṛta*) *n*" and "a constant (*nitya*) *t*," given in the rule. An original *n* is one which is not the product of euphonic processes, but is read in the *padu*-text: in *tām tena yamayati* (v.7.3³), then, where the *m* represents a *n*, produced by the assimilation of *m* to the following *t* (by v.27), the rule has no force. A constant *t*, in like manner, is one which is found in all forms of the text, and not in *saṁhitā* alone: hence, in *vidānt somena yajate* (iii.2.2³), the *t* which is introduced (by v.33) between *n* and *s* does not cause the conversion of the *n* into *s*. The *t* in this case, to be sure, is (by xiv.12) to be turned into *th* (and is so written in the citation by W. G. M.); but, as the rules of the treatise (by v.3) have to be applied in their order, the danger of misapprehension upon the point in question requires to be guarded against: for a *t* inserted by authority of the fifth chapter might assimilate a nasal according to the sixth, before it was itself turned into an innocuous *th* by the fourteenth.

The cases in which the insertion of *s* between *n* and *t* is made in the Tāittiriya-Saṁhitā are thus seen to number only thirty-one. On the other hand, the cases of the collision of *n* and *t* without interposition of *s* are very numerous: I have noted about two hundred

praj-....: *takārapara iti 'kim*: *tasmīn*....: *lokān*....: *prākṛta iti kim*: *tām*....: *vāṅkṛto 'yam nakāro 'makāra sparṣaparah* (v.27) *iti prāptatvāt*: *nitye takāra' iti kim*³: *vidv-*....: *anityo 'yam nakāro yatah padasamaye nā 'sti*.
*takārah paro yasmād asau tathoktah*⁵.

iti tribhāshyaratne prātiṣākhyaivivarane
shashtho 'dhyāyah.

¹ B. O. *steshu*. ² G. M. *nitye pade*. ³ B. om. ⁴ G. M. *aprākṛto*. ⁵ G. M. *ins. yatah padasamaye nā 'sti*. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ G. M. *takāraparah*.

and eighty, and presume that I may have overlooked here and there others, so that there would be in all ten times as many instances of the omission as of the insertion. In the Atharva-Veda (see second marginal note to Ath. Pr. ii.26) the condition of things is quite different: while the whole number of collisions is much less (only ninety-five), the sibilant is introduced in considerably more than two-thirds of them (in sixty-seven cases, against twenty-eight). The comparison is of some interest in its bearing upon the question of the relative age of the two texts.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTENTS: 1-12, cases of the conversion of *n* into *ṇ*; 13-14, of *t* and *th* into *ṭ* and *ṭh*; 15-16, exceptions to the conversion of *n* into *ṇ*.

अथ नकारो णकारम् ॥ १ ॥

1. Now for conversion of *n* into *ṇ*.

An introductory heading, stating the subject of the chapter (with the exception of rules 13 and 14). We have treated here all the cases with which the Prātigākyā has properly to deal, as arising in the process of conversion of *padu*-text into *saṁhitā*: chapter thirteen (rule 6 seq.) takes up the occurrence of *n* in a different way, determining every instance in which that letter is found in the whole *Sanhita*.

पुषूकधिसुवःसमिन्द्रास्थूर्युरुवाःषट्त्रियामनिष्वर्चः ॥ २ ॥

2. *N* becomes *ṇ* when preceded by *shu*, *shū*, *krdhi suvaḥ*, *saṁ indra*, *asthūri*, *uru*, *vāh*, *shat*, *tri*, *grāma*, or *niḥ*.

The commentator's illustrative examples are as follows. For *shu*, *ūrdhva ũ shu nah* (iv.1.4² and v.1.5³: O. omits the first word); and, as counter-example, *gr̥heshu nah* (ii.4.5¹), where *shu*, not being a complete word, does not (by i.50) lingualize the nasal: but G. M. omit this passage and the accompanying explanation. For *shū*, *mō shū na indra* (i.8.3). The commentator points out

1. *uthe 'ty ayam adhikārah*: *nakāro nakāram āpadyata ity etad adhikṛtaṁ veditavyam itu uttaraṁ yad vakshyāmah.*

2. ----- *evampūro nakāro nakāram āpadyate. yathā*¹: *ardh----- 'gr̥h----- ity atra natvaṁ na bhavati padagrahaneshv* (i.50) *iti vācandī*² *mo----- susū*³ *ity etayor yadā shatvaṁ nā 'sti tadd natvanishedhārthaṁ vāikṛtagrahanam*: *ya-*

that *shu* and *shū* are cited in the rule in their altered form (not as *su* simply, which, by i.51, would include them both) in order to indicate that where their consonant is not lingualized they do not lingualize the following nasal; and he quotes in illustration *su na itaye* (iv.1.4²) and *sū na indra* (i.8.3). Both these passages are the same which have been already quoted to illustrate the conversion, and G. M. O. very properly put them into the form of another text (apparently a *kramā*), reading *su nah : na itaye*, and *sū nah : na indra*. *Shu* converts *n* to *n* also at iv.6.5⁶. For *kr̥dhi suvah*, the passage is *brahmanā kr̥dhi suvar na gukram* (ii.2.12⁶: O. omits the first word: the Calcutta edition has the false reading *na*); and the necessity of *kr̥dhi* is shown by the counter-example *svāhā suvar nā 'rkaḥ svāhā* (v.7.5²: O. omits the first word). For *sam indra*, *sam indra no manasā* (i.4.44¹); and *vartaye 'ndra nardabuda* (iii.3.10¹) shows that *indra* when not preceded by *sam* does not exercise the prescribed influence. For *asthūri*, *asthūri no gārhapatyāni santu* (v.7.2¹: only O. has *santu*). For *uru*, *uru nas kr̥dhi* (ii.6.11³ and vi.3.2²): there is another like case at iv.7.14². For *vāḥ*, *tasmād vār nāma vo hitam* (v.6.1³: G. M. omit the last two words). For *shat*, *shannavatyāi svāhā* (vii.2.15). For *tri*, *trinava stomo vasānām* (iv.3.9¹: G. M. O. omit the last word): the word *trinava* is found in a considerable number of other passages. For *grāma*, W. B. give *grāmanī rājanyah* (ii.5.4⁴), but G. M. O. have instead *grāmānyam prā 'pnuvanti* (vii.4.5²): the word is found once more, at iv.4.3¹. For *nih*, *nir nenijati tato 'dhi* (vii.2.10²: G. M. omit the last two words); and *ni no rayim* (ii.2.12⁸) is added, to show that *ni*, without *visarjanīya*, has no alterant force. *Nir nenikte* (vii.2.10⁴) and *nirñij* (iv.6.8¹) are the only other cases I have noted for *nih*.

ह्रस्वाद्युपमानं च ॥३॥

3. Also in *hanyāt* and *upyamānam*.

That is to say, after *nih*, the last of the words given in the preceding rule. The passages are: *yoner garbham nir hanyāt* (v.6.9¹:

*thā : su..... : sū..... : brah..... : kr̥dhi 'ti kim : svāhā..... : sam..... : sam iti kim : vart..... : asth..... : uru..... : tas-
mād..... : shaṇ..... : tri..... : grām..... : nir..... : visargena
kim : ni.....*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. om. ³ O. *shushū*.

3. *cakāro nishpūrvatvam anvādiçati : nihçabdottarayor¹ hanyād upyamānam ity etayor grahaṇayor² nakāro nakāram³ āpad-yate. yathā⁴ : yon..... : nir..... anvādeçah kimarthah : na*

¹ G. M. *-bdasyo 'tt-*; O. *nishpūrvayor*. ² G. M. om. ³ W. *nakātvaṁ*; B. *natvaṁ*. ⁴ G. M. om.

O. omits the first word), and *nirupyamānam abhi mantrayeta* (i.6.8³: O. omits the last word). A counter-example, showing *hanyāt* without altered *n*, is *na ni hanyān na lohitaṁ kuryāt* (ii.6.10²).

पारीपरिपरीप्रपूर्वः ॥ ४ ॥

4. Also after *pârî*, *pari*, *parî*, and *pra*.

The illustrative citations of the commentator are *pârinahyasye* "ce (vi.2.1¹), *pari no rudrasya* (iv.5.10⁴), *vîravantam parināsam* (ii.2.12⁶), and *prā no devî sarasvatî* (i.8.22¹: O. omits the last word). For *pârî* (p. *pârî-nahyasya*: compare iii.7) there is no other case; nor for *parî* (p. *pari-nasam*: compare iii.7); for *pari*, I find only *pari nayati* (ii.3.4³ et al.) But for *pra* the examples are quite numerous: we have *pra nah* at i.5.11⁴; 6.4³; 7.10² twice: ii.5.12¹; iii.1.11²; 3.11⁴; iv.2.6⁵; v.5.7⁵; vii.4.19⁴; *pra nāmāni* at iv.3.13⁶; forms of *pra nayāni* at i.6.8¹ et al., of *pra nūde* at ii.1.3⁵ et al.; *pranindāya* at i.3.5; *pranīyamānah* at iv.4.9¹; *pra nenekti* at vi.2.9¹; *pranî* at ii.5.9², *pranîti* at i.4.18 and *supranîti* (but p. *supranîti*) at i.5.11⁵ et al., *pranetar* at iii.5.11³, and *pranava* at iii.2.9⁶. *Parānuttî* occurs only in composition (vi.2.3²; p. *bhrātrvya-parānuttīdî*).

अवर्णव्यवेतो ऽपि ॥ ५ ॥

5. And that, even when an *a*-vowel intervenes.

The word "even" (*api*) here brings down by implication, according to the commentator, the words in the preceding rule from *pari* on—that is to say, virtually, *pari* and *pra*, for there is no case of *pari* exercising such an effect. The examples for *pari* are *agram pary anayat* (ii.3.4³: all but O. omit *agram*: I find besides only *pary anayan*, at vi.5.7²), and *paryānīyā "havanīyasya* (vii.1.6⁶). For *pra*, we have *prānāya svāhā* (vii.1.19¹; p. *pra-anāya*), and *anu prā 'nyāt prathamām* (v.5.5²; p. *pre 'ti: anyāt*: only O. has *anu*). The occurrence of *prāna* is very frequent: of other cases, I have noted only *prā 'nudatu* at vi.2.3², and *prā 'nudantu* at vi.4.10³⁻⁴—where, however, the lingualization of the *n* is suspended in our text, as at present constituted, by the intervention

4. ----- *evampûrvo nakâro nakâram âpadyate. yathâ*¹: *pâr*-----: *pari*-----: *vîr*-----: *pra*-----.

¹ G. M. O. om.

5. *apiçabduḥ paryādy*¹ *anvādiçati*²: *paryādipûrvo*³ *nakâro avarṇavyaveto 'pi natvam bhajate*⁴. *yathâ*⁵: *agram*-----: *pary*-----: *prân*-----: *anu*-----: *avarṇavyavetu iti kim: pari*-----: *pra*-----.

¹ B. *pâr*-. ² G. M. O. -*âdeçokaḥ*. ³ B. *pâr*-. ⁴ G. M. *âpadyate*. ⁵ G. M. O. om.

between the preposition and the verb of the pause which separates the third and fourth divisions of the section.

A couple of counter-examples are given, to show us that the intervention of a letter of any other complexion than *a* prevents the change of nasal: they are *pari minuyāt sapta* (v.2.6³: G. M. omit the last word), and *pramānāma vratāni* (i.1.14⁴).

वाहनउद्यमानायानमयन्यवेनवच्च ॥ ६ ॥

6. Also in *vāhanah*, *uhyamānah*, *yānam*, *ayan*, *yayena*, and *van*.

According to W. B. O., the *n* becomes *u* in these words "when they are preceded as implied by the word 'also' (*ca*)," the commentary failing to tell us what this implication is. G. M., however, confess that *pra* only is brought forward (from rule 4): which is a marked departure from the ordinary usage of the treatise, since in the intermediate rule *pra* and *pari* were both distinctly understood. The commentator omits, not to say avoids, noticing the irregularity. Perhaps he would be justified in claiming that *pari* and *pari* are never found preceding the words specified in the rule, and that therefore it makes no difference whether they be regarded as implied or not: still, even that consideration would not wholly excuse the want of accuracy and consistency. The examples are: for *vāhanah*, *pravāhano vahnih* (i.3.3; p. *pra-vāhanah*); to this, W. adds a counter-example, to show that, after any other word than *pra*, *vāhanah* remains unchanged—namely *havyavāhanah svātro 'si* (i.3.3): B. tries to do the same, but only succeeds in repeating one of the counter-examples of the last rule, *pari minuyāt* (v.2.6³), which is not at all in place here. For *uhyamānah*, *prohyamāno 'dhipatih* (iv.4.9; p. *pra-uhyamānah*). For *yānam*, *prayānam anv anyā id yayuh* (iv.1.1²; p. *pra-yānam*: O. omits the last three words, G. M. the last two). *Ayan* is declared a part of a word, including a number of cases, of which G. M. give only three, *tasmād ādityah prāyanīyah* (vi.1.5¹; p. *pra-ayanīyah*: O. omits *tasmāt*), *prāyanīyam kāryam* (vi.1.5^{3,5}), and *prāyanam pratishthām* (i.6.11¹; p. *pra-ayanam*); while W. B. O. add two others, *prāyanīyasya puronuvākyaḥ* (vi.1.5⁵), and *prāyanīye 'han* (vii.2.8¹). There are a number of other passages for *prāyanīya*; and *prāyana* occurs again at i.6.11² and vii.1.13, besides its compounds,

6. ----- *eteshu' grahaṇeshu cakārākṣhapūrveshu' nakāro natvam bhajate. yathā: prav-----: 'pre 'ti kim: havy-----: 'proh-----: pray-----: ayann iti paddārikadeṣo bahūpādānārthah: tasm-----: prāy-----: prāy-----: 'prāy-----: prāy-----: 'prāy-----: 'vann iti paddārikadeṣo bahūpādānārthah: 'yadī-----: āhav-----: anvādeṣena kim: āsi-----: uday-----*

¹ G. M. *eshu*. ² G. M. *-shtapapūrho*. ³ G. M. om.; O. om. the example. ⁴ G. M. *ity ādi*. ⁵ G. M. O. B. om. ⁶ O. om.

suprāyana (v.1.11²; p. *su-prāyanāh*) and *agnishtomaprāyana* (vii.2.9¹; p. *agnishtoma-prāyanāh*). For *yavena*, *prayavena pañca* (iv.3.11²; p. *pra-yavena*). *Van*, again, is (by W. alone) declared a part of a word, intended to include many cases: only two are given, *yadi vā tāvat pravānam* (ii.4.12¹), and *āhavanīyāt pravānañ syāt* (vi.2.6⁴), nor have I found any other, except the compound *purastātpravānaḥ* (v.3.1⁵; p. *purastāt-pravānaḥ*). Finally, we have a couple of counter-examples, showing the necessity of the implication from the preceding rule: they are *asīhavyavāhanaḥ* (i.3.3), and *udayanam vedu* (i.6.11²).

प्रापूर्वश्च ॥ ७ ॥

7. As also, when preceded by *prā*.

The "also" (*ca*) of this rule brings forward from the preceding rule only the word last mentioned there, namely *van*. The example is *pravānebhīḥ sajoshasah* (iv.2.4³; p. *pra-vanebhīḥ*: compare iii.5). I have noted no other case.

इन्द्रोऽयजुःपूर्व एनकेन ॥ ८ ॥

8. Also *enam* and *kena*, when preceded respectively by *indraḥ* and *ayajuh*.

There is nothing in the rule meaning 'respectively,' and if *enam* were found anywhere in the text preceded by *ayajuh*, or *kena* by *indraḥ*, their *n*'s would doubtless require lingualization: yet the evident intent of the precept is as translated. The passages are *indra enam prathamah* (iv.6.7¹), and *yad ayajushkena kriyate* (v.1.2¹; p. *ayajuh-kena*: G. M. O. omit *yat*). I find no other cases falling under the rule: there are, however, one or two other forms analogous with the latter of those here contemplated, which we might expect to find treated in the same way, namely *anācīrkena* and *sācīrkena* (i.6.10⁴); but they are written by the *pada*-text without division of *ācīrkena*, or restoration in it of the dental *n* (thus: *anācīrkena*, and *sa-ācīrkena*).

Counter-examples are added: to show that *enam* and *kena*, when otherwise preceded, retain their dental nasals, *rudra enam bhūtvā* (iii.4.10³), and *brahmanādinah kena tad ājāmi 'ti* (vii.4.10²: G. M. O. end with *kena*); to show that *indraḥ* does not exercise a lin-

7. *cakārākṛṣhte' vann iti grahane nakārah pre'ty evampārvo natvam bhājate. yathā²: prāv-----*

¹ W. B. -*shta*; O. *cakāro 'nvādishto*. ² G. M. om.

8. *indraḥ: ayajuh: pūrvayor' enam: kena: ity etayor nakāro natvam bhajate. yathā²: indra-----: yad----- evampārva iti kim: rudra-----: brah-----: 'enamkene' 'ti kim: indro-----³*

¹ G. M. O. *ity evampārva*. ² G. M. O. om. ³ W. om. ⁴ B. *kene*.

gualizing effect upon other words, *indro neshad ati* (v.7.2³: B. omits *ati*; W. omits the whole example).

नृन्प्रोपूर्वो मनाः ॥ ११ ॥

9. Also *manāh*, when preceded by *nṛ* or *grī*.

The examples are *nṛmanā ajasram* (i.3.14⁵ and iv.2.2¹: W. reads *yantri* instead of *ajasram*, but doubtless by a copyist's blunder, for *nṛmanā yantri* is not found in the *Sanhitā*), and *grīmanāh śatapayāh* (iv.6.3²); with the counter-example *sumanā upāgahi* (iii.3.11⁵). Of *grīmanāh* I find no other example; *nṛmanāh* occurs also at iv.2.2¹ (a second time) and vii.1.12.

अङ्गानामोनेगानिगानांग्यानियामेन ॥ १० ॥

10. Also *aṅgānām*, *one*, *gāni*, *gīnām*, *gyāni*, and *yāmena*.

These words in *saṁhitā*, says the commentator: that is to say, in the only cases in which they occur as *padus*, they take *ṇ* in the combined text. The passages are: *yat tryaṅgānān samavadyati* (vi.3.10⁶; p. *tri-aṅgānām*: only G. M. O. have *yat*, and O. omits the last word), *āyushi durone* (i.2.14³; p. *duh-one*: the *pada*-texts of the Rik and Atharvan do not separate this word), *ati durigāni viçvā* (i.1.14⁴; p. *duh-gāni*, like the other Vedas), *purogānām cakshashe* (iii.2.4⁴; p. *purah-gānām*), *svargyāny āsan* (v.3.5³; p. *svah-gyāni*), and *antaryāmenā 'ntar adhatta* (vi.4.6¹; p. *antah-yāmena*: O. omits the last word). I have found no second example for any of these words, although there may be occurrences of *durone* which I have overlooked.

रषःपूर्वो हवन्यज्ञेहन् ॥ ११ ॥

11. Also *havani*, *āhne*, *han*, when preceded by *r* or *shah*.

The cited examples are: *agnihotrahavani ca* (i.6.8³; p. *agnihotra-havani*); *śarady aparāhne* (ii.1.2⁵; p. *apara-ahne*: the Atharvan has *apara-ahnah*); and further, for *han*, which is declared to be a part of a word, involving several cases, *rakshohanam* (i.2.14⁶ et al.; p. *rakshah-hanam*: O. omits this example), *vāish-*

9. *nṛ*: *grī*: *ity*¹ *evampārvo manā ity atra nakāro natvam bhajate. yathā*²: *nṛm*-----: *grīm*----- *evampārva iti kim*: *sum-*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. om.

10. *eteshu*¹ *nakārah saṁhitāyān natvam bhajate. yathā*²: *yat*-----: *āy*-----: *ati*-----: *puro*-----: *svv*-----: *antary*-----

¹ G. M. O. *eshu*. ² W. G. M. O. om.

navi rakshohanādu (i.3.2²: G. M. omit the first word), and *vṛtra-haṇam purandaram* (iii.5.11⁴ and iv.1.3³; p. *vṛtra-haṇam*: G. M. omit the last word). For *han*, besides the compounds here quoted, which are found repeatedly in other passages, the Sanhitā affords us also *avirahanādu* (i.2.8²; p. *avira-hanādu*); for the other two words I know of no additional examples. Counter-examples are given, namely *sāhna eva'smāi* (vi.6.11⁴; p. *sa-ahne*), and *valagahanah* (i.3.2¹ et al.).

There is good ground for questioning the correctness of the commentator's interpretation of *ra* in the rule as signifying the letter *r* (*repha*), and not the syllable *ra*. In none of the examples given are the words specified directly preceded by *r*, and it is not at all in accordance with the usage of the treatise to describe as "having *r* before it" a word preceded by another word containing *r*. All the versions of the comment, however, unite in this interpretation, and it is farther assured by the quotation of the rule above, under i.19, as a case in which *r* is called *ra*, instead of *repha*. It looks as if G. M. had made a blundering attempt to remedy the difficulty by reading the third word *ahan* instead of *han*, and also by understanding *shah* to mean 'the letter *sh*' (see the various readings, below), thus parallelizing the two specifications. The attempt, however, is an abortive one, only issuing, if carried out, in a host of new difficulties. I have made the translation of the rule conform to the requirements of the comment, but with much misgiving, having hardly a doubt that the meaning properly is 'when preceded by *ra* or *shah*.'

रूप्वी मयान्यनी ॥ १२ ॥

12. Also *mayāni* and *anī*, when preceded by *ru*.

The passages are *dārumayāni pātrāni* (vi.4.7³; p. *dāru-mayāni*: O. omits *pātrāni*; G. M. omit the whole example), and *tve vasāni purvanika hotah* (i.3.14²⁻³; p. *puru-anika*: O. omits the first two words, G. M. the last): *purvanika* is found also at

11. *havanī¹: ahne²: han²: eshu³ grahaṇeshu nakāro rephapār-
vaḥ⁴ 'sha ity⁴ evampārvo⁵ vā natvam bhajate. yathā: agnīh-
-----: gar-----: hann⁶ iti padāikadeṣo bahūpādānārthaḥ: ra-
ksh-----: vādish-----: vṛtr-----: evampārva iti kim: sāhna
-----: val.*

¹ W. O. *havanī*. ² G. M. *ahan*. ³ W. *evam*. ⁴ G. M. *shakāra*. ⁵ W. B. *ekamip*; G. M. *pārvo*. ⁶ G. M. *ahann*.

12. *mayāni: anī¹: ity atra rūpārvo nakāro² natvam bhajate. yathā³: 'dārum-----: tve-----: evampārva iti kim: yāni-----: agnaye-----: rephagrahaṇena kim: svan.*

¹ W. O. *anī*, as also (with T.) in rule; G. M. *anika*, as also in rule. ² G. M. O. put after *atra*. ³ W. G. M. om. ⁴ G. M. om.

iv.4.4⁵. As counter-examples are given *yāni mr̥mayāni sākshāt tāni* (vi.4.7³: B. omits the last word, G. M. O. the last two), *agnaye nīkavate* (i.8.4¹ et al.), and *svanīkusamdr̥k* (iv.3.13¹).

वाघापूर्वस्तष्टम् ॥ १३ ॥

13. After *vāghā* and *sh*, *t* is changed to *ṭ*.

The passage for *vāghā* is given by O. as *dārvāghātas te* (v.5.15¹); all the other MSS. have only the first word, in its complete *padā*-form, *dārvāghāta iti dāru-āghātaḥ*. The same word forms the subject of Vāj. Pr. iii.47. As counter-example, showing that *ta* does not become *ṭa* after *ghā* except when the latter follows *vā*, we have *praghāta ādityānām* (vi.1.13⁴). For the conversion of *t* to *ṭ* after *sh* is quoted *āyush ṭa āyurdā agne* (ii.5.12¹: G. M. omit the last word, O. the last two), whose *sh* depends on rule vi.5, above. O. adds a counter-example for this second part of the rule also, namely *agnis te tejah* (i.1.10³ and vii.5.17).

यश्च ठम् ॥ १४ ॥

14. Also *th* to *ṭh*.

The cited example is *goshtham mā nirmrkshum* (i.1.10¹: W. B. omit the last word); to which O. alone adds *prati shṭhāpayanti* (vi.1.4²). As counter-example is given *gacha goshthānam* (i.1.9^{1,2}).

न तकारपरः ॥ १५ ॥

15. But not when *t* follows.

The commentator explains the connection of this rule by pointing out that the two preceding do not come under the introductory heading of the chapter—that is to say, that they deal with a subject unconnected with the rest of its contents—and that hence they are regarded as dropped out, and the present exception does not apply to them, but to the foregoing rules, for conversion of *n* into *ṇ*. This is well enough, though not a little awkward, as concerns the status of rule 15; but we should like to hear what he had to say in defense of the intrusion of rules 13 and 14 thus into

13. *vāghā: ity evampūrvaḥ shakārapūrvaḥ¹ ca takārash ṭakāram bhajate². yathā³: dārv-....: āyush-.... ve⁴ 'ti kim: pragh-....: 'shapūrva iti kim: agnis-....⁵*

¹ G. M. om.; O. om. *kāra*. ² O. *āpadyate*. ³ W. G. M. om. ⁴ W. *vāghā*; B. *vāghāta*. ⁵ Only in O.

14. *cakārah shapūrvatvākarshakah¹: thakārah shakārapūrvash² thakāram bhajate. yathā: gosh-....: 'prati-....³ evampūrva⁴ iti kim: gacha-....*

¹ G. M. *shakārap*; O. *-tvādeśakah*. ² O. om. *kāra*. ³ Only in O. ⁴ O. *shap*.

a chapter where they do not belong, and where they sorely disturb the natural and desirable connection. Considering their near relation to the rules of the preceding chapter, they might better have been added there as an appendix; or else put at the head of chapter vii., before its general *adhikāra*.

Only a single illustrative example is quoted, namely *pary antarikshāt* (iii.1.10²), where rules 4 and 5 of this chapter combined would require *an* at the beginning of the second word, but for the exception here made.

This precept is an anticipation of one of the items of xiii.15, below, and might properly enough be looked upon as open to the charge of *punarukti*, or unnecessary repetition, which the treatise so carefully shuns, and the commentator not seldom labors hard to remove. It is characteristic of the method of the Tāittiriya-Prātiśākhya that it does not attempt to state the real *nimitta* or occasion of the lingual *n* in the words rehearsed here, although it does so, fully and distinctly, in rule xiii.6, where the subject of the occurrence of *n* in the interior of a word is taken up.

नक्षतिनूनं नृत्यत्यन्योऽन्याभिरन्यान्यन्तश्चात्तश्च ॥ १६ ॥

16. Nor in *nahyati*, *nūnam*, *nṛtyanti*, *anyah*, *anyābhir*, *anyāni*; nor when final.

The *ca* in this rule indicates the continuance of the exception. These words, and a final *n*, are not subject to the rules given in the chapter for the substitution of lingual *n*. The commentator quotes as follows. For *nahyati*, *vāsasā paryānahyati* (vi.1.11²; p. *pari-ānahyati*: O. omits the first word): he notes that the case constitutes an exception to rule 5. For *nūnam*, *pra nūnam pūrnavandhuraḥ* (i.8.5¹: O. omits the last word). For *nṛtyanti*, *pari nṛtyanti* (vii.5.10). For the three cases of *anya*, *prā 'nyah gaṇsati* (vii.5.9³), *prā 'nyābhir yachaty anv anyāi mantrayate* (v.1.6⁴: O. omits *pra* in all these three examples, and in this, along with G. M., the last three words; B. omits the last word), and *prā 'nyāni pātrāni* (vi.5.11^{1,2}): the commentator remarks that all these (since *nahyati*) are cases of exceptions under rule 4. He then proceeds to raise the question why the three complete words

15. *vāghāśhādividhir¹ anadhikṛiatvād utpannapradhvaṁsi: tasmād atra² nā 'yam nishedhaḥ³: 'kim tu⁴ prakṛto⁵ natvavidhir anena viśhayīkriyate. takāraparo nakāro natvaṁ nā 'padhyate. yathā: pary-----: pāriparipariprapārvaḥ* (vii.4): *avar-navyaveto 'pi* (vii.5) *ity etābhyām⁶ prāptiḥ*.

¹ W. O. *vāghādi*. ² G. M. *tatra*. ³ B. *viṣeṣaḥ*. ⁴ O. om. ⁵ W. O. *prak*. ⁶ W. B. *ādibhyām*.

16. *nishedhākarśhakṣ cakārah¹: ----- eshu² grahaneshu nakārah padāntaḥ ca³ natvaṁ na bhajate⁴: yathā⁵: vās-----: avar-navyaveto pi* (vii.5) *iti prāptiḥ: pra-----: pari-----: prā*

are quoted in the rule, instead of the syllable *an*, which would include them all; and makes the very obvious answer, that it is on account of the passage *anu prā'nyāt prathamām* (v.5.5²), already quoted under vii.5. Finally, as example of final *n* exempt from conversion, he cites *vṛtrahañ chūra vidvān* (i.4.42), remarking that it is a case otherwise falling under rule 11.

The exception of a final *n* from becoming *n* is also one of those made below, in rule xiii.15, for the class of cases to which that chapter relates.

I have not discovered in the Sanhitā any case of a lingual nasal arising in the conversion of *pada*-text into *samhitā* which is not duly provided for in this chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTENTS: 1-4, conversion of a final surd mute to sonant or nasal; 5-7, of *h* to *r*; 8-15, conversions of *h* to *r* after *a* and *ā*; 16-22, treatment of *h* before *r*; 23-35, conversion of *h* to *s* or *sh* before *k*, *kh*, or *p*.

अथ प्रथमः ॥ १ ॥

1. Now for changes of first mutes.

That is to say, of surds unaspirated, or *k*, *c* (only *c* nowhere occurs as a final), *t*, *ṭ*, and *p*. The force of this heading only reaches, as the commentary points out, through rule 4—hardly far enough, one would think, to make a separate introductory rule necessary.

-----: *prā*-----: *prā*-----: *pārīpariparīprapūrvah*¹ (vii.4) *ity eshām*² *prāptih*. *anu ity etāvātā*³ *siddhe* 'nyonyābhiranyānī' *ti kim pratipadapāṭhena*⁴: *anu*----- *ity atrā* 'nena'⁵ *nishedho*⁶ *na*⁷ *prasaratī*⁸. ⁹*padānto nakāra nūtram na bhajate*: *yatā*¹⁰: *vṛtra*-----: *rashahpūrvah* (vii.11) *iti prāptih*.

iti tribhāshyaratne prātiśākhyavivarāṇe
saptamo 'dhyāyāḥ.

¹ B. G. M. O. put first. ² B. O. *eteshu*. ³ G. M. om.; O. adds *nakāro*. ⁴ G. M. *āpadyate*. ⁵ G. M. O. om. ⁶ W. B. om. *prapūrvah*. ⁷ G. M. *eteshām*. ⁸ G. M. O. *-vatā* 'va'. ⁹ O. puts before *kim*. ¹⁰ O. *nai* 'sha'. ¹¹ G. M. *prarish-*. ¹² G. M. O. om. ¹³ G. M. *-tv itī*. ¹⁴ B. O. om.; G. M. *padāntaṣ ca*.

1. *āthe* 'ty' *āyam adhikārah*: *prathama* 'ity etad' *adhikṛtaṁ veditavyam ita uttarām yad vakshyāmaḥ*: ² *visarjanīya* (viii.5) *paryanto*³ *yam adhikārah*.

(¹) W. *adhikārārthah*. (²) G. M. om. ³ O. ins. *ātha*. ⁴ O. *itisātrapa-*.

उत्तमपर उत्तमः सवर्गियम् ॥ २ ॥

2. A first mute, followed by a last mute, becomes a last mute of its own series.

The examples selected by the commentator to illustrate this mode of combination are *vān na āsam* (v.5.9²), *shannavatyāi svāhā* (vii.2.15), and *tan mūhendrasya* (vi.5.5³). For the conversion of *p* into *m* he is able to offer no instance, as none occurs in the Sanhitā. As counter-examples, showing that only a nasal causes the conversion, and causes it only in a "first" mute, he brings up *vāk ta ā pyāyatām* (i.3.9¹: only G. M. have the last word), and *imān no vācam* (vi.4.7³).

All the Prātiçākhyas join in treating this conversion as necessary, not as alternative with conversion into a sonant (see note to Ath. Pr. ii.5).

तृतीयः स्वरघोषवत्परः ॥ ३ ॥

3. Followed by a vowel or a sonant consonant, it becomes a third mute.

The examples are *ṛdhag ayād ṛdhag uta* (i.4.44²), and *yud vāi hotā* (iii.2.9¹).

ककुच्च मकारपरः ॥ ४ ॥

4. Also in *kakut*, when *m* follows.

Namely, in the passage *kakudmān pratārtir vājasātamaḥ* (i.7.7²; p. *kakut-mān*: G. M. O. omit the last word). As counter-examples are given *ya unmādyet* (iii.4.8⁴: G. M. O. omit *yah*), and, according to W. B., *kakut trayastriṅgaḥ* (vii.2.5³); for which G. M. O. substitute *kakuc chandah* (iv.3.12²). The commentator

2. *uttamaparaḥ prathamah* ¹ *savargīyam uttamam āpadyate. yathā*²: *vān*-----: *shan*-----: *tan*----- *evampara iti kim*: *vāk*---: *prathama iti kim*: *imān*----- *uttamah paro yasmād asāv uttamaparaḥ.*

¹ G. M. O. ins. *ātmanah*. ² G. M. om.

3. *svaraghoshavatparaḥ*¹ *prathamah savargīyam tṛtīyam āpadyate. yathā*²: *ṛdhag*----: *yud*----: *ity ādi. svarāḥ ca ghoshavantaḥ ca svaraghoshavantaḥ: te pare yasmād asāu*³ *sa ta-thoktah.*

¹ B. om.; G. M. O. *svaraparo ghoshavatparaḥ ga*. ² G. M. O. om. ³ G. M. om.

4. *kakud ity asmin grahane 'ntyo varṇo' makāraparaḥ cakā-rākrṣṭam savargīyam*¹ *tṛtīyam āpadyate*². *yathā*³: *kakud*-----

notices, finally, that the present rule establishes an exception to rule 2 of this chapter.

अथ विसर्जनीयः ॥ ५ ॥

5. Now for changes of *visarjanīya*.

Departing a little from his stereotyped mode of explanation of *atha*, the commentary declares it in this rule to cause *visarjanīya* to be understood, in the character of that respecting which something is to be enjoined (*lakshya*), in the precepts that follow; and he adds that this understanding is to remain in force as far as rule 10 of the next chapter.

रेफमेतेषु ॥ ६ ॥

6. *Visarjanīya* becomes *r* before the classes of sounds last mentioned.

The examples are *tad agnir āha* (iv.2.8¹), and *āgīr ma ūrjam* (iii.2.8²: O. omits *ūrjam*); with the counter-example *agniḥ ca ma indraḥ ca me* (iv.7.6¹). The commentator points out that it is the plural form of the pronoun (*eteshu*, literally 'before those') in this rule that shows the implication of the vowels and sonant consonants, in the character of following causes (*paranimitta*), since those are the only things which have been mentioned above (namely, in rule 3). That is doubtless so; still, the reference must be regarded as an unusually blind one, involving a "frog-leap" (*maṇḍākapluti*) over two intervening obstacles, of which one is a general heading, that changes entirely the subject under treatment.

kakud iti kim: ya-----: evampara iti kim: kakut----- makārah puro yasmād asāu makārapārah. uttamapara uttamāñ savargīyam (viii.2) *ity asyā 'pavādo 'yam.*

¹ G. M. *tikāro*. ² W. *makārah*. ³ G. M. O. put after *trīyam*. ⁴ W. *prāpyate*. ⁵ G. M. om.

5. *athagabdo visarjanīyam lakshyatvenā 'dhikarotī 'ta uttaram yad ucyate'. atha svaraparo yakāram* (ix.10) *ity avadhibhāto 'yam adhikārah.*

¹ G. M. *vakshyāmah*.

6. ¹ *svareshu ghoshavatsu ca² parato³ visarjanīyo repham āpad-yate. yathā⁴: tad----- āgīr----- eteshv⁵ iti bahuvacanāntasya sarvānāmpo⁶ nirdeḥāt svaraghoshavatām paranimittānām upādānam⁷: teshām eva prakṛtatvāt. eteshv iti kim: agniḥ-----*

¹ G. M. ins. *eteshu*. ² G. M. om. ³ O. *pareshu*. ⁴ G. M. O. *ām*. ⁵ W. B. *svare-shv*. ⁶ W. O. *sarvānāma*; B. *-nāmīno*. ⁷ G. M. *-nāt*.

न रेफपरः ॥ ७ ॥

7. But not before *r*.

R, though a sonant consonant, and therefore included in the preceding rule, requires a different treatment in the final *visarjanīya* before it. What this different treatment is, is pointed out farther on in the chapter (rule 16 seq.). The examples here given are *suvo rohāva* (i.7.9¹), and *ahorātre* (i.5.9⁷ et al.: W. O. add *pārceve*, but there is no such collocation of words in the *Sanhitā*, and I suspect the word to be a corrupted reading for *prāriṣan*, which follows next at the place referred to).

ह्यारभार्वाह्यारबिभरजीगरकरनत्तर्विवःसुवःपुनरहरहः-
प्रातर्वस्तःशमितःसवितःसनुतस्तनुतस्तोतर्हीतःपितर्मा-
तर्गष्टरष्टनष्टस्वष्टः ॥ ८ ॥

8. *Visarjanīya* becomes *r* in *hvāh*, *ablāh*, *vāh*, *hāh*, *abibhah*, *ajīgah*, *akah*, *anantah*, *vivah*, *suvaḥ*, *punaḥ*, *ahar-ahah*, *prātaḥ*, *vastah*, *ṣamitah*, *savitah*, *sanutah*, *stanutah*, *stotah*, *hotah*, *pitah*, *mātaḥ*, *yashtaḥ*, *eshtaḥ*, *neshtaḥ*, and *tvashṭah*.

With this rule begins the detail of the cases of an original *r* after *a* and *ā*, which is protected and brought to light by a following sonant letter, being treated in quite a different manner from an original *s*, although both *r* and *s* are represented, as finals, by the indifferent *visarjanīya*. The commentator points out at the end the rules to which these cases constitute exceptions, namely ix.7,9,10. His illustrative examples are as follows. For *hvāh*,

7. *rephaparo visarjanīyo repham nā "padyate. yathā": suvo*
-----: *ahor*-----: *ghoshavattvād rephasya pūrvavidhiprāptiḥ.*
rephaḥ paro yasmād asāu rephaparaḥ.

¹ G. M. om.

8. ¹----- *eteshu¹ visarjanīyo repham āpadyate svaraghoṣhavat-*
paraḥ². yathā³: mā-----: *yonāv*-----: *vār*-----: *mā me*-----:
ab-----: *ośh*-----: *dev*-----: *'karāvar anudātte pade⁴ (viii.9)*
iti⁵ vakshyati: tenāi⁶ 'vāi⁷ 'taḍ⁸ api sidhyaty⁹ apy akārādi (i.52)
iti vācanāt: iti cet: māi¹⁰ 'vam: anudātte kaḥṣabde tad bhavati:
idam tv anyasvarārtham iti¹¹: yathā¹²: arvā-----: *'ādyaḍdāttas*
to idam¹³. yajña-----: *antar anādyudātte (viii.10) iti vak-*
shyati: tasmād ankārādi ca¹⁴ (i.53) iti vācanāt sidhyati: iti
cet: ¹⁵māi¹⁶ 'vām¹⁷: anādyudātte tad bhavati: ādyudātārtham¹⁸
¹⁹idam grahanam²⁰. ca-----: *suvar*-----: *punar*-----: *ahar*-----

according to W. B., *mā hvār mītrasya* (i.1.4¹); but, according to G. M. O., *mā hvār vasānām* (i.1.3): I have found the word only in these two sections. For *abhāh*, *yonāv abhār ukhā* (iv.2.5²). For *vāh*, *vār nāma vo hitam* (v.6.1³). For *hāh*, *mā me pra hār asti vā idam* (ii.4.12^{3,4}: vi.5.1^{1,2}: only G. M. have the last two words): the word is found also at ii.4.12⁵: 5.2^{3,5}. For *abibhah*, as the only passage where it occurs (ii.5.1²) does not exhibit in *samhitā* the final *r*, we have the *jatā*-text quoted, namely *abibhas tam tam abibhar abibhas tam*. *Ajigah*, for the same reason, is treated in the same way in W. B. O., namely *oshadhīr ajīgar ajīgar oshadhīr oshadhīr ajīgar: ajīgar ity ajīgaḥ* (iv.6.7³); but G. M. read simply *oshadhīr ajīgaḥ*. For *akah*, *devatrā 'kar ajakshīreṇa* (v.1.7⁴: G. M. omit the last word): it is found also at i.3.14² twice; 5.2³: ii.4.9²; 5.7¹: iii.1.10³; 4.10⁴: iv.1.2⁴: v.2.1⁴, 8⁷: vi.4.8¹. As for this *akah*, the commentator supposes the objection raised that rule 9, which teaches that *kaḥ* and *āvaḥ* change *h* to *r* in an unaccented word, combined with rule i.52, which would extend the force of that rule to *kaḥ* with *a* prefixed, is sufficient to cover the cases of its occurrence, without separate mention in the present rule; but he denies the pertinence of the objection, on the ground that the specification here made includes all instances of *akah*, without regard to their accentuation—for example, *ākah* at iv.1.2⁴, which is accented on the first syllable, but exhibits *r* in its *jatā*-reading, *ārvā 'kar ākar ārvā 'rvā 'kaḥ*. For *anantah*, *yajñāparusho 'nantari-tyāi* (v.2.5⁶). A precisely similar objection is suggested to this word also, on the ground of rules viii.10 and i.53 combined; and it is similarly repelled, by reference to the difference of accent: *ānantar* has the acute on the first syllable, which rule 10 forbids. For *vivah* is given, again in *jatā*-text, *ca vivar vivaḥ ca ca vivah: vivar iti vivah* (iv.2.8²); only O. has the final repetition of *vivah*: the Atharvan reads *vi vah*, as two separate words, in the corres-

-----: *ahārahār*¹⁶ (viii.13) *ity anīgyānto nishidhyate*¹⁷: *evam-rūpasya*¹⁸ *nā 'yam niyamah*¹⁸. *prātar*-----: *doshā*-----: ¹⁹*ṣṛtañ*
-----: ¹⁰*deva*-----: *ārāc*-----: *stanutar*²⁰ *iti śākhāntare: etañ*
-----: *hotar*-----: *marut*-----: *prthivi*-----: *agne*-----: *aśīy*
-----: *neshtaḥ*-----: *śivas*-----: *svaraghoshavatparaḥ iti kim:*
ab-----: *punas*-----: *avarṇapūrvas tu lupyate* (ix.9) *iti*
kvacil lopaprāptiḥ: ²¹*atha svaraparo yakāram* (ix.10) *iti kva-*
cid yatvaprapṛtiḥ: okāram aḥ sarvo 'kāraparaḥ (ix.7) *iti*
*kvacid otvaprapṛtiḥ*²¹: *tā etāḥ prāptiḥ*²² *pratisheddhuṃ hvārabhār-*
ādyaṛambhaḥ.

(¹) O. *eshu*; G. M. *hvār abhār vār hār ity ādi*. (²) G. M. om. *svara*. (³) G. M. om. (⁴) W. om. (⁵) G. M. *kar anuśāttatvena*. (⁶) O. om. *eva*. (⁷) W. *tad*. (⁸) O. puts after *vacanāt*. (⁹) G. M. om.; O. *api*. (¹⁰) G. M. O. om. (¹¹) W. *ādyudāttasva-rārthah*; G. M. O. *ayam for idam*. (¹²) O. om. (¹³) G. M. *na*; O. om. (¹⁴) B. *-attam*; G. M. O. *-āttas*. (¹⁵) G. M. *tu aya*; O. *tu ayam iti gr-*. (¹⁶) G. M. add *svar*. (¹⁷) W. *-dhyeta*; G. M. *-shedhita ity*. (¹⁸) G. M. *ayam nishedhaḥ*. (¹⁹) B. om. (²⁰) G. M. *san-*. (²¹) O. om. (²²) W. G. M. O. *ptiḥ*.

ponding passage, iv.1.1). For *suvaḥ*, *suvar asi suvar me yacha* (v.7.6²: O. omits the last word): the numerous passages in which this word occurs it would be quite useless to rehearse. For *punaḥ*, *punar āsadya sudanam* (iv.2.3³: O. omits the last word): this, too, is of too frequent occurrence to be worth detailed reference. For *aharahah*, *aharahar havirdhāninām* (ii.5.6³): the same repetition of *ahah* is found further at i.5.9⁶ twice,⁷: ii.5.6⁶. In connection herewith is made the remark that *ahah* when not at the end of a separable compound is the subject of rule 13, below; but that that rule does not apply to a case like the one here in hand. For *prātaḥ*, *prātur upasadaḥ* (vi.2.3³): *prātaḥ* is found also at i.4.7: ii.1.2⁵; 5.6³: iii.1.7¹; 3.8⁴; 4.10¹: vi.4.2¹. For *vastaḥ*, *doshā-vastar dhiyā vāyam* (i.5.6²; p. *doshā-vastaḥ*): also at i.2.14⁴. For *ṣaṁitah*, *ṣṭaṇ havish ṣaṁitar iti trishatyāḥ* (vi.3.10¹: only G. M. have the first word, only O. the last). For *savitaḥ*, *deva savitar etat te* (iii.2.7¹): the word is found also in about a dozen other passages. For *sanutaḥ*, *ārāc cid dveshah sanutar yuyotu* (i.7.13⁵). For *stanutaḥ* we are simply referred to "another text" (*gākhāntara*): but G. M. read *sanutar*, and omit *stanutar* in the rule itself. For *stotaḥ*, *etañ stotar etena* (vii.4.20). For *hotah*, *hotar yavishtha sukrato* (i.2.14⁵: O. omits the last word): also at i.3.14³; 6.2²: iv.3.13²: v.1.4⁵: vi.3.8²; 4.3³. For *pitaḥ*, resort is had to the *jaṭā*-reading, since the only passage (iii.3.9¹) in which the word occurs does not bring to view the *r*: thus, *marutām pitaḥ pitar marutām marutām pitaḥ*. For *mātaḥ*, *prthivi mātā mā mā hīṁsīh* (iii.3.2²: O. omits the last word). For *yashtaḥ*, *agne yashtar idam namaḥ* (i.1.12). For *eshtaḥ*, again a *jaṭā*-reading, *acyi' eshtar eshtar acyā 'cyi' eshtaḥ* (i.2.11¹): its treatment before the word which follows it in *sāṁhitā* is the subject of rules 18–22 of this chapter; that of the preceding word, of x.14. For *neshtaḥ*, once more the *jaṭā* is drawn upon, *neshtaḥ patnīm patnīm neshtar neshtaḥ patnīm* (vi.5.8⁶). For *tvashtaḥ*, finally, *śivas tvashtar ihā "gahi* (iii.1.11²: O. omits the last word): also at i.3.7¹, 10¹: iii.1.11¹: vi.3.6², 11².

The commentary adds a couple of counter-examples, illustrative of the fact that these words show their *r* only before a vowel or sonant consonant: they are *abibhas tam bhātāni* (ii.5.1²), and *punas te māi 'shām* (iv.7.14³).

करावरनुदात्ते पदे ॥ १ ॥

9. Also in *kaḥ* and *āvaḥ*, in an unaccented word.

The cited examples are: *mithuyā kar bhāgadhēyam* (i.3.7²), and

9. *kaḥ*: *āvaḥ*: *ity etayor visarjanīyāḥ padakāle 'nudātte' pade vartamānaḥ svaraghoshavatparo repham āpadyate. yathā²: mith----- suruco----- anudātta iti kim: ko----- 'avo-----' evāmpara iti kim: adhi-----*

¹ G. M. -ta. ² G. M. om. ³ O. om.

suruco vena āvah: āvar ity āvah (iv.2.8²: G. M. O. omit *suru-**cah*). For *āvah* I find no other example; *kaḥ* occurs further at i.4.45¹: ii.2.12¹. As counter-examples, *kò 'syē "gvarāḥ* (ii.6.7¹), and *āvo vā'jeshu yān jūnā'h* (i.3.13²: G. M. omit the last two words; O. omits the whole passage) show the necessity of the specification respecting accent; while *adhipān akah samashtyāi* (vi.1.7⁶) shows that the *r* appears only before a sonant letter. This last example, it may be remarked, is brought under the action of the rule by i.52: it would be an example also under the preceding rule; compare what is there said in connection with the cited word *akah*.

अन्तरनाद्युदत्ते ॥ १० ॥

10. Also in *antah*, except when accented on the first syllable.

The cited examples are: *antār agne rucā' tvām* (iv.1.9³; 2.1⁵), *agnīm antār bharishyāntī* (iv.1.3²: O. omits the first word), and *antaryāmē maghavan* (vi.4.6³: but O. omits the example—reasonably enough, since it is given again later in this very comment, in illustration of a special point). It were to no good end to rehearse the other cases of occurrence of so common a word. To show the necessity of the restriction respecting accent, the commentator quotes *eshō 'ntō 'ntam manushyāḥ* (vii.2.7²), where we have the noun *anta*, which the rule was especially constructed to avoid including. To prove, again, the continued implication of "followed by a sonant letter," is given *antās te dadhāmi* (i.4.3 and vi.4.6¹⁻²). Then the comment proceeds to justify the form in which the restriction respecting accent is made in the rule: it might have been said, "when accented on the last syllable;" but then the rule would have applied only under those circumstances; whereas now is included the case when the word is not accented at all, as in *antarvedī mithund'u* (vii.5.9⁴; p. *antah-vedī*) and *antaryāmē maghavan* (vi.4.6³, as above: but G. M. omit). The mode of statement selected, however, it may be remarked, has this inconvenience—that it renders necessary the separate specification, in rule 8, of *anantah*, because that combination, where it occurs, happens to be "accented on the first syllable" (see note to rule 8). It would appear to admit of question, in-

10. *antar ity 'asmin pade' 'nādyudātte visarjanīyāḥ svaragho-*
shavatparo repham āpadyate'. yathā': antar-----: agnim-----:
antar----- anādyudātta iti kim: esho-----: evampara iti kim:
antas----- 'antodātta iti vaktavye' bahuvaratvam bahūpādā-
nārtham': anyathā tv' antodāttasyāi 'va syāt.' antarv-----: an-
tary----- ādāv udātto yasya tad ādyudāttam: nā "dyudāttam
anādyudāttam: tasmin.

(1) G. M. *etasmīn*. (2) G. M. *āpnoti*. (3) G. M. om. (4) G. M. om. (5) W. O. *-thah*.
(6) B. om. (7) G. M. *hy*.

deed, whether *ānantah* was not fairly included in the present rule, since the *antah* part of it, at any rate, is not “accented on the first;” but the treatise chooses to avoid so nice a question of interpretation, and to take the safe side.

आवृत्परः ॥ ११ ॥

11. Also a *visarjanīya* followed by *āvṛt*.

The quoted examples are *jinvar āvṛt svāhā* and *ugnar āvṛt svāhā* (both ii.4.7¹: B. has *bhīmar* for *ugnar*; O. reads in each case *āvṛth*, according to the requirements of rule xiv.12). Other instances in the same and following divisions of the same section are *bhīmar āvṛt*, *veshar āvṛt*, *grutar āvṛt*, and *bhātār āvṛt*. The anomalous combination does not occur elsewhere.

इतिपरो अपि ॥ १२ ॥

12. And likewise when *iti* follows.

The word *api* in this rule, we are told, brings forward the implication of “a *visarjanīya* followed by *āvṛt*.” According to the commentator’s exposition, further, the rule is intended to apply to the *jatā* repetition of *grutah* with its predecessor *iti*: as, *iti grutah grutar iti* ‘*ti grutah* (ii.4.7²). Nor do I see of what other interpretation it is capable, although it seems strange that the irregular conversion of *h* into *r* should be retained in the *jatā*-reading of this word only, and not of the others, where repeated with their respective predecessors. It is clearly implied that we are to read, for example, in the first case falling under the preceding rule, *varshan jinvo jinvo varshan varshan jinvaḥ*.

As counter-example, showing the necessity of the implication signified by *api*, we receive *rtubhir havanagrutah* (ii.4.14⁵: G. M. O. omit the first word; G. M. add *havam*, but no such word follows in the *Sanhitā*, and the addition is doubtless a copyist’s error—possibly growing out of the attempt to repeat the compound, in its *pada* or *jatā* form). Here both the *pada*-text (as the word is a compound) and the *jatā* (as it stands before a pause) would read *havanagruta iti havana-grutah*, the ordinary *sandhi* being made of *grutah* and *iti*.

अहारहःसुवरनिग्यातः ॥ १३ ॥

11. *āvṛd ity evamparo visarjanīyo repham āpnoti. jin v-----: ugn-----*

12. *apiṣabdu dvṛtparam¹ visarjanīyam anvādiṣati: asdu visarjanīya itiparo repham āpnoti. iti gr----- anvādeṣaḥ kim-arthah: rtu----- iti² paro yasmād asdv itiparah.*

¹ W. O. *-para*; G. M. *-para*. ² W. B. *iti*; O. *itiṣabduḥ*.

13. Also in *ahāh*, *ahah*, and *suvaḥ*, except at the end of a separable word.

There is a well-established difference of reading in the text itself of this rule. T. and W. read the last word *anīṅgyāntāḥ*, as plural, to agree with the three words mentioned, or else with the three cases of *visarjanīya* which they present; and at the beginning of the comment, both in W. and in O., is seen an attempt to explain the word as a plural—not, however, consistently carried out in either. As both readings are equally acceptable, I have adopted the one which is best supported.

The examples given in illustration of the rule are *ahār jātavēdā vicarshanīḥ* (iii.2.5⁴: O. omits the last word), *ahar māṁsena* (v.7.20: but G. M. substitute *aharbhājo vāi*, vii.4.5¹), and *suvar devān aganma* (i.7.9²: O. omits the last word); and, as counter-examples, first, to show that the *h* in the words specified, when they stand as final members of compounds, is treated in the usual manner, *abhipārevaṁ tryahā bhavanti* (vii.3.9² et al.; p. *tri-ahāh*: O. omits the first word), *pratyāṁ tryaho bhavati* (vii.3.5³ et al.; p. *tri-ahah*: but B. has dropped out the whole example, and G. M. O. substitute, O. with omission of the first word, *pratyāṁ shad-aho bhavati*, vii.4.2⁵), and *devasuva stha te* (i.8.10²: but W. B. O. give simply the *padu*-reading of *devasuvaḥ*, namely *devasuva iti deva-suvaḥ*, since thus alone is the word put into circumstances which show its *h* not to be convertible into *r*); and second, to show that the conversion takes place only before sonant letters, *prāyaṇyam ahas tasmāt* (vii.2.8¹: O. omits the first word), and *suvaḥ ca mātṛdhā ca* (i.7.9¹ and iv.7.11²).

The commentator then proceeds to give an explanation, so far as *ahāh* is concerned, respecting the virtual intent of the rule, which, he says, is meant to establish an exception for that word when the final member of a compound; since the inclusion of *hāh* among the words cited in rule 8 would, under the operation of the often-quoted rule i.52, be authority sufficient for turning *ahāh* into *ahār* before a sonant letter. Upon this he next imagines the objection to be raised, that the reading in this rule also, as well as the other, should have been *hāh*, *ahāh* being then included along with it according to the principle referred to; and thus the liability to reproach for overdoing the explicitness of the rule would be avoid-

13. *ahāh*: *ahah*: *suvaḥ*: *eteshu*¹ *visarjanīyo*² *'nīṅgyāntaḥ*³ *sva-raghoshavatparo repham āpnoti*⁴. *yathā*⁵: *ahār*.....: *ahar*.....: *suvar*.....: *anīṅgyānta iti kim*: *abhip*.....: *praty*.....: *dev*.....: *evampara iti kim*: *prāy*.....: *suvaḥ*.....: *hvārabhār* (viii.8) ⁶ *ādisūtre hār ity anena grahanenā 'hāḥḥabdasya*⁷ *'py akārādi* (i.52) *iti vacanād rephasiddhāu satyām atra punarvacanam īṅgyāntasyā 'hāḥḥabdasya pratishedhārtham. nanv atrādi 'va' hār iti vaktavyam: apy akārādi* (i.52) *iti vacanena kār-yasiddheḥ: na tu tadgāravāpātteḥ*⁸: *iti cet: māi 'vam: anīṅg-*

ed. But he replies, reasonably enough, that, as the rule says "when not the final member of a separable word," it is to be inferred that the words specified do occur as such members: and with *hāh* that is not the case; wherefore the distinction would be meaningless with reference to *hāh*. And it would be a poor enough side to take, and altogether unworthy of approval, to give a direction which did not apply to a word itself, but only to that word with *a* prefixed. Hence the quotation is made in proper form.

Just as long a discussion might have been raised with equal reason over *ahāh* and *suwāh*, both of which are also included in the former rule. So far as *ahāh* is concerned, indeed, it is easy to see that this is the general rule, applying to the cases of occurrence of that word in the main, with a specific restriction; and that *ahar-ahāh* in rule 8 is a sort of exception in advance, made for a single case which would otherwise fall under this restriction (since, in *ahāh-ahāh*, the second *ahāh* is in fact the final member of a compound). But I am unable to discover any justification of the way in which *suwāh* is treated: it is made the subject of two general rules, to the one of which a needed restriction is attached, to the other, not. For *ahāh* and *suwāh*, the present rule should, it seems, have taken distinctly the form of an exception merely: *nā 'hāh-suvar iṅgyāntāu*; 'not, however, *ahāh* and *suwāh*, when final members of compounds;' and *ahāh* should have been separately treated, or else included with them and a further counter-exception added.

न भिन्नापरः ॥ १४ ॥

14. Not, however, when followed by *bhāh* or *bhyām*.

There is violation of the ordinary usage of the Prātiçākhyā in this rule also. The only one of the words mentioned in the preceding rule which is found with the case-endings *bhāh* and *bhyām* following it is *ahāh*; and hence, to it alone the present precept applies. We should expect it, therefore, in accordance with the principle of which 1.58 is an expression, to have been placed last in the trio of which it forms a member. The commentator does not remark upon the irregularity, but simply points out that the

yānta ity ūkter⁹ iṅgyāntatvam¹⁰ iti¹¹ sambhāvanīyam: tac ca hār ity evamrūpe¹² grahaṇe nā 'stī 'ty¹³ atre 'daṁ viçeṣhaṇam anarthakam syāt: tathā 'py¹⁴ evamrūpe nā bhād iti¹⁵: 'kiṁ tv¹⁶ akā-rāditve bhavati 'ti jaghanyaḥ pakṣaḥ: na tu saralaḥ: iti sūtre¹⁷ 'hār¹⁸ iti grahaṇam upayujyate.

¹ O. *eshu padeshu*. ² W. -yā. ³ W. *anīṅgyāntāh*; O. -tā. ⁴ O. *āpnuvanti*. ⁵ G. M. O. om. ⁶ G. M. ins. *ity*. ⁷ G. M. 'vā. ⁸ O. *tatra gauravadoshap-*; G. M. *tatra gauravadeshop-*. ⁹ W. *ukten*; G. M. O. *ukte*. ¹⁰ G. M. -āntam. ¹¹ G. M. O. *api*. ¹² G. M. O. -pa. ¹³ W. om. *iti*. ¹⁴ G. M. O. *sati*: a better reading. ¹⁵ O. om. ¹⁶ G. M. om.; O. *kiṁ tv apy*. ¹⁷ G. M. O. *sutarām*. ¹⁸ MSS. *ahār*.

circumstances of the case restrict the application of the rule to *ahah*, and gives as examples *uttarāṇi ahobhiṣ caranti* (vii.5.14: G. M. O. omit the last word), and *ṣam ahobhyām iti nī nayati* (vi.3.9¹).

अश्च सर्वेषाम् ॥ १५ ॥

15. Also not in *añhah*, as all agree.

Some authorities, namely, the commentator informs us, accept this word as containing an *anusvāra*, others not; but all alike regard it as an exception under rule 13 (and therefore not liable to have its final *visarjanīya* converted into *r* under any circumstances). Those who accept the *anusvāra* still regard the word as falling under the action of rule 13, in virtue of the principle "a nose-sound occurring in the interior of a word is no bar to the application of a rule; hence it performs the offices of letters while itself only a quality" (if this be, in fact, the meaning of the second line of the verse, of which I am by no means confident; the readings of the manuscripts are here somewhat discordant, without being mutually explanatory). The first words of this verse were quoted in the comment on rule i.1, in connection with the discussion as to whether *anusvāra* was a concrete thing or a quality (see p. 8), and were credited to the Çikshā—which, however, in the form in which we now possess it, neither contains such a passage, nor seems to furnish a connection in which it should naturally be introduced. I should question the sober verity of the considerations whereby the commentator tries to justify the rule. It is hardly credible that *añhah* and *ahah* should be fairly identified by any authorities. And *anusvāra* is not a *nāsikya*, but an *anu-nāsika*, in the view of this treatise everywhere. It might be bet-

14. *sāmnidhyena¹ labdha² pārvasūtrokto visarjanīyo³ bhīr-bhyām⁴ evamparo⁵ na repham āpnoti. arthād ahar ity atra vi-sarjanīyah parigrhyate: itaratrasthitasyāi⁶ vamparatvābhāvāt. yathā: utt-----: ṣam-----.*

¹ G. M. O. -dhyā. ² W. labhyā. ³ W. ins. na. ⁴ O. ins. ity. ⁵ G. M. paro.

15. *cakāro 'nishedham ākarshati': añha ity asmin² grahane vi-sarjanīyo na repham āpnoti: ahārahar (viii.13) iti prāptiḥ. atra³ grahane kecīd anusvāram ichanti⁴ 'kecin ne 'chanti: sarve-shām⁵ teshām esha⁶ nishedho bhavati: anusvāram ichadbhir api prāptir evam pratipādyate⁷:*

vidher madhyasthānāsikyo na virodho⁸ 'bhavet smṛtaḥ⁹:

tasmāt karoti¹⁰ kāryāni varṇānām¹¹ dharma eva¹² tv iti. yathā¹³: añha-----: añho-----.

¹ G. M. O. -dhākarshakah. ² G. M. etasmin. ³ O. asmin. ⁴ G. M. om. ⁵ G. M. eva. ⁶ G. M. -pady-. ⁷ B. -dhi. ⁸ B. bhavet: sataḥ; G. M. bhaved yataḥ. ⁹ B. G. M. kurvanti. ¹⁰ W. dharmas. ¹¹ G. M. om.

ter to regard the specific exception of *añha* as simply a sort of supererogatory effort at extreme explicitness, intended to guard against the confusion with *ahā*, even by a blunderer, of another word which was, indeed, definitely different from it, but different by only so inconspicuous an element as the nasalization of a vowel.

The illustrative examples are *añha indram evā 'ñhomucam* (ii.2.7⁴: but O. writes ---- *eva: añhomucam*, as if the latter word were a separate citation: it is found in other passages), and *añhomuce pra bharema* (i.6.12³: but O. substitutes *añhomuce purodācam*, ii.2.7⁴).

अनवर्णपूर्वस्तु रेफरो लुप्यते ॥ १६ ॥

16. But, when not preceded by an *a*-vowel, *visarjanīya* followed by *r* is omitted.

The commentator's example in illustration of the action of this rule is *revatī ramadhcam* (i.3.7¹ et al.; p. *revatī*); and he adds as counter-examples, first, to show the necessity of the restriction "not preceded by an *a*-vowel," *yo rudro agnāu* (v.5.9³), and again, to show that the omission takes place only before a *r*, *revatīr naḥ sudhamādah* (ii.2.12⁸; 4.14⁴). This exhausts the evident intent of the rule: the *tu*, 'but,' which the latter contains, merely indicates the transition to a new and diverse subject; it intimates no distinction between the classes of cases in which the *visarjanīya* represents a *s* on the one hand and an original *r* on the other; and all the cases of final *ah* and *āh* are left to be treated alike, as prescribed by the rules given hereafter (ix.7-10)—*ah* being changed to *o*, and *āh* to *ā*. This truly represents the usage of the *Sanhitā*: the latter does not contain (if the special case which forms the subject of rules 18-22, below, be excepted) a single instance of *ah* converted into *ā* before *r*: the occurrence before *r* of *ah* standing for original *ar* is very rare, and the product is always *o*: besides the cases of *ahorātre* (*pada*-text, *ahāh-rātre*), I have

16. *avarṇād anyasvarapārvo rephaparo visarjanīyo lupyate. yathā'*: *rev----- evampārva iti kim: yo-----: evampara iti kim: rev----- tuṣābdārambhād avarṇapārvo 'pi hvārabhār* (viii.8) *ādīnām visargo lupyate pārvasvaraḥ ca dīrgham āpad-yate. yathā'*: *rukmo----- .tarhi suvo----- ity atra lopadīrghāu kiñ na syātām. dviruktatvād iti brāmaḥ. tat katham. hvārabhār* (viii.8) *ādisutre* ³: *ahārahahsuvar* (viii.13) *ity atra ca. 'nanv ahorātre ity atra katham otvam. anyārthena grahanasāmarthyene 'ti brāmaḥ. tat katham. ahorātre dhr-tqvrata* ⁶ (iv.11) *ity evanrūpasāmyād⁷ ahorātrābhyām ahorātrayor' ity ādi vijñeyam⁸. 'evam ced adhishavane* (iv.11) *ity grahanasāmarthyendi 'va⁹ 'shatve siddhe¹¹ 'na dhi-pārve* (vi.11) *ity 'nishedhanishedhena virodhaḥ¹². satyam: sa-*

only found four instances of *suvaḥ* before forms of *ruh*; namely *suvo ruhānāḥ* (iv.1.2⁴; 7.13¹), *suvo rohāva* (i.7.9¹), and *suvo rokshyāmi* (i.7.9¹). The other Prāticākhyas (Rik. Pr. iv.9, r. 28, 29; Vāj. Pr. iv.34; Ath. Pr. ii.19, iii.20) convert *ah* to *ā* in like circumstances; and at least the Rik and Atharvan afford several instances of the *sandhi*.

So much for the rule and its meaning. The commentator, unfortunately, has found occasion to give it a forced and false interpretation; it leads him into a nest of difficulties, through which he flounders as best he can, coming out at the end with much discredit. There happens to be a single passage (or, if there be another, I have not noticed it) where a word with original final *r* follows in the Sanhitā a word beginning with *r*—namely *rukmo antaḥ* (iv.1.10⁴⁻⁵; 6.5²; 7.12³)—and, of course, in the inversions of the *ajāṭ*-text, comes to stand before its predecessor. The accepted *ajāṭ*-reading, it appears (as given in full by the commentator), is *rukmo antar anti rukmo rukmo antaḥ*, the analogy of the Rik and Atharvan usage being followed in the treatment of *antaḥ*. In order, now, to find authority for this reading, the commentator declares that *tu*, 'but,' in the rule signifies that, even when preceded by an *a*-vowel, the words specified in rule 8 and its successors lose their *visarjanīya* and lengthen the preceding vowel. This is an attribution of portentous pregnancy of meaning to the particle such as is not very infrequently made, rarely with more evident falsity than here. The objection is immediately suggested—why, in that case, does not *suvaḥ* in *suvo rohāva* (i.7.9¹) lose its *h* and lengthen its *a*? Because, is the acute reply, it has been mentioned twice, once in rule 8, and once in rule 13. What possible connection is to be discovered between this repetition and the use to which he would fain put it, he does not give himself the trouble to inform us: he takes care to raise only such difficulties as he conceives himself able to remove. The next which it pleases him to evoke is—how is the *o* of *ahorātre* to be explained? We rather

*vaçabdasyā 'dhishavane iti grahaṇasāmāthyena¹⁰ shatvaṁ si-
dhyatṃ: sthānaçabdasya katham siddhyet: grahaṇādisāmāthyā-
bhāvāt¹⁴: tasmāt tadartham¹⁵ tīvāt¹⁶ sūtram sārthukam iti¹⁷ tadar-
tham ca drashtavyam¹⁷: tadartham ce¹⁶ 'ti gudājjihvikānyāyah¹⁹:
tathā hi: grahaṇasāmāthyād²⁰ iti²¹ gamanikāmātram²²: ku-
thoktis tu viçeshah: tataḥ savaçabdārthan²³ sūtram iti bhāvāt²⁴.*

*avarṇād anyo 'navarṇah: asāu pūrvo yasmāt sa tathoktah.
rephaḥ paro yasmād asāu rephaparah.*

¹ B. G. M. O. om. ² W. B. G. M. om. ³ W. B. ins. *ah-rahah iti.* ⁴ W. B. O. om.
⁵ O. *adhishavane.* ⁶ G. M. *pragrahe enanirūpasāmāthyād.* ⁷ G. M. *-tre.* ⁸ B.
jñeyam. ⁹ O. *nanu anyārthena grahaṇenāi 'va.* ¹⁰ G. M. om. ¹¹ O. *siddhih.*
¹² B. ins. *nishiddhe.* ¹³ O. *shatvanishedhanishedho na vidheyah;* B. *nishedho 'na
iti virodhah.* ¹⁴ B. *-pāsam-.* ¹⁵ B. *artham;* G. M. *tadavastham.* ¹⁶ G. M. *vā tat.*
¹⁷ G. M. O. *samīkṣitavyam.* ¹⁸ G. M. *ve.* ¹⁹ G. M. *gula-.* ²⁰ O. *-thyam.* ²¹ O.
om.; G. M. *i.* ²² G. M. *kam-.* ²³ G. M. *savasthānaçab-;* O. adds *api,* ²⁴ G. M.
gāvah.

expect to hear him reply—because *ahah* also is twice mentioned, in the same two rules with *suvaḥ*. But no; we do injustice to the tenderness of his exegetical conscience, in supposing him capable of such gross arbitrariness of interpretation, when in rule 8, instead of *ahah*, *aharahah* is read. He alleges instead the competency of a form cited for another purpose (compare Rik Pr. i.13, r. liv,55): we have read in rule iv.11 *ahorātre*, where the *pragrahas* are under treatment, and this suffices, by analogy of form, to determine the reading also of *ahorātrābhyām* and *ahorātrayoh*. If this be so, it is next retorted, then, as the *sh* of *adhishavane*, which is cited in the same rule, is assured by the citation itself, rule vi.11, prescribing the *sh*, in the way of an exception to an exception, is out of order. That is true, the commentator confesses: but, granting that the *sh* of *sava* is established by the previous mention of *adhishavane*, how is that of *sthānu*, the other word specified in the same rule, established? the rule is therefore to be deemed of force so far as relates to that word, and to be regarded as intended for it. Of what follows, not all is clear to me: it appears that the rule is, after all, defended as it stands, on “the principle of sugar-candy and little tongue” (i. e. as merely giving more than is absolutely required of what one cannot receive too much of, as the palate of candy—?): for to establish the reading on the authority of a previous citation is only doing just what will answer (? *gamaniḥ* occurs in only one other passage, the comment on i.18, and I find nowhere anything that explains its use), while specific mention is a distinction; hence the rule has a meaning as applied to *sava* also: such is the understanding.

The commentator might much better, surely, have acknowledged that his text-book had omitted to provide for the special case of *jatā*-reading which has caused all this trouble, than have forced it within the contemplation of the rules at such cost.

दीर्घं च पूर्वः ॥ १७ ॥

17. And the preceding vowel is made long.

The “and” (*ca*) in the rule is declared to signify that the lengthening of the vowel takes place only when *visarjanīya* has been omitted. The cited examples are *rurā rūdraḥ* (v.5.19), *tittiri rohiḥ* (v.5.16), and *vishnū rūpaṁ kṛtvā* (vi.2.4²: only G. M. have the last word). As was noticed in the comment upon the preceding rule, there is no such case of *aḥ* changed to *ā* before *r*, except the one forming the special subject of the following rules.

17. *tasmād rephaparavisarjanīyāḥ luptāt pūrvo 'pi' yaḥ svarō hrasvaḥ sa ca dīrgham āpadyate. yathā: rurā.....: tittiri.....: vishnū..... yathā 'visarjanīyasya lopas tadāi 'va dīrghatvaṁ yathā syād ity evumarthas caṣabdhah.*

¹ O. om. ² G. M. om. ³ G. M. O. ins. *tasya*.

एष्टश्च ॥ १८ ॥

18. As also, in *eshtaḥ*.

This word has been already mentioned, in rule 8, as one of those whose final *h* is liable to become *r*. It is here made the further subject of a special rule, because it is the only case in the Sanhitā of *ah* changed to *ā* before *r* (see the note to rule 16). The passage in which it occurs is *eshtā rāyah* (i.2.11¹ and vi.2.2⁶).

We have seen, however, that the commentator has felt obliged to give a false interpretation to rule 16, and one which renders superfluous the present rule, as applying to a case already included under that one. He is well aware of the objection to his interpretation thence arising, and himself points out that *eshtā rāyo rāya eshtar eshtā rāyah* (only W. gives this) is a case analogous with *rukmo antar antā rukmo rukmo antaḥ* (W. B. omit the last two words), and that the loss of *h* and lengthening of *a* in *eshtaḥ* is an effect of the *tu* in rule 16; but he does what he can toward removing the objection by alleging that the detail of discordant opinions which is to follow (in the next four rules) renders it more desirable to cite the case specially, in order that it may be understood to what those opinions apply. This is a tolerably ingenious subterfuge—but, after all, only a subterfuge.

नैकेषाम् ॥ १९ ॥

19. Not so, according to some authorities.

The commentator gives two alternative explanations of this rule³—both, however, as he notices, leading to the same reading of the phrase under question. Vararuci, namely, holds that, in the view of some, the rule denies the conversion of *h* to *r* in *eshtaḥ*, and therefore also the prolongation of the *a*; whence, by the general rule ix.8, the word would become *eshto* (in analogy with all the other cases in the text of *ah* before *r*). Māhisheya, however, understands that some are said to deny that the *h* of *eshtaḥ* is liable to conversion into *r* before another *r*—that is to say, he makes the rule establish so far an exception under rule 8 rather than rule

18. *eshtar ity 'asmin grahane visarjanīyo rephaparo' 'varṇa-pūrvo 'pi' lupyate' . yathā: eshtā----- 'caṣabdo lopadīrghayor ākarshakah'. nanv etad anupapañnam: hvārabhār (viii.8) ādyantahpātivādd eshtar ity asya: 'eshtā-----' rukmo ---- itivat': anavarṇapūrvas tu (viii.16) ity atra tuṣabdena' lopadīrghasiddhau'. ¹⁰māi 'vam'¹⁰: vakshyamānamatabhedāgrayatvajñāpanīya grhītam etad upapañnataram: iti parihārah.*

¹ W. B. *rephah*. ² O. om. ³ G. M. ins. *pūrvac ca dīrghah*. ⁴ G. M. om. ⁽⁵⁾ G. M. -*ghāv ākarshati*, and put at the beginning. ⁽⁶⁾ B. G. M. O. om. ⁷ W. *iti*; G. M. *iti padam*. ⁸ G. M. *ṣabde*. ⁹ B. -*haṣṭuteh*; G. M. O. -*ādhe*. ⁽¹⁰⁾ W. B. O. om.

18. There can be little question that Vararuci's explanation is the true one.

In rule 21, below, we have yet another mode taught of arriving at the same result as regards the reading.

द्वावुत्तमोत्तरीयस्य रेफम् ॥ २० ॥

20. According to Uttamottariya, two become *r*.

Here, again, there are two interpretations, Vararuci giving one, Māhisheya the other. The former says that, in the opinion of the specified authority (*śākhin*, 'holder of a *śākhā* or recension of the sacred text'), the *visarjanīya* of *eshtaḥ* and the following *r* both become *r*—that is, as I should think it ought to mean, both fuse together into a single *r*: thus, *eshtarāyaḥ*—but none of the manuscripts give this reading in illustrating the case: see the various readings below. Māhisheya, on the other hand, regards the individual referred to as owning the portentous name Dvāvut-tamottariya, and as holding that the *h* of *eshtaḥ* becomes *r* before *r*, making *eshtar rāyaḥ*.

Vararuci here maintains, in my opinion, his usual superiority over Māhisheya, as regards both the plausibility of the name assumed and the admissibility of the reading taught; and I have accordingly made my translation conform with his interpretation.

It is interesting to note the uncertainty of the tradition within reach of the commentators as to the personality of the authorities quoted by the Prātiçākhyā.

सांकृत्यस्योकारम् ॥ २१ ॥

21. According to Sānikṛtya, the *visarjanīya* becomes *u*.

And this *u*, by x.5, unites with the preceding *a* to form *o*, so that the reading of the passage is *eshto rāyaḥ*, as it is according

19. *ekeshām mata eshtar iti visarjanīyo rephaparo na lipyate: ata eva pūrvavaradīrghābhāvaḥ ca: kim tu ghoshavactparaḥ ca* (ix.8) 'ity otvam'. *yathā: eshto rāyaḥ. vararuciviracitam etat: māhisheyabhāshitam tv³ evam: eshtar iti visarjanīyo rephaparo 'repham nā²' "padyata iti¹. siddharūpam ubhayoḥ samānam.*

(¹) W. om. (²) G. M. om. (³) G. M. ca. (⁴) G. M. na repham āpnoti. (⁵) O. om. na.

20. *uttamottariyasya śākhino¹ mata eshtar iti visarjanīyas² tatparo rephaḥ ca dvāv etāu repham āpadyete. yathā: eshtar³ rāyaḥ. ayam artho vārarucoktaḥ: māhisheyoktas tu dvāvut-tamottariya iti kasya cin nāma: tanmata eshtar⁴ iti visarjanīyo rephaparo repham āpadyate: ⁵ eshtar⁶ rāya iti⁷.*

(¹) O. -nor. (²) G. M. -yaḥ ca. (³) B. G. M. -tā; O. -tār. (⁴) W. B. O. var-. (⁵) W. B. eshta rāya. (⁶) O. ins. yathā. (⁷) B. G. M. -tā. (⁸) G. M. O. om.

to the "some authorities" quoted in rule 19, above. This is pointed out by the commentator; who, however, declares that the reference to Śāṅkṛtya in a separate place shows that he is not one of the people there spoken of. B. specifies (probably by a copyist's blunder) that the exposition given of the meaning of the rule is to be credited to Māhisheya.

उख्यस्य सपूर्वः ॥ २२ ॥

22. And, according to Ukhyā, along with the preceding letter.

That is, *eshtar* becomes *eshtu*, the *h* and its predecessor *a* coalescing into *u*. This is the only exposition given by W. and O. But G. M. and B., strangely agreeing for once to differ from the rest, ascribe this understanding of the meaning of the rule to Māhisheya, and report Vararuci as holding it to signify that the *h* of *eshtah*, with its predecessor, becomes *r*. This last version of the *sandhi* seems little better than nonsense, and neither of the MSS. gives a reading to correspond.

The commentator declares, finally, that, in this net-work of alternative views, the first rule only (viii.18) is approved. In accordance herewith is the reading of the edited text and of my manuscript, *eshtā rāyah*.

The most interesting circumstance connected with this waste of half a dozen rules over the reading of a single word, is the indication afforded of the anomalousness of the combination as a phenomenon belonging to the Tāittirīya-Sanhitā, while it is in other Vedic texts a natural and usual thing.

कावपकारपरः षमकारपूर्वः समवग्रहः ॥ २३ ॥

21. *śāṅkṛtyasya mata eshtar iti visarjanīyo rephapara ukāram āpadyate*¹. *tata*² *uvarṇapara okāram* (x.5) *ity otvam. yathā*³: *eshto rāyah. asya ca nāi 'keshām* (viii.18) *ity asya 'deçābhedaḥ bhedaḥ: siddhodāharanān 'samānam*.

¹ B. adds *iti māhisheyoktam*. ² G. M. om. ³ W. B. G. M. om. ⁴ G. M. O. ins. cā. ⁵ G. M. O. ins. tu.

22. *ukhyasya mate rephapara*¹ *eshtar iti visarjanīyah pūrva-varṇena saho 'kāram āpadyate: 'iti māhisheyoktam*². *yathā*³: *eshtu*⁴ *rāyah. 'vārarucoctam*⁵ *tv eshtār iti visarjanīyo rephaparaḥ pūrvena saha repham āpadyata iti*⁶. *yathā*⁷: *'eshtā*⁸ *rāyah*⁹. *pūrvena saha vartata iti sapārvaḥ*.

*asmin vikalpajāle*¹¹ *prathamam eshtaç ca* (viii.18) *iti sātram eve 'shtam*.

¹ G. M. om.; O. puts after *iti*. ² W. om.; O. *iti*. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ B. -to; G. M. -ta. ⁵ W. O. om. ⁶ B. var-. ⁷ G. M. om. ⁸ G. M. om. ⁹ M. om. ¹⁰ B. -rd. ¹¹ W. -jāte.

23. At the end of the former member of a compound, before *k*, *kh*, or *p*, *visarjanīya* becomes *sh*—or *s*, if preceded by *a*.

The commentator notes the fact that, as a different following occasion is here introduced, the implication “followed by a vowel or a sonant consonant,” which has so long been in force (namely, since rule 3 of this chapter), comes to an end. His illustrative examples are: *atho havishkrīdānā eva* (vi.4.3³: O. omits *eva*), *grasitām nishkṛidati* (vi.1.9¹: O. omits the first word), *bahishpavānā upasadyah* (vi.4.9²: O. omits the last word), *namaskārāir evāti nam* (v.5.7⁴: O. omits *enam*), and *pathaspathah paripatim* (i.1.14²: O. omits the last word). As counter-example, to show that the *h* must end the first member of a compound, not an independent word, we have *pushpāvatih prasūvatih* (iv.2.6¹), and *namaḥ pitrbhyo abhi* (iii.2.8³: only G. M. have *abhi*).

This is a general rule, applying to almost all the compounds in the Sanhitā which show a final *h* before an initial *k*, *kh*, or *p* of the second member. A few exceptions are mentioned farther on (rules 32, 33).

आविर्निरिडः शश्वतोऽपसो देव रिषोऽहसो गति दिवो वि-
श्वतोऽश्मनस्तमसः ॥ २४ ॥

24. Also in *āvih*, *nih*, *iḍah*, *ṣaṣvataḥ*, *apasah*, *deva rishah*, *añhasah*, *ati divah*, *viṣvataḥ*, *aṣmanah*, and *tamasah*.

This rule, the commentator remarks, relates to words which are not first members of compounds. His examples are: for *āvih*, *āvish kṛnushva* (i.2.14²). For *nih*, *ghṛtām nish pibati* (ii.3.11⁵):

23. *atra paranimittaviṣeṣaṇād¹ etatparyantā² svaraghoshavat-
parānuvṛttir³ mantavyā. avagrahāntavartī⁴ visarjanīyaḥ kakāra-
khakārapakāraparah shakāram āpadyate: akārapūrvaḥ cet sakā-
ram. yathā⁵: atho-----: gras-----: bahish-----: namas-----:
pathas----- avagraha iti kim: push-----: namaḥ----- ka-
kāraḥ ca khakāraḥ ca pakāraḥ ca kakhapakārāḥ: te⁶ pare⁷ yas-
mād asāu⁸ tathoktaḥ. akārah pūrvo yasmād asāu akārapūrvaḥ.*

¹ G. M. -shād. ² W. etāvatp-. ³ G. M. -paratpān-. ⁴ W. -havatara; B. -ha; G. M. -havaritī. ⁵ G. M. om. ⁶ O. ete. ⁷ G. M. parā. ⁸ G. M. O. sa.

24. ¹-----'eshu' visarjanīyaḥ kakhapakāraparo ² yathāvihi-
tam³ bhajate. yathā⁴: āvish-----: ghṛtām-----: iḍas-----:
ṣaṣv-----: apasas-----: uror-----: deve 'ti kim: sa-----: añ-
hasas-----: ati-----: atī 'ti kim: divah-----: viṣv-----: tvam
-----: ud-----.

anavagrahārtho 'yam dambhaḥ.

⁽¹⁾ G. M. āvirādiṣhu vidyamāno. ⁽²⁾ G. M. ins. hi shakāram akārapūrvaḥ cet sa-
kāram iti. ⁽³⁾ G. -thāsamh-. ⁽⁴⁾ G. M. O. om.

of *nish* before *p*, I find besides only *nish padyeran* (vii.3.10²); before *kh*, *nish khidati* (ii.2.10⁵); before *k*, the cases are more numerous, with forms of *kri* (e. g. v.5.7²), and *kram* (vi.4.10²⁻³: doubtless; the separation of the divisions prevents the exhibition of the *sandhi*); cases of *nih* with accented forms of verbs in *k* are yet more frequent, but come under the preceding rule, not this one. For *idāh, idas pade sam idhyase* (ii.6.11⁴ and iv.4.4⁴: O. omits the last two words): on the other hand, we have *idāyāh pade* at vi.1.8². For *ṣaṣvatah, ṣaṣvatas kar haste* (ii.2.12¹). For *apasah, apasas pāre asya* (iii.2.11²: O. omits *asya*). For *deva rishah, uror ā no deva rishas pāhi* (i.4.45²: O. omits to *deva*); with *sa rishah pātu naktam* (i.2.14⁷; 5.11¹⁻²) as counter-example, to show that the prescribed effect takes place only after *deva*. For *añhasah, añhasas pātu vāyuh* (iii.2.4³: only O. has *vāyuh*): another case is found in the same division, *añhasas pātām*. For *ati divah, ati divas pāhi samdvavṛtran* (i.8.14²: G. M. O. omit after *pāhi*); with *divah prsthāṇ suvar gatvā mīgrāh* (iv.6.5¹: only B. has the last word; O. omits the last three) as counter-example, to show that the prescribed effect takes place only after *ati*. For *viṣvatah, viṣvatas pari havāmahe* (i.6.12¹: G. M. omit the last word): other cases occur at i.5.3³: ii.1.11¹; 3.14¹: iii.1.11⁴: iv.2.1^{3,34}; 3.13⁸ (in the various repetitions of only two phrases, always before *pari*); and, as first member of a compound, hence falling under the preceding rule, at iv.6.2⁴: an exception is noted in a later rule (viii.32). For *aśmanah, tvam aśmanas pari* (iv.1.2⁵). For *tamasah, ud vayan tamasas pari paśyantah* (iv.1.7⁴ and v.1.8⁶: only O. has the last word, and it omits the first two).

कृधिपिन्वपथेपरः ॥ २५ ॥

25. Also before *kr̥dhi*, *pinva*, and *pathe*.

The examples are: *uru nas kr̥dhi* (ii.6.11³), *apas pinva* (iv.3.4³), and *saprathā namas pathe* (iv.7.13²: G. M. omit the first word).
 • For *pinva* and *pathe* I find no further examples; but *s* before *kr̥dhi* occurs also at i.4.2 (where the edition has the false reading *h*), 3: iv.2.9⁴; 5.10²: v.7.6^{3,4}: vi.3.2²; 4.5⁴.

न सक्रघकारपरे ॥ २६ ॥

26. But not when *s*, *kr*, or *gh* follows.

25. ----- *evamparo visarjanīyo yathāvidhīm¹ bhajate. yathā²: uru-----: apas-----: sapr-----.*

¹ O. -vīhitām. ² G. M. O. om.

26. *sakraghe¹ 'ty evampare sati kr̥dhyādāu² visarjanīyo yathā-vīhitām³ nā⁴ 'padyate. yathā⁵: tām-----: ṣam-----: repheṇa kim. ata-----: uru-----.*

¹ W. adds *kāre sati*. ² O. -ādī. ³ G. M. -vīdhīm. ⁴ W. B. G. M. om.

By its terms, the rule means that the prescription of the preceding rule becomes void when either of the words there mentioned is followed as here specified; but the cases of its application, so far as I am aware, all concern *kr̥dhi*. The commentator's illustrations are: *tān ma āmanasaḥ kr̥dhi svāhā* (ii.3.9¹: only W. has the first two words, and it omits the last one), *ṣaṇi ca naḥ kr̥dhi: kratve dakshāya* (iii.3.11⁴: O. omits the last word), and *uru kshayāya naḥ kr̥dhi: ghr̥taṁ ghr̥tayone* (i.3.4¹: G. M. O. omit the last word); and to the second of these there is a counter-example, *uta no mayas kr̥dhi kshayadvirāya* (iv.5.10²), to show that only *kr̥*, not *k* alone, gives occasion for retention of the *h*. The words *āmanasaḥ kr̥dhi svāhā* occur again at ii.3.9²: I find no other cases to be specified in addition to those quoted by the commentator.

पत्नीविपतीपतेपतयेपतिष्यतिपरः ॥ २७ ॥

27. Also before *patnī ve*, *patī*, *pate*, *pataye*, *patih*, and *patim*.

The examples are: first, *brahmanas patnī vedim* (iii.5.6¹), with a counter-example, to show that the word *patnī* must be followed by *ve*, *retodhāḥ patnī va ity āha* (vi.5.8⁴: but O. reads *indriyāvataḥ patnīvantam*, i.4.27); further, *ṣubhas pati idam aham* (iii.2.10²: only O. has *aham*), *vāstosh pate prati* (iii.4.10¹), *pracyavāsva bhuvas pate* (i.2.9 and vi.1.11⁴), *vācas pataye pavasva* (i.4.2), *vācas patir vācam* (i.7.7¹), and *vācas patim viśvakarmānam ūtaye* (iv.6.2⁵: G. M. O. omit the last word). The inquiry is now raised, why it was necessary to give all these words in detail, instead of comprehending them all in *pat*, and in reply is quoted the passage *divaṁ gacha suvaḥ pata* (iv.1.10⁵ and v.1.10⁵).

The cases of retention of *s* before the cases of *pati* are so numerous, that it would be highly convenient to be able to dispose of them at once by quoting in the rule the theme *pati*; but such a proceeding is permitted (by i.22) only with themes ending in *a*. I add the other combinations of this class which I have noted from the Sanhitā: *manasas pati* (i.1.13³; 4.44³), *pathas pati* (i.1.14²), *brahmanas pati* (i.5.6⁴; ii.1.5⁷), *jyotishas pati* (i.5.11¹; iv.4.4⁶), *ṣavasas pati* (ii.2.12⁷), *jagatus pati* (ii.4.5¹), *sadasas pati* (ii.6.8²; iii.2.4⁴), *ṣatinas pati* (ii.6.11¹; iv.4.4¹), *nabhasas pati* (iii.3.8^{3,6}), and *yas patih* (iv.7.14³). We have the genitive *pateḥ* in *br̥haspateḥ* (i.7.8⁴), but, as the *pada*-text reads *br̥hah-pateḥ*, the word does not fall under this rule: *tapaspati* (i.2.10²; p. *tapah-patiḥ*)

27. ----- *evamparo visarjanīyo yathāvihitam¹ bhajate. ya-*
thā²: brah-----: va iti kim: reto-----: ṣubh-----: vāst-----:
pra-----: vāc-----: vāc-----: vāc-----: pad ity etāvataḥ³ va
*siddhe⁴ *pratipadapāṭhena kim³: divaṁ---- ityādīnishedhār-*
thah⁴.

¹ B. G. M. -vidhim. ² G. M. O. om. ³ G. M. -thah kimarthah; O. -tho. ⁴ O. -ādau n.

belongs in the same category. Of the words quoted by the commentator, *bhuvās pati* occurs again at i.7.10², and *vācas pati* at ii.6.8^{1,2}.

दिवःसहसस्परिपुत्परः ॥ २८ ॥

28. Also in *divah* and *sahasah*, before *pari* and *put*.

The cited examples are *divas pari prathamam* (i.3.14⁵ and iv.2.2¹), *divas putrāya sūryāya* (i.2.9: O. omits the last word), and *sahasas putro udbhutah* (iv.1.9²). We have *sahasas putram* also at iv.4.4³, and *divas pari* at iii.3.3³ and iv.2.10⁴; one case of *divah pari* is excepted by rule 34, below. As counter-examples, are given *divah prthivyaḥ pary antarikshāt* (iii.1.10² et al.: W. B. O. omit *divah*, which is better, as this is used just below to illustrate another point), *parushahparushah pari* (iv.2.9²), and *puṁsah putrāṇ uta viśodyushaṇ rayim* (iv.6.9⁴: G. M. O. have only the first two words), to show that only the words specified show *s* before *pari* and *put*; and *divah prthivyaḥ pari* (iii.1.10² et al.: G. M. omit *pari*, which is better this time), to show that those words show it only in the circumstances stated.

Put is declared a part of a word, involving more than one case.

रायस्योपरः ॥ २९ ॥

29. Also in *rāyah*, before *po*.

The commentator's examples are: *paçavo vāi rāyas poshaḥ* (v.4.6²), *sam ahaṇ rāyas posheṇa* (i.7.9²), *çamtanuvāya rāyas poshāya* (iii.2.5¹: G. M. omit the first word and add *brhate*, which makes the reference belong to iv.1.10²), and *rāyas poshasya daditārah syāma* (iii.2.3¹: only O. has the last word). As counter-examples, he gives *vibhuḥ posha uta tmanā* (iii.1.11²), to show that the rule applies to no other word than *rāyah* before *po*, and *eshṭā rāyah pre 'she bhagāya* (i.2.11¹: G. M. omit the first word),

28. *divah*: *sahasah*: *ity ayor¹ visarjanīyah pariputparo² yathāvidhim³ bhajate. divas-----: divas pu-----: sah-----: anayor iti kim: divah-----: par-----: puṇ-----: evampara iti kim: divah-----: anekārthatvāt⁴ pud iti padāikadeçah.*

¹ B. *anayoh*; G. M. *etayoh*. ² G. M. *pari: put: ity evamparo*; O. do. except *ity*. ³ G. M. O. *-vihitam*. ⁴ B. G. M. O. *-rthah*. *

29. *rāya ity atra visarjanīyah po ity evamparo yathāvidhitam¹ bhajate. yathā²: paçavo-----: po iti padāikadeço bahūpādānārthah: sam-----: çam-----: rāyas-----: rāya iti kim: vibhuḥ-----: 'po ity okāreṇa kim³: 'eshṭā-----.*

¹ G. M. *-vidhim*. ² G. M. O. om. ³ G. M. *okārah kimarthah*. ⁴ B. om. to *yathā* in comment to next rule.

to show that only *po*, not *p* when otherwise followed, calls out the prescribed effect in *rāyah*.

I have not attempted to note the numerous instances of the occurrence of *rāyas posha* in the *Sanhitā*. In the derivative *rāyas-poshavanī* (i.2.12³; 3.1²), where the division is before *vani*, the *pada*-text, according to its custom, leaves the *s* of *rāyas* unchanged (reading *rāyasposha-vani*).

नमस्कारोपरः ॥ ३० ॥

30. Also in *namah*, before *karo*.

The examples illustrating the action of the rule are *samvatsarena namas karomi* (v.5.7³), and *ubhayibhyo namas karoti* (ii.6.9⁸; O. reads *karomi*); counter-examples, showing the uselessness of either specification of the rule without the other, are *namah kapardine ca* (iv.5.5^{1,9}; W. omits *ca*; O. omits the example), and *ekahāyanād enah karoti* (vi.6.3¹).

Other instances of *namas karoti* are found at v.5.5^{1,7}; vi.3.8⁴; and of *-vatsarena namas karomi* at v.5.7³ twice, 7⁴ twice.

The printed text has *greyasas karat* and *vasyasas karat* (but, by a strange inconsistency, immediately after, *paçumatah karat*) at i.8.6²; but, as these combinations are unauthorized by the *Prātiçākhya*, and not supported by my manuscript, I do not doubt that the readings are erroneous.

वसुष्कारपरः ॥ ३१ ॥

31. Also in *vasuh*, before *k*.

The passage is *sa idhāno vasush kavih* (iv.4.4⁵), and I have found no other. Counter-examples, of obvious application, are given: *viprah çuciḥ kavih* (i.3.14⁸; 5.5³), *mayi vasuh puro vasuh* (iii.2.10²), and *viçvāvasuh pary amushnāt* (vi.1.6⁵, 11⁵; B., which is quite defective just along here, omits the first word).

नाधरंविश्वतोऽन्तर्गतोविविशुःपरुःपुनः ॥ ३२ ॥

30. *nama ity atra*¹ *visarjanīyah karo ity evamparo yathāvihitam*² *bhajate. yathā*³: *saṁv*-----: *ubhay*-----: *'karo iti kim: namah*-----: *'nama iti kim: ekah*-----⁵.

¹ G. M. O. om. ² G. M. *vidhim*. ³ G. M. O. om.; B. omits to here. ⁴ O. om. ⁵ G. M. put before *ubhay*; B. puts after *ubhay*-----, and om. *karo iti*.

31. *'vasur ity atra visarjanīyah kakāraparo yathāvihitam*² *āpadyate*³. *yathā*⁴: *sa*-----: *vasur iti kim: viprah*-----: *evam-*
para iti kim: mayi-----: *viçvā*-----.

¹ B. om. ² G. M. *-vidhim*. ³ G. M. O. *bhajate*. ⁴ G. M. O. om.

32. Not in *adhvaram viçvatah, antah, jātah, vivicuḥ paruh,* and *punah*.

These words constitute exceptions under the foregoing rules. The commentator specifies in each case under which rule the exception falls. The first example is *yajñam adhvaram viçvatah paribhūr asi* (iv.1.11¹: O. omits the first word, W. B. the last): an exception under viii.24, which would require *viçvatas*; W. B. O. remark that the distinctive addition of *adhvaram* effects the exception, and W. O. add the counter-example *indram vo viçvatas pari* (i.6.12¹). For *antah*, the example is *mahādevam antahpārçvena* (i.4.36: O. omits the first word): an exception under rule 23, *antah* being first member of a compound. For *jātah*, *bhātasya jātah patir eka āsit* (iv.2.8²: O. omits the first word, and alone adds *āsīt*; G. M. omit *ekah* also): an exception under viii.27. For *vivicuḥ paruh*, *yā dvivicuḥ paruhparuh* (iv.2.6⁴); with the counter-example *parushparur anughushyā viçasta* (iv.6.9³: only G. M. have the last word). For *punah*, finally, *punahpunar hy asmāt* (vi.5.1³⁻⁴: only G. M. have *asmāt*). Both these last are exceptions under viii.23.

The versions of the comment to this rule are more than usually discordant, all being defective except W. and O., and even these having suffered considerable disarrangement. For the details, see the various readings below.

धषवति ॥ ३३ ॥

33. Nor before a word containing *dh* or *sh*.

"By vicinage," says the commentator, is understood a negative, in this and the next following rule. The meaning of the rule is that, when a word containing either of the letters *dh* or *sh* follows the *visarjanīya*, the latter is not liable to conversion into *s* or *sh*, as required by the foregoing precepts. The examples given are

32. ----- *eteshām¹ visarjanīyo yathāvihitani² na bhajate³. ya-*
thā⁴: yajñam----- dvirñir⁵ (viii.24) iti prāptih⁶: 'adhvaravi-
çeshanān nivṛtthi⁷: 'adhvaram iti kim: indr-----' mahā-
----- 'kakhapakāra (viii.23) iti prāptih⁸: bhūt-----: patnī-
vepati⁹ (viii.27) iti¹⁰ prāptih⁸: 'yā-----: vivicu¹¹ iti kim: pa-
rush-----: punah-----: kakhapakāraparah¹² (viii.23) ity
ananyoh prāptih¹³.

¹ G. M. *ity eteshu*. ² G. M. *-vidhim*. ³ G. M. O. *āpadyate*. ⁴ G. M. O. om.
⁵ G. M. add *idam*. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ B. G. M. om.; W. O. put next before *vivicuḥ*
iti kim. ⁸ B. om. ⁹ O. om. *pati*; G. M. *patishpatim*. ¹⁰ O. *ity ādinā*. ¹¹ W.
B. O. put after *mohā-----* ¹² G. M. *-ruḥ parur*. ¹³ G. M. O. om. *parah*.

33. *sānnidhyād atra¹ paratra ca² nañartho labhyate. dhaç³*
ca shaç⁴ ca dhashāu: tāv asmint sta iti dhashavat: tasmin dha-
shavati⁵ pade parabhūte sati 'pārvo visarjanīyo' yathāvihitam⁶

bahihparidhi skandāt (ii.6.6² and vi.2.8⁶: the same divisions contain each a second example of the compound), *puruṣahpuruṣho nidhanam* (vi.6.3²: the same division contains a second example of the compound), and *ubhayatahksnūr bhavati* (v.1.1⁴). I have noted besides only *paruṣahparuṣah pari* (iv.2.9²). That the word containing *dh* or *sh* must follow the *visarjanīya*, not be the one that itself ends, in that letter, is shown by the counter-examples *adhaspadam kṛnute* (iv.7.13³), and *ṛtasya jyotishas patim* (i.5.11¹).

परिवाप्रः ॥ ३४ ॥

34. Not before *pari vā* or *pra*.

The examples are *rocand divah pari vājeshu* (iv.2.11¹: only G. M. have the first word)—with the counter-example *divas pari prathamam* (i.3.14⁵ and iv.2.2¹), to show the need of citing *vā* after *pari*—and *tasmād itahpradānam devāh* (iii.2.9⁷: O. omits *devāh*). Of these, the first is an exception under viii.28; the other, under viii.23. There is yet another passage, *bahihprāno vāi manushyah* (vi.1.1⁴), which needs to be brought under the rule; and the commentator accordingly declares that the quotation of *pra* in this rule with short *a* is intended to connote *prā* also—just as, in a rule of the next chapter (ix.24), *athā* connotes *atha* also, by a converse principle. This, however, suggests a difficulty: why then is not rule vii.7, prescribing for *prā* an effect which had already been

nā "padyate. yathā⁸: bahih-----: puru-----: ubhay-----: kakhapakāra⁹ (viii.23) iti prāptih. parabhūta iti kim: adhas-----: ṛtasya-----¹⁰

¹ G. M. ins. ca. ² G. M. O. ins. *sūtre*. ³ G. M. O. *dhakāraṣ*. ⁴ G. M. O. *shakāraṣ*. ⁵ B. G. M. O. om. ⁶ O. om.; G. M. *pūrvav*. ⁷ G. M. *-vidhiḥ*. ⁸ B. G. M. O. om. ⁹ B. *-rapara*. ¹⁰ W. adds *tasminn iti nidishṭe pūrvasya. parivāpravarah*.

34. *pari vā: pra: ¹ evampuro visarjanīyo yathāvihitam² nā "padyate. rocand-----: ve 'ti kim: divas-----: tasmād-----: pre 'ti hrasvagrahaṇam dīrghasyā 'py upalakṣhaṇam: ³ yatho 'dathāparaṣ ca (ix.24) iti dīrghagrahaṇam hrasvasyo 'palakṣhaṇam⁴. tarhi prāpūrvāṣ ca (vii.7) iti sūtram vyartham: pragabdasya⁵ 'nuvṛttasyāi 'va dīrghopalakṣhakatvād⁶: iti cet: ucyate: pratyakṣagṛhītasyāi 'vo 'palakṣhakatvam⁷ nā 'nu-kṛṣṭasye 'ti vijñeyam: 'tathā hi: vāhanauhyamānaḥ (vii.6) ity atra⁸ cakāreṇa pragabdas tatrā 'nu-kṛṣṭaḥ: atra tu⁹ parivā-prapara¹⁰ ity ¹⁰ upalakṣhakatvam¹¹ bhavati. tāthā satī 'dam apy udāharanam: bahih-----*

¹ G. M. ins. *ity*. ² G. M. *-vidhiḥ*. ³ B. ins. ⁴ here, as well as below, in its place. ⁵ G. M. O. *-nam*; B. *hrasvop*. ⁶ G. M. ins. *eva*. ⁷ G. M. *-kṣhaṇatvād*; O. *dīrghagrahaṇasyop*. ⁸ G. M. *-vāt*. ⁹ G. M. om. ¹⁰ G. M. *vā*. ¹¹ G. M. ins. *pra-para iti pratyakṣagṛhītavād*; O. ins. *pratyakṣagṛhītavād*. ¹² G. M. *-kṣhaṇam*.

prescribed for *pra*, a superfluity? Because, is the reply, such connotation is only proper in the case of a word directly cited, not of one that is brought forward by implication merely: and in rule vii.6 the *pra* was thus brought forward [from rule 4], in virtue of the *ca*, 'and,' contained in the rule: whereas here the *pra* is expressly mentioned. This seems a case of rather questionable interpretation.

न निर्ण निः ॥३५॥

35. Not so with *nih*.

That is, as the commentator explains it, the exception established by the preceding rule does not hold good in the case of *nih*, which is treated as prescribed in rule 24, even before *pra*. The cases instanced in illustration of the rule are both of a doubtful character: the one is a *jatā*-reading, *prāñcāu nir nish prāñcāu prāñcāu nih* (vi.4.10²), the other an extract from the ending of the same *anuvāka* (vi.4.10), *ātmanā parā nish pra śukraśocishā*, these words being those which end respectively the first four divisions of the *anuvāka*. We shall find other quotations of the endings later; and their appearance is at least decisive of the recognition by the commentator of the breaking up of the *anuvākas* into divisions of fifty words each, whatever we may have to believe respecting its recognition by the Prāṭicākhya. We are not, however, to take for granted that even the commentator accepted the division as now made in our manuscripts, involving a suspension of continuity of the *samhitā*-text after each fiftieth word: there was probably at first a mere enumeration made, with an expression of its results at the end of the *anuvāka*. The endings, as may be seen in the Calcutta edition, are carefully accented, and written according to the rules of combination as laid down by the Prāṭicākhya. The same rules are followed in the *jatā*-text; and hence, as (by rule vii.2, above) *nih* converts the following initial *n* into *ñ* in *samhitā*, so does it also in the repetitions of the *jatā* (*nir nish*). As a yet farther consequence, it has the same effect in the rules of the Prāṭicākhya, and I have therefore accepted the reading *na* instead of *na* in the repetition of the present rule, although it is supported only by T. and W.

35. *nir ity atra visarjanīyasya*¹ *praparatve*² *'pi śhatvanishedho na bhavati: śhatvam eva bhavati* *'ty arthaḥ. prāñ-....: ātm-*

*iti tribhāshyaratne prāṭicākhyavivarane*³
ashtamo 'dhyāyah.

¹ O. *niyah.* ² O. *prapare.* ³ O. *ins. prathamapraṇe.*

CHAPTER IX.

CONTENTS: 1-6, treatment of final *h* before initial surd letters; 7-10, treatment of final *ah* and *dh*; 11-15, of final diphthongs before initial vowels; 16-17, of the particle *u*; 18-19, duplication of final *ñ* and *n*; 20-24, conversion of final *ān*, *īn*, *ūn*, to *āñ*, *īñ*, *ūñ*.

उष्मपरो ऽघोषपरे लुप्यते काण्डमायनस्य ॥ १ ॥

1. *Visarjanīya*, when followed by a spirant which has a surd letter after it, is dropped, according to Kāṇḍamāyana.

The commentator, after a brief paraphrase of the rule, gives a couple of examples to illustrate its working: namely, *catustandām karoti* (v.1.6⁴; p. *catuḥ-standām*), and *vāyava stho 'pāyava stha* (i.1.1). The mention of Kāṇḍamāyana is declared to be made on account of a difference of views: others, namely, hold that *h* is dropped before a spirant that is followed by a sonant letter as well, as *adbhya svāhā* (i.8.13³), *ye cūklā syus tam* (ii.3.1³: W. B. omit *tam*), *yo hatāmanā svayampāpāh* (ii.2.8³: O. omits *yo*; G. M. omit *pāpāh*), and *dānakāmā me prajā syuh* (ii.2.8³; 3.4¹: O. omits the first word; G. M., the first two). I am not sure that I understand the consideration further alleged, in view of which it is decided that "the rule is all right;" it appears to be that, reference having thus been made to a discordance of views, those words will be hereafter specified in which there is omission made under any other prescription—but what this refers to, I am unable to see.

Every MS. that I have reads '*ghoshaparo* as second word in the rule: but the comment so plainly implies the reading *-pare*, and the sense so obviously requires it, that I have ventured its adoption.

Although the prescription here given is put upon the authority of an individual, it is pretty evidently to be regarded as definitely

1. *ūshmaparo visarjanīyah kāṇḍamāyanasya mate lupyate tasminn ūshmany aghoshavatpare¹ sati. yathā: catu-----: vāy----- kāṇḍamāyanagrahanam² vikalpārtham: anyeshām mate ghoshavatpare³ py ūshmaṇi visarjanīyo lupyate: yathā: adbhya-----: ye-----: yo-----: dāna----- evaṁ ca vikalpāgrāyaṇe⁴ sati lakṣaṇāntaragatam⁵ yeshu padeshu lupyate tāni padāni vakshyāma⁶ iti vacanam saralam bhavati.*

*ūshma paro yasmād 'asāv ūshmaparah⁷: na ghoshavān agho-
shah: asāv' paro yasmāt 'sa tathoktah⁸: tasminn aghoshapare.*

¹ G. M. O. om. *val.* ² G. M. -*yanasya gr.* ³ W. -*grāyaṇe*; O. -*grāyagrahane*; G. M. -*lpāntare*. ⁴ W. O. -*nātara*. ⁵ G. M. O. *prav.* ⁶ G. M. *su tatho 'ktah*. ⁷ G. M. om. ⁸ G. M. om.

adopted and taught by the Prātiśākhya, and is usually (not without occasional exceptions) conformed to by the edition of the Sanhitā, and by my manuscripts both of that and of the Prātiśākhya and its commentary. I have, therefore, treated it as peremptory, and have everywhere governed by it the readings I have accepted. The same omission is prescribed by the Rik and Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhyas, but not by the Atharvan (see Ath. Pr. ii.40, note).

अधोषपरस्तस्य सस्थानमूष्माणम् ॥ २ ॥

2. Followed by a surd letter, it becomes the spirant of like position with that letter.

The commentator's examples are: *yax kāmāyeta* (ii.1.2³ et al.; O. reads *-yate*); *agniṣ ca me* (iv.7.6¹: O. omits this and the next example), *ulūkaṣ caṣaḥ* (v.5.18), *agniṣ te tejah* (i.1.10³ and vii.5.17: O. leaves out *tē*), and *yax pāpmanā gṛhātah* (ii.1.3⁵, 4⁶: W. leaves off the first word; G. M. O. omit the last).

The requirements of this rule are by no means complied with by the manuscripts, nor have I followed them in the present work. In the first place, no manuscript that I possess, or have ever seen, attempts to represent any such sounds as the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* (see i.9), or *χ* and *φ*; for these, *visarjanīya* is universally substituted, as if the sect of Āgniveṣya and Vālmīki (see rule 4, below) had supplanted all its rivals; and, in the second place, the agreement to leave *visarjanīya* unchanged before a sibilant (according to the view of the authorities referred to below, in rule 5) is nearly as general. In my MS. of the Sanhitā, I have noted about thirty cases of conversion to a sibilant, in place of unchanged retention, and they are nearly all in a single limited neighborhood (in iv.5), where a different scribe has developed his originality a little. As is hinted above, in the introduction, however, G. and M. make with great regularity the assimilation of *h* to the following sibilant; O. does it not infrequently; the others, almost never.

I have put together, in the note to Ath. Pr. ii.40, a statement of the variously conflicting views respecting the treatment of *h* before the different classes of surd letters held by the different Prātiśākhyas, or referred to in their rules; and it is unnecessary to repeat it here. The sole point upon which all authorities agree is the conversion into *ç* and *s* before palatal and dental mutes respectively—and this is also the only point left unquestioned by the rules which follow here in our treatise.

न क्षपरः ॥ ३ ॥

2. *aghoshaparo visarjanīyas tasyā 'ghoshasya sasthanam āshmanam bhajate. yax-----: 'agniṣ-----: ulū-----: agniṣ-----: yax-----.*

(³) O. om.

3. But not when followed by *ksh*.

That is to say, *visarjanīya* remains unchanged before *ksh*, the preceding rule for its conversion to *jīhvāmūliya* being annulled. There is nothing corresponding to the usage here prescribed in either of the other treatises. The commentator quotes a number of examples: *manah ksheme* (v.2.1⁷), *ubhayataḥkshnār bhavati* (v.1.1⁴: W. B. omit *bhavati*: the *visarjanīya* was exempted from conversion into *s* before the *k* by viii.33), *ghanāghanah kshobhanah* (iv.6.4¹), *pārvo 'rshtuḥ kshīyate* (iii.1.7¹), and *dyāuḥ kshāmā rerihat* (iv.2.1²: O. omits the last word).

कपवर्गपरश्चाग्निवेश्यवाल्मीक्योः ॥ ४ ॥

4. Nor, according to Āgñiveṣya and Vālmīki, when followed by a guttural or a labial mute.

The two authorities here specified (the commentator calls them "holders of a *śākhā*, teachers"), it appears, reject altogether the *jīhvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya*, since they prescribe the retention of *visarjanīya* in the only situations where those problematical sounds are liable to arise. The commentator quotes a couple of illustrative passages: *yah kāmayeta* (ii.1.2³ et al.), and *agnih paçur āsīt* (v.7.26: O. has dropped out what follows *agnih*). Then, to show that on other points these heterodox persons accept our rule 2, he cites *madhuç ca mādhuvaç ca* (i.4.14 and iv.4.11¹), *manas tatvāya* (iv.1.1¹: but B. substitutes *namas talpyāya*, iv.5.9¹), *āçuç śiçānah* (iv.6.4¹), *yas somam vāmīti* (ii.3.2⁶).

उष्मपर एवैकेषामाचार्याणाम् ॥ ५ ॥

5. According to some authorities, not when followed by a spirant, and only then.

I believe there can be no real doubt as to the meaning of this rule, although it is not very explicitly interpreted by the commen-

3. *kshaparo visarjanīyaḥ pārvavidhīm na bhajate. yathā:*
man-----: ubhay-----: ghanā-----: pārv-----: dyāuḥ-----
kshakārasya 'ghoshavattvāt prāptih.

¹ G. M. O. om.

4. 'cakāro nīshedham ākarshati. āgñiveṣyavālmīkyoḥ' śākhī-
nor ācāryayor' mate 'kavargaparah pavargaparo vā' pārvavi-
dhīm 'nā' padyate. *yah-----: agnih-----: kakāraç ca pakā-*
raç ca kapāu: tayor vargāu kapavargāu: tāu pardu yasmāt sa
tathoktaḥ. evampara iti kim: madhuç-----: manas-----: āçuç
-----: yas-----.

(¹) G. M. om.; O. caçabdo nañākarshakah: āgn-. (²) O. om. (³) O. kapavargaparo
visarjanīyaḥ. (⁴) O. na bhajate. (⁵) O. kavargaç ca pavargaç ca.

tator, and although G. M. O. omit the negative in the interpretation (I presume, by a copyist's blunder only). Some authorities, who do not, like Āgniveṅya and Vālmīki, refuse to accept the *jīhvāmūliya* and *upadhmnīya*, nevertheless deny the doctrine of rule 2 to this extent—that they prescribe the retention of *visarjanīya*, not its assimilation, before a sibilant. Thus, they would write *ācuḥ śiśānaḥ* (iv.6.4¹). G. M., as is their constant custom, write here *ācuḥ*; and so does O., as is its common, though far from invariable, usage: but this means nothing; for we have no good reason to expect the manuscripts of the commentary to conform themselves in any such case to a reading which will truly illustrate the matter in hand; they simply make the *sandhi* in the manner usual with them: for example, under rule 2, no MS. attempts to indicate the *χ* and *φ*, and W. B. give the *h* instead of the sibilant before the sibilant.

If we reject this interpretation, our sole alternative is, so far as I can see, to hold that some authorities would accept rule 2 only so far as it relates to *h* before a sibilant, but would retain *h* everywhere else, even reading *agnih te tejah*, *agnih ca me*. This seems altogether inadmissible. Yet we must acknowledge that it is to some extent favored by the commentator's selection of counter-examples, namely *manas tatvāya* (iv.1.1¹: but B. substitutes again *namas talpyāya*, iv.5.9¹), and *yah kāmāyeta* (ii.1.2³ et al.). According to our preferred interpretation, there would be no particular reason for quoting the former of these, since the combination it illustrates has been made a question by no one: according to the other, it would be required (in the form *manah tatvāya*), to show what these dissidents held should be done in such a case.

न प्राक्षिप्राक्षायणयोः ॥ ६ ॥

6. Not according to Plākshi and Plākshāyana.

The natural interpretation of this rule would seem to be, that Plākshi and Plākshāyana are not of the number of those who hold the objectionable doctrine of the last rule, or of the last two rules. If, however, I rightly apprehend the commentator, he declares it

5. *ekeshām ācāryānām mata āshmapara eva visarjanīyah pārvaividhim na¹ bhajate. yathā²: ācuḥ..... evakāreṇa kim: manas.....³ yaχ.....³*

¹ G. M. O. om. ² G. M. O. om. ³ G. M. om.

6. *kapavargapara¹ āshmaparaḥ ca visarjanīyah plākshiplākshāyanayoh śākhinoḥ² pakshe na khalu pārvaividhim bhajate. yah..... yah..... ācuḥ..... evampara iti kim: manas.....³ kapavargādi sūtratrāyam anishtam.³*

¹ O. *kavargaparah pavargaparaḥ ca*. ² G. M. om. ³ G. M. prefix *evam*, and put the whole at the end of the comment on the preceding rule; they also omit rule 6.

to mean "in the opinion of these two authorities, it does not—that is, *h* does not follow the prescription of rule 2 either before a guttural or palatal mute or before a spirant." This is equivalent to a ratification of rule 4, and a ratification or rejection of rule 5, according as we adopt the one or the other of the two interpretations proposed for the latter; and it is, in my view, quite unsuited to the connection. The discordant explanations of some of the other views of designated authorities given in the rules of the treatise show us that the commentators had not in all cases, at least, any certain knowledge by tradition of the matters referred to, but simply interpreted as well as they were able the notices of their text-book—and we have the same right as they in this respect. If the particular point here under discussion were of more practical consequence, I should be inclined to go into a fuller discussion of it; as the case stands, it has perhaps cost us already more words than it is worth.

The commentator illustrates by repeating several of the quotations already given—namely *yah kāmāyeta* (ii.1.2³ et al.), *yah pāpmanā* (ii.1.3⁵ et al.), *ācuḥ śiśānaḥ* (iv.6.4¹): these as direct examples; as counter-example, according to W. O., *manas tatvāya* (iv.1.1¹), for which B. once more substitutes *namas tatpyāya* (iv.5.9¹), while G. M. read *agniḥ ca me* (iv.7.6¹)—the readings of which, as regards the *visarjanīya*, each manuscript gives in its usual fashion (except that W. has this time *ācuḥ śiśānaḥ*, by a blundering divergence in the wrong direction), so that we are deprived of any farther aid from that quarter to the understanding of the rule.

Finally, rules 4–6 are declared not approved.

श्रीकारमः सर्वो ङ्कारपरः ॥७॥

7. *Ah*, the whole of it, when followed by *a*, becomes *o*.

The commentator's cited examples are *preddho agne* (iv.6.5⁴ and v.4.7³), *samiddho añjan* (v.1.11¹), and so *bravit* (ii.1.2¹ et al.). He then enters into a long exposition intended to prove the necessity of the specification *sarvaḥ*, 'the whole of it,' in the rule. Without it, we are told, the reading *samiddho añjan* (in the second example given) would not be established: for, by i.56, alteration and omission concern only a single letter; hence, if *sarvaḥ* were omitted, only the final *visarjanīya* would be converted to *o*; this, with the preceding *a*, would become *du* by x.7; the *du* would

7. *aḥsarvo visarjanīya* 'otvam' bhajate 'kāraparaḥ': *aḥsarva ity akāreṇa sāhe* 'ty arthah. *pre-----: sam-----: so----- aḥsarva iti kim: samiddho añjann iti na sidhyet*: *kiṁ tu varṇasya vikāralopāva* (i.56) *iti visarjanīyamātrasya syād otvam: tata okārāṅkāraparaḥ* (x.7) *ity āukāre kṛta āukāra dvam* (ix.15) *ity āuādeṣaḥ: tathā sati* 'samiddhāv añjann iti syāt. 'yad vā': 'svaraparo yakāram (ix.10) *iti yatvam* '.

be converted into *av* by ix.15, and the final reading would be *samiddhāv añjan*. Or, again [supposing the present rule not to be given], the *visarjanīya* would become *y* by ix.10, the *y* would be dropped by x.19, the preceding *a* would be exempted from further combination by x.25, and the *samhitā*-reading would turn out *samiddha añjan*.

The Ath. Pr. (ii.53) avoids the same difficulty by prescribing the conversion of the *h* into *u*, which then combines with the preceding *a* into *o*. The other treatises (Rik Pr. ii.12; Vāj. Pr. iv.42) treat the combination in the same manner as our own. What becomes of the following *a* is taught in the eleventh and twelfth chapters.

घाषवत्परश्च ॥ ८ ॥

8. Also when followed by a sonant consonant.

Only one example of this combination is cited, namely *mā no mitro varunah* (iv.6.8¹: G. M. O. omit the last word).

The commentator raises against this rule the objection that, as prescribing the same thing with the one preceding, it should not have been made a separate rule at all; and, in reply, he promises that the exposition of the meaning of *tu* in the next rule shall explain the reason of the proceeding.

अवर्णपूर्वस्तु लुप्यते ॥ ९ ॥

9. But *visarjanīya*, when preceded by an *a*-vowel, is omitted.

In these rules, from 7 to 10 inclusive, the *anuvṛtti*, or continuance of implication, is intricate and irregular in an unusual degree, and even beyond the measure of what ought to be tolerated. The implication of *visarjanīya* being made all the way from viii.5 to

bhavati: tasmiñś ca lupyete tv avarṇapūrvāu yavakārāv (x.19) *iti yakāre*¹⁰ *lupte paraś ca paraś ca* (x.25) *iti*¹¹ *kāryāntarāprasiddheh*¹² *samiddha*¹³ *añjann ity syāt: tan mā bhād ity*¹⁴ *evam arthah*¹⁵: *aḥsarva*¹⁶ *ity uktam*.

¹ G. M. om., and ins. *apy*. ² G. M. *okāram*. ³ G. M. put at the beginning. ⁴ G. M. *sahito visarjanīya*. ⁵ O. *sidhyati*. ⁶ B. G. M. om. ⁽⁷⁾ G. M. *kim ca*; O. *kim tu*. ⁸ G. M. O. ins. *atha*. ⁹ G. M. O. ins. *vā*. ¹⁰ G. M. O. om. ¹¹ O. ins. *sūtreṇa*. ¹² G. M. *-prasakte*; O. *-prasaktiḥ tathā sati*. ¹³ W. *-ddho*; B. *-ddhau*. ¹⁴ G. M. om. ⁽¹⁵⁾ G. M. O. om.; B. om. *evam*. ¹⁶ B. om. *aḥ*.

8. *cakāra*¹ *okāram aḥsarvam cā* *nvādicati*. *aḥ*² *sarvo ghosha-vatpara*³ *otvam bhajate*. *yathā*⁴: *mā*....., *namu vidhāu samāne prthakkaranam*⁵ *anarthakam iti cet: uttarasūtre tuṣabdavyākhyānena*⁶ *sphuṭīkarishyata*⁷ *iti parihārah*.

¹ G. M. put next before *nvādicati*. ² O. om. ³ G. M. O. *-raś ca*. ⁴ G. M. O. om. ⁵ G. M. *-ksūtrak*.. ⁶ G. M. *-khyāne*. ⁷ W. O. *-shya*.

ix.10 (as pointed out in the comment to viii.5), rule 7 of this chapter ought to teach that “*visarjanīya*, when preceded by *a*, becomes *o* along with the latter, when *a* follows:” instead of which a new subject, “the whole syllable *aḥ*,” is introduced there; and *visarjanīya*, being thus replaced by something else in rules 7 and 8, ought to drop out of view altogether, or, if needed further, to be distinctly specified over again. But we find it implied without specification in the present rule; and, farther, the being followed by a sonant consonant is brought down “by vicinage” from rule 8, while the *tu*, ‘but,’ the commentator says, merely annuls the being followed by *a*, as specified in rule 7. This is little less than absurd: if the sequence of *a* was to be annulled at all, it should have been so in rule 8—or, rather, it was annulled by rule 8, and needs to be made no further account of. The *tu* is here, as often elsewhere, a simple sign of a change of subject, and the commentator’s attempt to give it a precise significance is—also, as often elsewhere—a failure. Our rule means, by its terms, that *aḥ*, *āḥ*, and *āṣḥ* lose their *ḥ* before a sonant consonant; only, as *aḥ* was already specially provided for by rule 8, it virtually applies only to *āḥ* and *āṣḥ*. The statement is thus made more general than is needed for the case in hand, because the whole implication of “preceded by an *a*-vowel” is needed for rule 10, which is to teach that *aḥ*, *āḥ*, and *āṣḥ* before a vowel—here, again, with the exception of *aḥ* before *a*, already provided for—convert their *ḥ* into *y*, preliminary to dropping it altogether, by x.19. But rule 10 presents a more anomalous combination of two heterogeneous matters into one precept than is easily to be paralleled elsewhere in the Prātiśākhya. It is really made up of two independent parts: one, *atha svaraparāḥ*, ‘Now then, when followed by a vowel,’ which is an introductory heading having force through this chapter and the next; the other, *visarjanīyo yakāram*, ‘*ḥ* becomes *y*,’ and their combination is made in order that the implication of *visarjanīya* and also of *avarṇapūrva* may be made from what precedes, and may not require to be distinctly stated.

The commentator’s examples of the application of the rule are *devā gātuvidah* (i.1.13³; 4.44³: vi.6.2³), and *vicityāḥ somās na vicityās iti* (vi.1.9¹; *somās* for *somāṣḥ*, by protraction from *somaḥ*: G. M. omit the last two words, O. the last three). He adds, as his exposition of the connection of the rule, that the express spe-

9. *avarṇapūrvo ghoshavatparaḥ tu¹ visarjanīyo lupyate: hrasvapūrvasyāḥ² kārā³ eva dīrghapūrvasya³ plutapūrvasya ca lopah. yathā: devā----: viḡ----- okāram aḥ sarvo⁴ kārāparāḥ (ix. 7) ity akārāparatvam pratyakṣam tuṣabdena nivartyā⁴ nūmānikam ghoshavatparatvam pariḡrhyate sāmīnidhyāt: asyā⁴ nuvartanam evā⁴ bhāṣitam atre⁴ ti pūrvasūtradvayaśya⁴ prthak-karanam.*

¹ W. ina. *saḥ*. ² B. G. M. *vikāra*. ³ B. -*rva*; O. -*gha*. ⁴ G. M. -*trasya*.

cification of sequence by *a*, made in rule 7, is annulled by the word *tu*, and that an inferential sequence by a sonant consonant is assumed by vicinage [from rule 8]; and that the implication here of the latter only is the reason why rules 7 and 8 are given independently of one another. That is to say, such is the easiest way of arriving at the result desired, that the *h* of *āh* and *āṣh* is not directly dropped before *a*, but passes through the intermediate step of conversion into *y*, as before the other vowels.

अथ स्वरपरो यकारम् ॥ १० ॥

10. When followed by a vowel, it becomes *y*.

That is to say, *visarjanīya* does so, if preceded by an *a*-vowel (rule 9)—except in the case of *āh* followed by *a* (rule 7). And, as is intimated by the prefixion of *atha*, the specification “followed by a vowel” is of force also in the following rules (through chapter x.). I have remarked in the preceding note upon the anomalousness of this rule, as striving to fuse into one the winding-up of one subject and the introduction of another. It has not seemed possible to render the *atha* excepting by a longer and more tedious paraphrase than I was willing to introduce; accordingly, I have left it out in translating the precept.

The commentator's examples are *āpa undantu jīvase* (i.2.1¹: G. M. O. omit *jīvase*), *tā abruvan* (ii.3.5²; 5.1⁵), and *anvārabhyās iti* (vi.3.8¹; *anvārabhyās* for *anvārabhyāṣh*, by protraction from *anvārabhyāḥ*); and he gives further, as counter-examples, *āpo varunasya* (v.5.4¹: a not unexceptionably selected example, since *āpāḥ* even before a vowel might not follow the present rule), and *agnir ekākshareṇa* (i.7.11¹: a case under viii.6, as the preceding under ix.8).

This conversion of *visarjanīya* into *y* is only the preliminary step to its complete loss, by rule x.19. The same course of conversion is followed by the Atharvan and Vājasaneyi Prāṭicākhyas (Ath. Pr. ii.41; Vāj. Pr. iv.36), but not by that of the Rik (ii.9,10).

एकारो ज्यम् ॥ ११ ॥

11. *E*, before a vowel, becomes *ay*.

10. 'athaṣabdo 'dhikārārthah': svarah paro yasmād asdu' svaraparah. ita uttaram yad ucyate³ svarapara ity evam tatra nimittatvenā 'dhikṛtaṁ veditavyam'. sāmniidhyād avarṇapūrva⁴ iti lubhyate: svaraparo visarjanīyo 'varṇapūrvo' yakāram' āpad-yate. yathā⁵: āpa..... tā..... anvā..... svarapara iti kim: āpo..... avarṇapūrva iti kim: agnir.....

⁽¹⁾ G. M. *athe* 'ty ayam adhikārah; O. -kārah. ⁽²⁾ O. so 'yam. ⁽³⁾ G. M. *vakshyā-mah*. ⁽⁴⁾ G. M. O. *jñātavyam*. ⁽⁵⁾ O. om. *pūrva*. ⁽⁶⁾ G. M. put before *svraparav*. ⁽⁷⁾ O. *yatvam*. ⁽⁸⁾ O. om.

Of which, then, the *y* is lost by x.19, leaving only *a*; and this, by x.25, is not liable to further combination. The commentator's examples are *ima evā 'smāi* (ii.4.10³), and *ta enam bhishajyanti* (ii.3.11⁴).

ओकारो ऽवम् ॥ १२ ॥

12. *O* becomes *av*.

The example is *vishnav e 'hā 'dam* (ii.4.12³). For the further treatment of the *v* thus produced, see x.19 and the following rules.

नाकारपरौ ॥ १३ ॥

13. But not, in either case, when followed by *a*.

The dual number of the attribute in this rule, we are told, sufficiently shows that the two letters *e* and *o*, last mentioned, are its subject. There are two different rules in the treatise applying to the case of a final *e* or *o* coming to stand before initial *a*—namely rule 11, above [or rule 12], and rule xi.1, which directs that the latter shall be elided—and, since the rules of this chapter are of paramount force, as preceding the other, the present precept is required in order to annul them.

The commentator's examples are *mā te asyām* (i.6.12⁵), *samid-dho aṅjan* (v.1.11¹), and *te 'bruvan* (ii.5.1³ et al.).

ऐकार आयम् ॥ १४ ॥

14. *Āi* becomes *āy*.

11. '*visrshṭo visarjanīyah*'. *idam*² *idānīm ucyate: svaraparāḥ padānta*³ *ekaro 'yam iti vikāram āpadyate. ima-----: ta-----*

⁽¹⁾ G. M. *visargo nirvṛtāḥ*; O. *visargo vinirgataḥ*. ² G. M. om. ³ W. -*taḥ*; B. -*te*.

12. *svaparāḥ*¹ *padānta okāro 'vam iti*² *vikāram āpadyate. yathā*³: *vish-----*

¹ G. M. *svarah*. ² B. G. M. O. om. ³ W. B. G. M. om.

13. *dvivacanasāmartyagṛhītāv*¹ *ekārūkārāv akāraparāu*² *pūrvavidhīm*³ *na prāpnutāḥ. yathā*⁴: *mā-----: sam-----: te-----: ity ādāv ekāro 'yam* (ix.11) ⁵ *lupyate tv akāra ekārūkārāpūrvāḥ* (xi.1) *iti* ⁶ *sūtradhvayam prasaktam: tatrā 'pi pūrvatvāt prabalam* ⁷ *yatvavidhīm nisheddhum ayam ārambhāḥ. akārah paro yābhyān tāv akāraparāu.*

¹ B. G. M. O. -*ityāt gr-*; and G. M. O. add *sannihitāv*. ² G. M. O. om. ³ G. M. om. *pūrvā*. ⁴ G. M. om. ⁵ G. M. ins. *iti ca*; O. ins. *iti*. ⁶ G. M. O. ins. *ca*. ⁷ O. ins. *ekārasya*.

The example is *āsāmahā eve 'māu dvādaśāu māsāu* (vii.5.2¹: B. omits the last word, G. M. O. the last two).

To complete the *sandhi*, also, which is the subject of this rule and its successor, rule x.19 is needed.

अकार आवम् ॥ १५ ॥

15. *Āu* becomes *āv*.

The example is *ahāv anadatā hate* (v.6.1²).

उकारो ऽपृक्तः प्रकृत्या वकारो ऽन्तरे ॥ १६ ॥

16. An *u*, uncombined with a consonant, remains unchanged, and *v* is inserted between it and the following vowel.

The definition of *apṛkta* was given above, at i.54, and such a word was directed to be treated both as initial and as final (i.55). This rule makes an exception for the particle *u*, which becomes *uv* before a vowel—which, moreover, never occurs after an *a*-vowel except as combined with it, forming part of the class of *pragrahas* in *o* which were treated above, in rules iv.6,7. The examples given are *sa uv ekaviṅśavartimāḥ* (iv.3.3²), and *adanty uv evā'sya manushyāḥ* (ii.3.7⁴): I have noted further only iv.6.9⁴, but am not sure that I have been careful to mark all the cases. As counter-examples, *svapatyāya deva* (v.5.4⁴; p. *su-apatyāya*) shows that the *u* must be *apṛkta*, and *bhakshe 'hi* (iii.2.5¹), that no other *apṛkta* vowel than *u* is thus treated.

न तत्तस्मात्साहितः ॥ १७ ॥

17. But not in *sañhitā*-text, after *tat* and *tasmāt*.

The passages are *tad v āhur utsrjyam* (vii.5.7¹: O. omits after *āhuh*), and *tasmād v āgyam* (vi.1.11⁶). So far as I have observed, these are the only instances which the text affords of *u* following

14. *svaraparāḥ padānta' ākāra āyam vikāram āpadyate. yathā': āsām-----*

¹ B. G. M. -nte. ² G. M. O. om.

15. *'ukārah padāntaḥ' svaraparā' āvañ vikāram āpadyate. yathā': ahāv-----*

¹ B. -nte. ⁽²⁾ G. M. invert the order. ³ G. M. O. om.

16. *apṛktasamjñaka' 'ukārah svaraparāḥ' prakṛtyā 'v thate: avikṛto' bhavati 'ty arthaḥ: ukārasvarayor antare ' raḥ cā 'gamo' bhavati. yathā': sa-----: adanty-----*
iti kim: sva-----: ukāra iti kim: bhak-----

¹ G. M. -jñā. ⁽²⁾ G. M. ukārasvaḥ. ³ G. M. -kāro. ⁽⁴⁾ O. vakārāg'. ⁵ G. M. om.

a consonant and preceding a vowel. Compare the similar rules in the other treatises (Rik Pr. ii.28; Vāj. Pr. iv.87; Ath. Pr. iii.36). The preceding precept being thus annulled with reference to these two cases, they fall under the general rule x.15, and the *u*, like any final, is converted into *v*. To show the bearing of the specification *sāṃhitā*, 'in combined text,' the commentator gives us the two passages in *pada* and *krama* form: thus—*tat: u: āhuh: tad u: uv āhuh: āhur utsrjyam* (but G. M. O. give simply the first two *krama-pada*'s), and *tasmāt: u: āgyam: tasmād u: uv āgyam* (here only W. has the statement in *pada*). It thus appears that the combination with the preceding consonant is indispensable to the treatment of the *u* as here prescribed; failing that, it falls under the preceding rule, and becomes *uv*.

ह्रस्वपूर्वे उकारो द्विवर्णम् ॥ १८ ॥

18. A *ū*, when preceded by a short vowel, is doubled.

That is to say, when another vowel follows—the heading *atha svaraparāḥ* (ix.10) still continuing in force. The commentator adds also "when occurring at the end of a *pada*," as he has done in his paraphrase of the preceding rules: this is a matter of course, as we are dealing only with the conversion of *pada*-text into *sāṃhitā*. His illustrative examples are *nyāññ agniḥ* (v.5.3²), and *tam u tvā dadhyāññ ṛṣiḥ* (iv.1.3² and v.1.4⁴: only G. M. have the first two words). That the preceding vowel must be short, he shows by *parāñ ā vartate* (iii.2.9⁷ and vi.3.8³); that a vowel must follow, by *sadrūk samāndih syāt* (ii.2.8⁶: only O. has the last word; only B. G. M. have the inserted *k*, required by v.32, and G. M. convert it to *kh*, by xiv.12), and *pratyāñk shad-ahāḥ* (vii.4.2⁵: here all have the *k*, but only G. M. make it *kh*).

17. *tat tasmād ity' etābhyāñ sāṃhitā ukāro 'prktaḥ pūrvavi-dhīn nā "pnoti": prakṛtyāvasthānañ vakāraḥ ca na bhavati 'ty arthaḥ. tad-----: tasmād----- ivarṇokārāu yavakārāv (x.15) iti daṣame 'sya' vidhir vakshyate. tat tasmāt sāṃhitā iti kim: tat-----: tasm-----.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. "padyate; O. prāpn-. ³ G. M. O. -rāgamaḥ. ⁴ O. -ma. ⁵ B. tasya. ⁶ O. ins. tasya purastādapavādo 'yam.

18. *'svaraparo ṇakārah padāntavartī hrasvapūrvō¹ dvivarnam bhajate. yathā²: nyāññ-----: tam----- hrasvapūrvā iti kim: par-----: svarapara iti kim: sad-----: praty----- hrasvaḥ pūrvō yasmād asdu hrasvapūrvāḥ: dvayor varṇayor samāhāro dvivarnam.*

¹ G. M. arrange hr- sv- pad- ṇak-. ² G. M. O. ins. dvitvam. ³ G. M. om.

नकारश्च ॥ १९ ॥

19. As does also a *n*.

The *a* in this rule brings down, we are told, the preceding cause of duplication and the duplication itself. The cited examples are *nir avapann indrāya* (ii.4.2²), and *abruvann ṛdhnavat* (i.5.1²). The counter-examples, given for the same purposes as those under the preceding rule, are *niravapan yāny eva puras-tāt* (ii.4.1²: O. omits the last two words), *omamvati te 'smim* (ii.6.9⁵: O. omits the last word), *yān agnayo 'nvatapyanta* (iii.2.8³: O. omits the last word; G. M. omit the whole example), and *vidvān etam agnim cinute* (v.6.5³). The commentator does not give himself the trouble this time to inquire why two rules are furnished to prescribe a single process: the reason is, evidently, because continued implication of *n* only is desired in the rules that follow.

अनितिपरो ग्रहोऽख्ययाज्यापृथ्यहिरण्यवर्णयिष्ठीकारो- कारपूर्वा रफमाकारपूर्वश्च यकारम् ॥ २० ॥

20. In *graha*, *ukhya*, *yājyā*, *prsthya*, and *hiranyavarṇīya* passages, a *n* preceded by *i* or *ū* becomes *r*, preceded by *ā* becomes *y*, except before *iti*.

The remainder of the chapter is occupied with rules respecting these conversions of a final *n* after *ā*, *i*, and *ū* before an initial vowel—conversions of which the original ground is the same with that which causes the combinations *ñce*, *ñst* to result from the collision of *n* with *c* and *t* (vi.20, vi.14), namely the partial retention of an original *s* which followed the *n* as part of the declensional termination of the word. See note to Ath. Pr. ii.27 for a full statement of the teachings of the other Prātiśākhyas respecting them. The conversion of *n* to *y* is equivalent to its omission, since the *y* is dropped by x.19. Rules xv.1-3 are also needed to complete the combinations intended, by the nasalization of the preceding vowel, or the insertion of *anusvāra* after it.

19. *cakārah pūrvanimittam¹ dvitvam cā 'nvādiṣati. hrasva-pūrho nakāro dvivarṇam² bhajate³ svaraparah. nir.....: abr..... evampara iti kim: nir.....: oman.....: evampūrva iti kim: yān.....: vid.....*

¹ G. M. *pūrvoktan*. ² G. M. O. *dvitvam*. ³ G. M. *āpadyate*.

20. *grahokhyādishu¹ vishayeshu ikārapūrva ukārapūrvo vā cakārahkrshṭo nakāro 'nitipara² itivyatiriktasvaraparo³ repḥam āpadyate: ākārapūrvaṣ ced yakāram. graho nāma caturo 'nvā-*

As in other similar cases, the commentator, after his preliminary paraphrase of the rule, proceeds first to define the passages of the Sanhitā designated by the titles it contains. By *graha* is meant the fourth chapter of the first book, excepting its last four sections—or i.4.1–42. By *ukhya*, the first two chapters of the “Agni” book (see iii.9), excepting their final sections (which are *yājyā*)—or iv.1.1–10; 2.1–10. The *yājyās* have been already defined (iii.9, note), as the concluding sections of all the chapters to book fourth, chapter third, together with ii.6.11. By *prsthya* are intended nine sections, pointed out by the citation of the first words of each: they are iv.4.12; 6.6–9; 7.15: v.1.11; 2.11; 2.12. *Hiranyavarnīya* designates only a single section, v.6.1. Examples are then given from each set of passages. From *graha* passages, we have *jahi śatrūñr apa mrdho nudasva* (i.4.42), and *murutvāñ indra vṛshabhah* (i.4.19: G. M. O. omit the last word): there are four other cases, at i.4.20 twice, 21, 41. From *ukhya* passages, *ye vā vanaspatiñr annu* (iv.2.8³), and *madhumāñ astu sūryah* (iv.2.9³): there are ten others, at iv.1.3³ twice, 9^{2,3}, 10^{2,4}; 2.4², 5¹, 9⁵ twice. From *yājyā* passages, *rtāñr ṛtupate yaje 'ha* (iv.3.13⁴: only O. has the last two words), to which W. B. O. add *amavāñ ibhena* (i.2.14¹); but for this G. M. substitute *madhumāñ indriyāvāñ* (iii.1.10²), which is not in a *yājyā* passage at all, but falls under the next rule: I have noted more than thirty other cases, namely at i.1.14⁴; 2.14²; 3.14⁸; 4.46²; 5.11²; 6.12⁴; 7.13^{4,6}: ii.1.11⁵ thrice; 2.12^{3,8}; 3.14^{2,6}; 6.11¹ thrice ⁴ twice, 12^{1,3}: iii.1.11¹ thrice, ⁷; 2.11³ twice; 4.11³; 5.11²: iv.2.11³; 3.13^{2,3,4} twice. The same passages contain five exceptions, which are duly provided for in rules 23 and 24, below. From *prsthya* passages, the examples are *śatrūñr anapavyayantah* (iv.6.6³) and *jaghāñr upa jighmate* (iv.6.6⁵): other cases at iv.6.7⁵, 9⁴ twice; 7.15⁷: v.1.11⁴. Finally,

*kāñ varjayitvā 'dāde grāvā' (i.4.1¹) iti praṇaḥ: agnikāñḍa-
syā' dyaṁ praṇadvayam uttamānuvākavarjam ukhyam⁶ ākhyā-
yate: uktā yājyāḥ: samid dīcām (iv.4.12¹) jīmātasya
(iv.6.6¹) yad akrāñdah (iv.6.7¹) mā no mitrah (iv.6.8¹) ye
vājinam (iv.6.9¹) agner manve (iv.7.15¹) samiddho añjan
(v.1.11¹) gāyatrī (v.2.11¹) kas tvā (v.2.12¹) ity anuvākanava-
kam⁷ prsthyaṁ iti pathyate⁸: hiranyavarñāḥ (v.6.1¹) ity
anuvāko hiranyavarñīyah. ⁹grahe yathā:⁹ jahi----- mar-----
ukhye: ye----- madh----- yājyāsu: rtāñr----- ama-----
prsthye: śatr----- jagh----- hiranyavarñīye: agnīñr-----
sarv----- anitipara iti kim: abhy----- idā----- grahādī-
shv iti kim: trīn----- paśān----- tān-----*

itiḥ paro yasmād asāv itiparah: ne 'tiparo 'nitiparah.

¹ G. M. read *grh-* throughout. ² B. om. ³ G. M. O. *ity etasmād anyasvar-*; B. *iti 'ty etad asmad anyas-*. ⁴ G. M. O. *'ntyānuv-*. ⁵ G. M. *-vā 'sī*. ⁶ G. M. O. *ins.* ⁷ G. M. *anuvākāḥ*. ⁸ W. O. *pachyate*; G. M. *pathyante*. ⁹ G. M. om.

from the *hiranyavarṇīya* section, *agnīṅr apśushadaḥ* (v.6.1²), and *sarvāñ agnīn* (v.6.1²), which are the only cases. Counter-examples, of *n* not converted as here prescribed, because occurring outside the passages specified, are *trīn imān lokān iti* (vii.3.2¹), *paṣān evā 'va rundhe* (v.1.1¹ et al.), and *tān indro 'ntaryāmend 'ntar adhatta* (vi.4.6¹: G. M. O. omit the last two words). And the bearing of the specification "except before *iti*" is illustrated by examples from the *krama* and *pada* texts, namely *abhyavartanta dasyūn: dasyūn iti dasyūn* (i.6.12⁶; *dasyūn* is thus repeated, as being the closing word of the *anuvāka*: but W. O. omit this repetition, which exhibits the very point requiring illustration, and B. adds only *iti dasyūn* to the first *dasyūn*), and *idāvān iti 'dā-vān* (iii.1.11¹; *saṁhitā*-reading, *idāvāñ eshaḥ*).

Any general examination of the aspect of this mode of combination in the Tāittirīya text I defer to the end of the chapter.

मत्यानुद्यानमृतान्दुर्यानसामपूर्वःसोअस्मानविमानो-
मान्मधुमान्हविष्मान्भूतमानर्पेचिकित्वानिडावान्कक्षी-
वान्वाणवान्हियस्वान्वशान्विदत्रानमित्रानरान्योषा-
न्महाश्च ॥ २१ ॥

21. Also in the words *martyān*, *ud ayān*, *amṛtān*, *duryān* not preceded by *soma*, so *asmān*, *avimān*, *gomān*, *madhumān*, *haviṣmān*, *hātamān* before any vowel belonging to the text, *cikītvān*, *idāvān*, *kukṣhīvān*, *bāṇavān*, *hi payasvān*, *vaṣān*, *vidatrān*, *amitrān*, *arān*, *poshān*, and *mahān*.

The *ca* in this rule, says the commentator, brings down from the preceding rule the specification "except before *iti*;" but we might fairly claim that it involves all the specifications there made excepting the restriction to certain passages: this exception the comment duly notes: "this and the rules that follow have a general application, without regard to special portions of the text."

The illustrative examples are: for *martyān*, *martyāñ aviveṣa* (v.7.9¹). For *ud ayān*, *ud ayāñ aśasram* (iv.6.3³): with a counter-example, *vayobhir evā 'yān ava rundhe* (v.2.10⁷), to show that

21.¹ *eteshu² grahaneshu nakāro 'nitiparo 'yakāram āpadyate³. anitiparatvākaraśhako 'yam⁴ cakārah. vishayān⁵ anā-
drītya sarvārtho⁶ 'yam itaḥ⁷ param ārambhaḥ. yathā: mart-
.....: ud ay-.....: ud iti kim: vayo-.....: ud.....: bhāḍ-.....:
na somapūrvah: duryān ity atra nakārah somapūro yatvaṁ⁸ nā
"padyate: pra.....: so.....: so iti kim: indro.....: avi.....:
gom-.....: madh-.....: avigomadhv⁹ iti kim: paṣu-.....: hav-
.....: hātamān ārshe¹⁰: hātamān ity atra nakāra "ārshe svare*

the *ut* before *ayān* needed to be quoted along with it. For *amṛtān*, *ud asthām amṛtān anu* (i.2.8¹). For *duryān*, *bhadrān duryān abhye* 'hi *mām anuvratā nyu* (i.6.3¹; G. M. O. omit *mām* etc.): there are two other cases, at i.2.13¹; vi.2.9¹; and a single exception, *pra carā soma duryān adityāh* (i.2.10¹), quoted by the commentator in justification of the restriction "not preceded by *soma*." For *asmān*, so *asmān adhipatīn karoti* (i.6.6⁴ and iii.2.7²): another example is at v.7.9¹; and *asmān* becomes *asmāñ* also at i.6.12⁴, but in virtue of the preceding rule. The counter-example, showing the necessity of prefixing *so* in the rule, is *indro asmān asmin dvitīye* (iii.1.9²; W. B. omit the last word). For *avimān*, *avimāñ aḥvi* (i.6.6⁴; 7.6⁷; iii.1.11¹; but the last case falls under the preceding rule also). For *gomān*, *gomāñ agne* (i.6.6⁴; 7.6⁷; iii.1.11¹—that is to say, in the same phrase with *avimān*). For *madhumān*, *madhumāñ indriyāvān* (iii.1.10²). Next follows a counter-example, intended to show why *mām* would not have been enough of itself to include the last three words, without the prefixed parts *avi*, *go*, and *madhu*: it is *paṇmān eva bhavati* (vi.2.6² et al.). Then, for *havishmān*, *havishmāñ ā rivātsati* (i.3.12): the word occurs a second time in the same section, and also at vi.4.2⁴. For *hātāmān*, *devahātāmāñ ity ukhāyām juhoti* (v.5.3¹; W. B. omit the last word): it is found again, in like form, in the succeeding division of the section. The specification "before any vowel belonging to the text (*ārsha*, 'coming from the *ṛshis*')," is declared to be meant as an annulment of the restriction, "except before *iti*," made in the preceding rule. And, to show that the *n* remains unchanged before a vowel not forming part of the fundamental text, is given the *padu*-reading *devahātāmān iti deva-hātāmān*. There is added further a remark which looks like a gloss that has worked its way into the text: "the specification 'before what comes from the *ṛshis*' has force in both directions, after the fashion of the crow's eye [Molesworth says, the crow is regarded as having a single eye, which shifts from one eye-

*pare*¹¹ *yatvam āpadyate*¹²: *dev*-----: *ārsha iti kim*: *dev*---: ¹³ *ārshagrahaṇasāmarthyād itiparatve*¹⁴ *pi* ¹⁵ *yatvam bhavati*: *ārsha iti kākākshivad*¹⁶ *ubhayatra sambadhyate grahokhyādima-*
*hānparyantam*¹⁷: *ārshasvayampātha*¹⁸ *ity arthaḥ. cikiti*-----: *idāv*-----: *kak*-----: *viḥ*-----: *idākakshibāne*¹⁹ *ti kim*: *ras*-----: *sa*m-----: *hī* *ti kim*: *ārj*-----: *ārsha itiparatvād dev*-----: *itivad yatvaprāptir higrāhaṇena nishidhyate*²⁰. *stuto*-----: *su*-
vid-----: *amit*-----: *arāñ*-----: *posh*-----: *agne*-----.

¹ For *asomapūrvah*, G. M. read *ity esha nakāras somapūrvō 'nusrān nā* "pad-yate; B. O. *na som-*, as do T. G. M. in the rule itself. ² G. M. O. *eshu*. ³ G. M. *yatvam bhajate*. ⁴ G. M. om. *ayam*. ⁵ G. M. *vidhān*. ⁶ W. *sarvo* 'rtho'. ⁷ W. B. *iti*. ⁸ G. M. *dvitvān*. ⁹ W. O. *avimādhv*. ¹⁰ W. adds *cikiti* *vān*. ¹¹ G. M. O. *ārshasvarāpara*. ¹² W. *nājadyate*; B. *bhavati*; G. M. O. *bhajate*. ¹³ G. M. ins. *ity*. ¹⁴ G. M. *-pare*. ¹⁵ G. M. ins. *hātāmān ity ukhāyām ity atra*. ¹⁶ W. O. *kākāsh*; G. M. *-kshinyāyena*. ¹⁷ W. B. om. *māhān*. ¹⁸ B. *ārshah sv-*; G. M. *ārshabhāvān*. ¹⁹ G. M. *idādiviḥśhepa*. ²⁰ G. M. O. *pratish*.

ball to the other, as it is needed]—namely, from the beginning of the preceding rule to the end of the present one.” This appears to mean that an *iti* belonging to the sacred text itself would admit the conversion of the *n* before it, in any case falling under these two rules. The opinion is doubtless a sound one; but, to prove its expression pertinent here, we require an example showing that there is a passage in the text requiring its application: and none such is furnished us: on the contrary, the addition of *ārshe* to *hātamān* alone implies that none is to be found. The example for *cikivān* is *cikivān anu manyatām* (iii.1.4¹: O. omits the last word). For *idāvān*, *idāvān eshaḥ* (i.6.6⁴; also at iii.1.11¹, but this is a case falling under the preceding rule). For *kakshā-vān*, *kakshāvān āucijah* (v.6.5³). For *bānavān*, *viṇalyo bānavān uta* (iv.5.1⁴: O. omits the first word). Next we have again a counter-example, *rasavān eva bhavati* (ii.2.4⁵), showing that, of words ending in *vān*, only those preceded as here specified undergo the prescribed effect. For *hi payasvān*, *saṃ asṛkshmaḥi*: *payasvān āgna ā gamam* (i.4.45³, 46²: only O. has *saṃ*; and G. M. O. omit the last two words): the necessity of the prefixed *hi* is shown by the counter-example *urjasvān payasvān ity āha* (i.7.3⁴). Here, however, is a case of *payasvān* before an *iti* which comes from the *rshis*, and therefore might seem to require the reading *payasvān*, like *hātamān* in the passage *devahātamān ity ukhāyām* (v.5.3¹)—according to the extension made above of the natural and obvious meaning of *ārshe*; but the commentator declares that the mention in the rule of *hi* as necessary preceding word prevents the conversion of *n* to *y* in the passage: it is, to be sure, a case of *payasvān* before *iti*, but not of *hi payasvān*. For *vaṇān*, the example is *stuto yāsi vaṇān anu* (i.8.5¹). For *vidatrān*, W. O. give *suvidatrān api 'ta* (i.8.5²), while G. M. have instead *suvidatrān avitsi* (ii.6.12³): B. is defective here, dropping out the last part of this quotation, and the first part of the next (reading *suvidatrān apabādhamānah*); G. M. are in the wrong this time, for the passage they quote falls under the preceding rule. For *amitrān*, *amitrān apabādhamānah* (iv.6.4²): an exception is provided for in the final rule of the chapter. For *arān*, *arān ivā 'gne nemih* (ii.5.9³: O. omits the last word). For *poshān*, *poshān apushyat* (vii.1.9). For *māhān*, *agne māhān asi* (ii.5.9¹): another case at i.4.20.

इन्द्रोमेऽकवृद्धमिहायेवगन्मेडेन्यानायनिष्ठम्राचर्त्तुर्कुर्व-
ताडुहृदतिरग्रेऽधरात्सपत्नानलंपरश्च ॥ २२ ॥

22. Also a *n* followed by *indro me*, *akah*, *ūdhvam*, *ihā*, *apy etu*, *aganma*, *idenyān*, *āyajishṭhaḥ*, *ā ca*, *rtu*, *akurvata*, *aduhat*, *aditih*, *agre*, *adharānt sapatnān*, and *alam*.

22. *ity evamparo nakāra 'ākārapūrvo yatvam' āpadyate. cakāra' ākārapūrvatvākarshakah. yathā: sap-----: ma iti kim: yush-----: nigr-----: yūy-----: agne-----: dīrghena kim:*

The implication here, the commentator tells us, is of a *n* preceded by *ā* only: he does not explain why, but would have a right to appeal to the mention of *ān* last in rule 20, and the exclusion of any other cases than those of a final *ān* in rule 21. His examples are as follows. For *indro me, sapatnāñ indro me* (i.1.13¹; 6.4²: iv.6.3⁴); with a counter-example, *yushmān indro 'vr̥ṇta* (i.1.5¹), to illustrate the need of specifying *me*. For *akāḥ, nigrābhenā 'dharāñ akāḥ* (i.1.13¹; 6.4²: iv.6.3⁴: that is to say, in the same passage as the preceding: O. omits the first word). For *ūdhevam, yāyam devāñ ūdhevam* (i.3.8²: O. omits the first word). For *ihā, agne devāñ ihā 'vaha* (i.3.14⁸; 5.5³: iv.6.1³); with a counter-example, *yajñiyan iha yān havāmahe* (i.5.10³: only W. has the last word), to show that the *nimitta* in this case is *ihā*, not *iha*. For *apy etu, gharṇo devāñ apy etu* (i.5.10⁴: B. omits *gharṇaḥ*: again at i.6.3²); with the counter-example, *vidvān api janyeshu* (vi.1.6⁶), to show that *api* without *etu* does not cause the conversion. For *aganma, suvar devāñ aganma* (i.7.9²). For *idenyān, idāmāhāi devāñ idenyān* (ii.5.9⁶). For *āyajishthah, devāñ āyajishthah svasti* (iv.3.13¹; 6.1⁵: O. omits the last word). For *ā ca, devāñ ā ca vakshat* (iv.6.3⁴ twice, and v.4.6⁶ twice); but this example is omitted by G. M., and they also omit the item *ā ca* in the rule itself. A counter-example, *yān ā vaha ūcataḥ* (i.4.44²: G. M. omit the last word), is given by all but O.: in G. M., it should show that *ā* causes *āñ** only when followed by *yajishthah*; in W., only by *yajishthah* and *ca*; but W. states the occasion for it in the same manner as G. M., and B. alone sets it in its proper relation to both the foregoing examples. For *ṛtu*, the example is, in W. B., *vājo devāñ ṛtubhiḥ* (iv.7.12²), but G. M. O. give instead *yebhir devāñ ṛtubhiḥ* (i.1.14⁴): I have found no other case. For *akurvata, vittvā kāmāñ akurvata* (i.5.9³). For *aduhat, yajño 'surāñ aduhat* (i.7.1¹). For *aditiḥ, vivasvāñ aditiḥ* (i.5.3³). For *agre, agnis tāñ agre* (iii.1.4²): we have also *vāyus tāñ agre* in the same division. For *adharān, anyāñ adharānt sapatnān* (iii.2.8⁵); with a counter-example, *bhrātreyyān adharān pādhyāmi* (iii.5.3¹). For *alam, puroḍāgāñ alam kurv iti* (vi.3.1²). Finally, to show that the rule applies only to *ān*, *paridhīn akurvatu* (vi.2.1⁵⁻⁶).

The comment closes with an exposition which I must confess that I do not fully understand. It is evidently intended to determine the readings which the words treated in these rules shall have in *jatā*-text; and it furnishes abundant illustrations, in reference to the form of which, however, there is not a little difference between the different recensions: G. M. O. generally citing the passage first

yajñ-----: *ghar*-----: *etu iti kim*: *vidvān*-----: *suvar*-----:
idā-----: *devāñ*-----: **devāñ*-----: **yajishthas ce 'ti kim*: *yān*
 -----: **vājo*-----: *vīt*-----: *yajño*-----: *vivas*-----: *agnis*-----:
anyāñ-----: *sapatnān iti kim*: *bhrā*-----: *puro*-----: *anvāde-*
śaḥ kimarthah: *pari*-----: *tattatpadagrahane kartavye parapa-*
dagrahanam 'anārshe 'pi' saṁhitāvidhāv' agraḥaṇasya' ca' ya-

in its *samhitā*-form, and adding only a single *sandhi* from the *jaṭā*-text, while W. B. give the complete *jaṭā*-readings, and only those. The former quote first *amartyo martyāñ āviveṇa* (v.7.9¹), and add *martyāñ amartyah*; W. gives *amartyo martyān martyāñ amartyo* 'martyo martyān, and *martyāñ āviveṇa* "viveṇa martyān martyāñ āviveṇa; B. only the latter (and, blunderingly, treats it as *amartyāñ āviveṇa*, throughout); next, G. M. O. have *ud asthām amṛtān anu*: *amṛtāñ asthām* (i.2.8¹): W. B., *amṛtāñ anu anu amṛtāñ amṛtāñ anu*. Then, in illustration of a second point, we receive two more examples: G. M. O. read *agne* 'vimāñ *agvi*: *avimāñ agne* (i.6.6⁴ et al.), for which W. B. substitute *agne* 'vimāñ *avimāñ agne* 'gne 'vimāñ; and G. M. O., again, *ud ayāñ ājasram* (iv.6.3⁴), O. this time adding the full *jaṭā*-reading *ud ayāñ ayāñ ud ud ayāñ*, which G. M. also seem to mean to give (they actually have only *ayāñ ud ayāñ*); while W. B. set down the *jaṭā*-form of the other pair of words: *ayāñ ājasram ājasram ayāñ ayāñ ājasram*. Yet once more, two examples for a third point close the tale: in G. M. O. *agnis tāñ agre*: *tāñ agniḥ* (iii.1.4²), in W. B. *tāñ agre* 'gre tāñs tāñ agre; and, this time in all alike, *anyāñ adharān adharān anyāñ anyāñ adharān* (but G. M. have, doubtless by a copyist's blunder, *anyān* the second time, before *anyāñ*). It will be seen that the two versions are in part inconsistent with one another as regards the special points of combination to which they direct attention; and I am not able to make out what are the three classes of cases meant to be distinguished. The three points which one would most naturally think of as needing to be noticed are, perhaps, first, the occurrence of a word like *amṛtān* before itself—thus, *amṛtāñ amṛtān*—in the *jaṭā* repetition; second, its occurrence before a preceding word (not its defined or natural *nimitta*) when that word begins with a vowel—thus, *amṛtāñ asthām*; and third, its occurrence in *jaṭā* before the word which causes its alteration in *samhitā*—thus, *amṛtāñ anu*—if, indeed, this last can be regarded as requiring any special prescription. Or, the second and third cases might be expected to concern the treatment respectively of a word, on the one hand, like *martyān*, which is itself quoted in the rule as suffering the prescribed change (which is at the same time *grahana* and *nādimittika*, or *nādimittikam grahanam*), and might therefore naturally be inferred to be liable to the change under all circumstances before a vowel; and one, on the other hand, like *anyān*, which is pointed

tvam syād iti nādimittikasya ca nimittipekshatvāt. grahaṇasya yathā: amartyo..... ud..... evam nādimittikagrahaṇasya: agne.....: ud..... evam grahaṇanādimittikasya: agnis.....: anyāñ..... evam sarvatra nakārasya yakārotpattir¹⁰ draśṭavyā.

(1) B. om. (2) G. M. O. *yakāram*. (3) G. M. om. (4) O. om.; W. G. M. read *yajishtha iti kim* etc. (5) G. M. a. (6) O. -*dhine*; B. -*dhānasye*. (7) B. om. (8) G. M. O. om. (9) G. M. O. -*nasya nādi*. (10) G. M. *nakā-*.

out by means of the quotation of the following word *adharān* (which is itself, therefore, *nādmittika*, while *adharān* is *grahana*; or which is *grahananādmittika*, 'undergoing a prescribed effect under the influence of a quoted word'), and which one might suppose changeable only before that word. It is in accordance with this latter explanation that the last two pairs of examples are taken, the one from under rule 21, the other from under rule 22. At any rate, the general conclusion appears to be pretty well assured, that a word which shows a final *ñ* in *samhitā* shows it also in *ṣatā* before a following vowel of whatever kind. This is markedly different from its treatment in *puṣa*, where, by the initial specification of rule 20, its power of conversion to *ñ* is lost altogether: and even in *ṣatā* (as was shown in the note to iii.1), an altered letter usually exhibits its *samhitā* form only under the specific circumstances which condition that form in *samhitā*-text.

न रश्मीत्कूपयान्यमान्यतङ्गात्समानानर्चन्यज्ञीयान् ॥२३॥

23. The *n* of *raçmîn*, *çrapayān*, *yamān*, *patañgān*, *samānān*, *arcān*, *yajñyān* remains unchanged.

All these are words occurring in the passages respecting which the comprehensive prescription of rule 20 was made: needing, therefore, to be specifically exempted from its action. The commentator quotes the phrases in which they occur, as follows: *purutrā ca raçmîn anu* (iv.1.2³), *aditih çrapayān iti* (iv.1.5⁴), *suyamān ātaye* (iv.7.15^{4,5}), *patañgān asaṁditaḥ* (i.2.14¹), *samānā samānān uçann agne* (iv.3.13³: only G. M. have the first word), *arcān indra grācānaḥ* (i.6.12⁶: G. M. have dropped out all but *arcā*), and *yajñyān upasthe mātuh* (i.3.14¹: O. omits the last word). The first two are from *ukhya* passages, the third from a *prsthya*, the rest from *yājyā*—as is noted also by the commentator (but G. M. omit these notices, save the first). Under the second, he further suggests the objection that, as the word following *çrapayān* is *iti*, the case might seem not to fall under the rule (since this expressly says "except before *iti*"); but he urges in reply that the word *ārshē* in rule 21 (that is to say, of course, according to his

23. '----- *eteshu* ¹ *grahaneshu nakārah svaraparo* ² *pi na kha-*
*lu repam yakāran*³ *vā bhajate. yathā*⁴: *puru*-----: *adi*-----:
*ukhyatvād anayoh prāptih*⁵. *nanv adi*-----: *asye*⁶ *'tiparatvād*
*eva nishedhe sati grahaṇam anartham*⁷: *iti cet: ārsha itiparatvāt*
punaḥ prāptih: tan mā bhād iti brāmah. suy-----: *'prsthya*
*prāptih*⁸: *patañ*-----: *'yājyāt*⁹ *prāptih*¹⁰: *sama*-----: *ar-*
cān-----: *yajñ*-----: ¹¹ *eshām api sūi* *'va prāptih*¹¹.

(¹) G. M. *raçmîn ity ādīshu*; O. *eshu* for *eteshu*. (²) G. M. *vā yatvam*. (³) B. *tathā*; the rest om. (⁴) G. M. *-ptinishedhah*. (⁵) G. M. *atra*. (⁶) G. M. O. *-thakam*. (⁷) O. om. *iti*. (⁸) G. M. om. (⁹) G. M. om. (¹⁰) O. *ius. asya*. (¹¹) G. M. om.

"crow's eye" interpretation) gives the former precept authority over it, which requires to be annulled.

उद्यापरश्चाद्यापरश्च ॥ २४ ॥

24. Nor a *n* followed by *ut* or *athā*.

The phrases to which this rule relates are, as quoted by the commentator, *amitrān un nayāmi* (iv.1.10³), and *vidvān athā bhava* (iii.2.11²⁻³; our *saṃhitā*-text has *atha*, because the word stands *vibhāge*, at the end of a division of the section: see rule iii.10 and note): I have noted no other cases. The commentator gives a counter-example to the former, showing why *ut* could not have been extended to *uta*, but needed to stop at the consonant (*hal*): it is *triṇr uta dyaṇ* (ii.1.11⁵). Such a counter-example is quite out of the usual course, and very superfluous; the example itself would be counter-example enough: the substitution of *uta* for *ut* would have excluded the very passage aimed at. Of the two phrases, the one comes from an *ukhya*-passage, the other from a *yājyā*: the commentator might better have spent his spare energy in telling us this.

What remains of the comment to this rule is not altogether free from difficulties. First the statement is made that the word *athā* in it implies also *atha*, with short *a*; in illustration, W. repeats, without change, *vidvān athā bhava*; B. gives the same twice over; only O. has, in *krama*-text, *vidvān atha: athā bhava*—which is doubtless correct, and shows the *krama*-reading (along, we may suppose, with the *jaṭā*) to be the matter aimed at. That the now accepted *saṃhitā*-reading—*vidvān atha: 2: bhava*—is contemplated, is not at all to be assumed. Both the statement and its illustration are wanting in G. M.: and this, although those manuscripts contain, under viii.34, the reference to it in advance there made. In regard to what follows, also, the recensions are considerably at variance. The *jaṭā*-text is again under

24. *ut: athā¹: ity evamparo nakāro yathāvivhitam² rephan yakāram vā³ nā⁴ padyate. yathā⁵: amit-----: halmātrena⁶ kim: triṇr-----: vidv-----: dirgho tra hrasvopalakshaṇam api: yathā: vidv-----⁷ yathāsaṃhitāsthā⁸ eva nimittam¹⁰ svakāryam karoti⁹ nishedharūpam¹² yathā: amit-----: vidhir apy¹³ evam¹⁴ yathāsaṃhitāsthanimitta evam sarvatra bhavaty¹¹ ato¹⁵ vocāma¹⁴: so-----: asm-----: evamādi veditavyam.*

*iti tribhāshyaratne prātiçākhyavivarane
navamo dhyāyah.*

⁽¹⁾ W. B. O. *atha*. ⁽²⁾ G. M. O. put after *āpadyate*; G. M. *rephan va yatvam vā*. ⁽³⁾ G. M. ins. *cakāro nishedhākārshah*. ⁽⁴⁾ G. M. O. om. ⁽⁵⁾ G. M. O. *ud itī*. ⁽⁶⁾ G. M. om.; B. om. *yathā*; O. om. *api: yathā*. ⁽⁷⁾ G. M. ins. *ity atra*; O. ins. *atra*. ⁽⁸⁾ G. M. O. *-sthu*. ⁽⁹⁾ G. M. *nimittāir eva sambhavati*; O. *nimittāir eva sarvatra bhavati*. ⁽¹⁰⁾ W. B. *-tte*. ⁽¹¹⁾ G. M. om. ⁽¹²⁾ O. ins. *vidhirūpam vā*. ⁽¹³⁾ W. *itī*. ⁽¹⁴⁾ O. only *yathā*. ⁽¹⁵⁾ W. *atho*. ⁽¹⁶⁾ G. M. ins. *yathā*.

treatment; and it appears to be laid down that any word has in that text the same form as under analogous circumstances in *samhitā*, whether it fall under an exception or under a rule. Then, as example of an exceptional word, is given, as established by the present precept, *amitrān ud ud amitrān amitrān ut* (iv.1.10³), *amitrān* retaining its *n* throughout; and again, as examples falling under the more general rule, so *asmāñ 'asmānt sa so asmān: asmāñ avahāyā 'vahāyā 'smāñ asmāñ avahāya* (v.7.9¹: under rule 21).

So far, now, as I have been able to discover, the teachings of the Prātiśākhya in rules 20–24 of this chapter precisely correspond with the conditions of the known Tāittirīya text: I have not found in the latter a single case of final *āñ*, *īñr*, *ūñr* which they do not duly notice, nor an exception to the more general rules which is not provided for. Of course, my observation is more to be trusted upon the former point than upon the latter.

The *sandhi* here treated of is comparatively unusual in our *Samhitā*, as it is in those of the other Vedas. According to my count, there are (including repetitions) 115 cases of *āñ* (including also one at iv.6.6⁷, omitted above), 5 of *īñr*, and 4 of *ūñr*—in all, 124; while, of final *ān* remaining unchanged before a vowel, I have noted down over 450 instances (and probably not without overlooking a score or two), of *ān*, about 150, of *īn*, 16, and of *ūn*, 4—in all, about 620, or not less than five times as many. The numerical relation in the Atharva-Veda is probably nearly the same. See the end of the note to Ath. Pr. ii.27.

CHAPTER X.

CONTENTS: 1–9, combination of final and initial similar vowels, and of final *a* or *ā* with initial vowels and diphthongs; 10–12, resulting accentuation and nasalization; 13, special cases of uncombinable final *ā*; 14, of elision of final *a*, *ā* before initial *e* and *o*; 15–17, combination of final *i* and *u* vowels, and resulting accentuation; 18, special cases of uncombinable final *i*; 19–23, elision of final *y* and *v*; 24–25, uncombinable final vowels.

अथैकमुभे ॥ १ ॥

1. Now for the coalescence of two vowels into one.

An introductory heading to the whole chapter. The commentator paraphrases: “both syllables become one form, of the same kind.”

1. *athe 'ty ayam adhikārah: ubhe akshare ekam rūpaṁ sajā-tīyam' āpadyete' ity etad adhikṛtam veditavyam ita uttaram yad vakshyāmaḥ.*

¹ O. puts before *rūpaṁ*. ² MSS. *-yata*.

दीर्घः समानाक्षरे सवर्णपरे ॥ २ ॥

2. In the case of a simple vowel, followed by a similar vowel, the product is long.

For the terms *samānākshara* and *savarna*, see rules i.2,3, where they are defined. The grammatical construction of the rule is not simple, or easily made homogeneous with that of its predecessor. The commentator brings it out thus: "there being a simple vowel, followed by one that is of like nature with itself, these two, being put in the relation of predecessor and successor, become a single long vowel." His examples are *tvacāṁ gṛhṇishvā 'ntaritaṁ rak-shaḥ* (i.1.8: only O. has the first word; only G. M. the last), *rāsnā 'sī 'ndrānyādi* (i.1.2²), and *sūpasthā devo vanaspatih* (i.2.2³: only G. M. have the last word).

अथावर्णपूर्वे ॥ ३ ॥

3. Now for cases in which an *a*-vowel stands first.

A new sub-heading, having force as far as rule 9, inclusive. The word *avarnapūrve* is explained by the commentator after the manner of a *karmadhāraya* compound, as meaning 'that which is both an *a*-vowel and first,' but I do not see how such a construction can be defended: we have, rather, to understand *akshara*, and make the meaning analogous with that of rule 2: "when there is a syllable that has an *a*-vowel before it."

इवर्णपर एकारम् ॥ ४ ॥

4. When an *i*-vowel follows, the product is *e*.

The commentator explains *ivarnapare* in the same manner as *avarnapūrve* in rule 3. The interpretations might hold good, if *pūrva* and *para* were taken substantively; but they are not so used anywhere in the treatise. His chosen example is *ne 'shtir bhava-*

2. *samānākshara ātmanah savarnapare sati pūrvāparibhāte*
'ete ubhe' dīrgham ekam' āpnutaḥ'. *yathā*': *tvac*-----: *rās*-----:
sūp----- *savarnam param yasmāt tat*' *savarnaparam*: *tasmin*'.

¹ G. M. *pūrvah parah* te. ² W. O. ins. *saty*. ³ G. M. ins. *akshara*. ⁴ W. om.; G. M. *adhikam*. ⁵ B. *āpmoti*. ⁶ G. M. O. om. ⁷ W. om.; O. *tatrat*. ⁸ W. B. O. om.

3. 'athe 'ty ayam adhikārah.¹ *avarnapūrve*² *sati* 'ty' *etad adhi-kṛtaṁ veditavyam ita uttaram yad vakshyāmah*. 'idam adhikā-rāntaram' *upasaṅga pūrva āram* (x.9) *iti paryantam*. *avarnap*
cā 'sdu pūrvac cā 'varnapūrvah: *tasmin*'.

(¹) O. om. (²) O. -*valve*. (³) W. om. *ity*. (⁴) G. M. *ayam adhikāra*. (⁵) O. adds *avar-napūrve*.

ti (ii.5.5³: W. reads *neshtu*); and O. alone adds *mahendrāya* (v.5.21; p. *mahā-indrāya*).

उवर्णपर ओकारम् ॥ ५ ॥

5. When an *u*-vowel follows, the product is *o*.

The commentator's single illustrative example is *ishe tvo "rje" tvā* (i.1.1).

एकारिकारपर ऐकारम् ॥ ६ ॥

6. When *e* or *ai* follows, the product is *ai*.

The examples are *sam brahmanā preyasvāi 'katāya svāhā* (i.1.8: O. omits the last word), and *somāindrā babhrulalāmāh* (v.6.15; p. *soma-dindrāh*).

The commentator again very elaborately explains *ekārādikārapare* as a *karmadhāraya* compound, formed upon *ekārādikāra* as a *dvandva*; and remarks that the same explanation applies also in the following rule.

ओकारौकारपर औकारम् ॥ ७ ॥

7. When *o* or *au* follows, the product is *au*.

The examples are *brahmāudanam pacati* (not found in the Tāit-

4. *avarṇapūrva ivarṇapare ca sati 'te' ubhe akshare ekāram āpnutaḥ. ne 'sh-----: mah. ivarṇaḥ cā 'sāu 'paraḥ ce 'varṇa-parah³: tasmin.*

¹ G. M. ins. *ubhe akshare*. ² O. om. ³ B. *pūrvaḥ ca avarṇapūrvaḥ*.

5. *avarṇapūrva uvarṇapare ca sati te' ubhe akshare' okāram āpnutaḥ. ishe-----*

¹ G. M. O. om. ² O. om.

6. *avarṇapūrva ekārādikārapare ca sati te' ubhe akshare' pūr-vāparibhāte' āikāram āpnutaḥ. sam-----: som----- ekārag cāi 'kāraḥ cāi 'kārādikārāu: tayoh samāhāra ekārādikāram: 'sam-āhāre dvandvaḥ.⁴ tac ca tatparam cāi 'kārādikāraparam karmadhārayaḥ: tasminn ekārādikārapare'. evam 'uparitanē 'pi sūtre' samāsah.*

¹ G. M. om. ² O. om. ³ G. M. *pūrvāpare*, and put before *akshare*. ⁴ G. M. om. ⁵ O. om. ⁶ O. *-tanāsūtre 'pi*.

7. *avarṇapūrva okārādikārapare ca sati te' ubhe akshare' aukāram āpnutaḥ. brah-----: dām-----³*

¹ G. M. O. om. ² G. M. O. om. ³ G. M. add *uktas samāsah*.

tirīya Sanhitā, although it is read at Tāittirīya Brāhmaṇa i.1.9³: we have *brahmāndanam pacet* at v.7.3⁴, and *brahmāndanam apacat* at vi.5.6¹: O. omits *pacati*, leaving the citation such as might have come from either passage), and *dāmnā 'pāu "mbhan* (ii.4.13).

अरमुकारपर ॥ ८ ॥

8. When *r* follows, the product is *ar*.

The examples are *ardharca ekām* (i.6.10⁵), and *agneyya rēd "gnādhram* (iii.1.6¹; p. *agneyyā: rēd*).

I have not noticed a single example in the Tāittirīya Sanhitā of that retention of *r* unchanged after *a* and *ā*, only with correption of the latter, which is the rule in the Rik and Vājasaneyi-Sanhitās, and which appears also in the Atharva-Veda, though against the authority of its Prāticākhya (see Ath. Pr. iii.46 note).

उपसर्गपूर्व आरम् ॥ ९ ॥

9. If a preposition precedes, the product is *ār*.

The commentator points out that, as the implication "when an *a*-vowel stands first" is still in force from rule 3, this virtually means "if a preposition ending in *a* or *ā* precedes;" *r*, of course, is inferred from the preceding rule. According to the list of prepositions given at i.15, then, *ā*, *pra*, *ava*, and *upa* would be the only words authorized to form with initial *r* the *vr̥ddhi* vowel instead of the *guna*, *parā* and *apa* being excluded. The commentator brings up but one example from the text, namely *upā rchati* (i.5.9⁶: G. M. read *upā rchaty askandāya*, which I do not find anywhere: we have *askandāya* after other words at i.5.8⁵: ii.5.8⁶: vi.3.8¹⁻³, the last time following *upā 'syati*; possibly this text was in the mind of the scribe who added *askandāya* in the comment on the present rule); he gives another from the *jatā*-text, *rtavyā upo 'pā rtavyā rtavyā upa* (v.3.1¹; 4.2¹), and, further, as counter-example, showing that only a preposition ending in *a* or *ā* produces the prescribed effect, *vyr̥ddham vā etat* (v.1.2¹ et al.: O. omits the last word). Additional cases of the same combination, with *ā* and *ava*, are quoted under rule 10 (at the end); if the text affords yet others, I have failed to note them. Nor have I observed any cases of the different treatment of *parā* and *apa* before *r*; so that here also I do not discover any reason for the strange restriction of the class of prepositions made at i.15.

8. *avarṇapūrva ṛkārapare ca sati te' ubhe akshare' aram iti vikāram āpnutah. ardḥ----- āgn-----*

¹ O. om. ² G. M. O. om.

9. *avarṇapūrva ity anuvartate¹: tasmād upasargapūrva ity aviṣeṣhavarṇāntoktāv² avarṇānto 'yam' upasargas tasyāi 'va grahaṇam: ṛkārah sāmnidhyāḥ labhyate. upasargapūrva ṛkārapare*

उदात्तमुदात्तवति ॥ १० ॥

10. When an acute enters into the combination, the result is acute.

That is to say, as the commentator points out, when the first constituent, or the second constituent, or both constituents, have the *udātta* accent, their combination is *udātta*. He gives a long list of examples in illustration of the working of the rule, promising that they shall exhibit the whole series of vowel-combinations just prescribed, from the second rule to the ninth, with all possible conditions of accentual combination. Thus, *savitā' prā' rpayatu* (i.1.1; p. *prā:* *arp:* W. reads *-yati*), *brāhma yachā' 'pā' gne* (i.1.7¹; p. *yacha:* *āpa*), *yājyā' 'vā' i' nam* (ii.3.5³; p. *yājyā:* *ā:* *evā:* *enam:* the *pada*-manuscripts have *é'ti* for *ā'*; and so with the other prepositions), *pūshā' 'dhatta* (i.5.1²; p. *pūshā:* *ā:* *adhatta:* W. B. read *-tte*), *divi' 'va cākshuh* (i.3.6² and iv.2.9⁴; p. *divi:* *iva:* for this accent, which is opposed to the teachings of all the other Prātiśākhya, see under rule 17 of the present chapter), *adyā vāsu vasatī' 'ti' ndro hī devā'nām* (ii.5.3⁷; p. *vasati:* *īti:* *īndrah:* O. reads at the end *'ndram eva*, which I do not find anywhere in the *Sanhitā*), *māitrāvaruṇi' 'ty āhu* (ii.6.7⁴; p. *-nī:* *īti*). The question is then raised, whether the word *sūnnīyam* (vi.2.4¹) does not fall under this rule, since it exhibits a coalescence into one syllable of two vowels, whereof one is acute; but the reply is made, that a special rule in a later part of the chapter (r.17) prescribes for it the circumflex. The examples are continued: *rēto dadhātā' 't sakthydh* (vii.4.19¹; p. *dadhātu:* *ūt*), *vānāspātayō 'nā' 't tishthanti tā'n* (vii.4.8³; p. *ānu:* *ūt:* only G. M. have *tān*), and *tā' dikshū' 'pā' dadhata* (v.5.5⁴; p. *dikshū:* *ūpa:* G. M. omit *tā*). So many are examples of the combination of two similar simple vowels into a long vowel: the rest illustrate the cases of coalescence in which *a* or *ā* precedes. They are *sé 'mā'n no havyādā-*

ca sati te' ubhe akshare' āram iti vikāram āpnutah. upā-----: r̥t-----. avarṇāntopasargaviśeshanena' kim: vyr-----. upasargac cā 'sāu pūrvaḥ co 'pasargapūrvaḥ: tasminn' upasargapūrve'.

¹ G. M. O. om. *anu.* ² W. *viśeshāvar:*; B. *viśeshoktā yathā*; G. M. *aviśeshokto 'pi*; O. *aviśeshaktāv apī.* ³ O. om. *ayam.* ⁴ G. M. om. ⁵ B. G. M. O. om. ⁶ G. M. O. *upas-;* G. M. B. *-shena.* ⁷ B. om. ⁸ G. M. om.

10. *udāttadharmaviśiṣṭe varṇe pūrvataḥ parata ubhayato vā sthite sati te ubhe apy ekādeṣam āpanne' udāttadharmakam' āpnutah. udātto 'syā 'stī 'ty udāttavān: tasminn udāttavati. samānāksharam ārabhya sarvasmā' ekibhāve 'yathākramam udāt-tānudāttasvaritapūrva ubhayor udātte vo' 'dāharaṇānī dargayishydmah'. sav-----: brah-----: yāj-----: pūsh-----: div-----: adya-----: māit-----: nanu sūnnīyam ity atro 'dātte-nāi 'kādeṣe sati kim na syād ayam vidhiḥ: udāttapūrvādhikāre*

tim (iv.6.6⁶; p. *sāh*: *imā'm*: compare rule v.17), *tām ghē 'd agnir vrdhā* (ii.6.11³; p. *gha*: *ūt*: only G. M. have the last word), *savanamukhēsavanamukhe kāryē 'ti* (vii.5.5¹; p. *kāryā*: *īti*: B. omits the first *savanamukhe*), *sē 'd u hōtā* (i.1.14⁴; p. *sāh*: *ūt*: compare rule v.17: W. B. omit the last word): so many are examples under rule 4. Now follow those under rule 5: *prókshitam gopāyata* (vii.1.12; p. *prā-ukshitam*: G. M. omit this example), *ārja sthō 'rjam vo bhakshīya* (i.5.6¹; p. *stha*: *ārjam*: O. omits the last word), *svāyúshō 'd śshadhīnam* (i.2.8¹; p. *su-āyúshā*: *ūt*: G. M. omit this example also), and *imē evō 'pa dhatte* (v.2.7³; 5.3²; p. *evā*: *ūpa*). The examples under rule 6 are *nā'i nam pratyśshati* (i.5.9⁷; p. *nā*: *enam*), *ēka evā yajetā'i 'kah* (vii.2.10³; p. *yajeta*: *ēkah*), *āthd'i 'kam utthānam* (vii.2.1⁴; p. *ātha*: *ēkam*), *yān nā'i 'kāñ raçanā'm* (vi.6.4³; p. *nā*: *ēkam*), *indriyām evā'i 'ndrēna* (vi.6.5²; p. *evā*: *dindrēna*), *vī hī tād avd'iryatē 'ti* (vii.1.5⁴; p. *ava-d'iryata*), and finally, from the *jatā*-text, *devēbhya d'indhā'i 'ndha devēbhya devēbhya d'indhā* (ii.5.9¹; but G. M. give only the *sainhitā*-reading, *devebhya dindhā*). To illustrate rule 7, we have *kshatrāsya cā'u 'jase juhomi* (iii.3.1^{1,2}; p. *ca*: *ōjase*: B. O. omit the last word), *svā'hā'u 'shadhībhyah* (i.8.13²; p. *svā'hā*: *ōsh-*), *sā'u 'shadhīr ānu rudhyase* (iv.2.3³, 11³; p. *sāh*: *ōshadhī-*), another case under rule v.17: G. M. omit the last word), *prā'u 'kshih kēnā 'pā īti* (ii.6.5¹; p. *prā*: *āukshih*: G. M. omit the last word), and *arunō ha smā 'hā'u 'paveçih* (vi.1.9²; p. *āha*: *d'upa-veçih*). Under rule 8, again, fall *agneyyā rdā 'gnīdhram* (iii.1.6¹; p. *agneyyā*: *rdā*), *sā'i 'vā 'syā rddhih* (vi.6.10²; p. *asya*: *r'd-dhih*), *d'indhā rshishutah* (ii.5.9¹; p. *d'indhā*: *r'shi-stutah*), and *evā rshir asvadayat* (v.1.10¹; p. *evā*: *r'shih*). Under rule 9, finally, we have *d'rtim d' rchati* (i.5.2⁵ et al.; p. *d'*: *rchati*), and *avd'rchaty evām āvdram* (ii.6.3⁴; p. *ava-r'chati*).

अनुनासिके अनुनासिकम् ॥ ११ ॥

11. When a nasal, the result is nasal.

The commentator quotes rule xv.6, which declares it to be the

saty 'ābhāve ca (x.17) *īti' sūtreṇa svaritasya viçeshavidhāndā' īti brāmah. reto..... van..... tā..... evam samāndkshara-sainhitāyām ekibhāvo' 'nyatrā' 'pi drashtavyah¹⁰. evam avarṇa-pūrvaṭve¹¹ 'pi vakshyate¹²: se..... tam..... sav..... se 'd..... pro..... ārja..... svā..... ime..... nāi..... eka..... athāi..... yan..... indr..... vi..... deve..... ksha..... svā..... sāu..... prāu..... aru..... āgn..... sāi..... dindhā..... eva..... drt..... avā..... evamādi¹³.*

¹ W. *prāp.*. ² B. G. M. *-rmam*. ³ O. *-sminn*; G. M. *upasargāntam*. ⁴ G. M. *udātānūddittasvaritānām pūrvaṭve ca paratve ca udātayor udātātve ca yathākramam*. ⁵ O. *prad-*. ⁶ G. M. *ubhāv eva sati*. ⁷ G. M. *-vidhānā*. ⁸ W. B. *-ve*. ⁹ G. M. *'trā*. ¹⁰ W. *-vydh*. ¹¹ G. M. *vamp*. ¹² G. M. *-ti*. ¹³ G. M. *-dayah*.

opinion of some authorities that final simple vowels, not *pragrahas*, are nasal; and he states that the present precept has reference to them: if such a nasal vowel, being acute, enters into a combination of the kind above described, the resulting single syllable is nasal. Examples, he says, are those already given. And he adds that the rule is not approved.

I cannot at all believe this to be the true interpretation. The rule seems, on the other hand, to belong to and represent the same view of the nature of a syllable ordinarily regarded as containing *anusvāra*, which appears so unequivocally at xv.1; and to mean that when such a syllable, being looked upon as one containing a nasal vowel, instead of a vowel with succeeding *anusvāra*, enters into combination with another vowel (of course, a preceding one), the result is also nasal. Thus, for example, *yah* with *aṅḡm* would make *yo 'ṅḡm*; *svāhā* and *aṅṣābhyaṁ* (vii.3.16¹⁻²), *svāhā 'ṅṣābhyaṁ*.

स्वरितानुदात्तसंनिपाते स्वरितम् ॥ १२ ॥

12. When circumflex and grave are combined, the result is circumflex.

The examples of this accentual result of combination, as given by the commentator, are as follows: *kanyē 'va tunnā'* (iii.1.11³; p. *kanyā*: *iva*), *chavi' in chavyō 'pā'kr̥tāya svā'hā* (v.7.20; p. *chavyā*: *upa-d'kr̥tāya*: G. M. O. omit *svāhā*), *yājyā'i 'shā' vā'i sap-tāpādā śākvarī* (ii.6.2⁶; p. *yājyā*: *eshā*: G. M. O. end with *'shā'*), and *ātha kvā 'syā havanī'ya iti* (v.7.4²; p. *kvā*: *asyāh*: O. omits the last two words). He then goes on to point out that the word *svarita*, 'circumflex,' being used in the rule without any distinctive sign, we are to understand the "constant" (*nitya*) or "independent" circumflex (see rule xx.2) to be intended. For this alone arises at the time of production of letters and syllables, elements of words; but the other kinds of circumflex arise after the time of origin of words, in connection with the euphonic combination of

11. *apragrahāḥ samānākṣharāṇy anunāsikāṇy' ekeshām'* (xv.6) *ity ekeshām' matam: tān uddiḡyā 'yam vidhih. tas-minn' uddātavaty anunāsike pārvataḥ parata ubhayato vā sthite saty 'ubhe' akṣhare anunāsikadharmam ekam āpnutaḥ. uktāny evo 'dāharanāni.*

'etad anishtam.'

¹ O. om. ² B. G. M. O. om. ³ G. M. O. *yeshām*; B. *eshām*. ⁴ W. *tasmā*. ⁵ G. M. O. ins. *te*. ⁶ B. O. ins. *apy*. ⁷ G. M. om.; O. *ne 'dam sūtram ishtam*.

12. *svaritanudāttayoh samnipāta ekādeḡe saty ubhāv api tāu svaritam āpadyete'. yathā: kan-----: chav-----: yāj-----: aṭha----- iha svaritasya' 'viśeshena' grahane nityasvarita eva' gr̥hyate: tasya svaritasya' vyañjanaḥ akṣharāṇām ca' padā-*

syllables and words, by the requirement of such rules as xiv.29 and xii.9; and therefore primary quality belongs only to the "constant" circumflex: whence, by the rule "when a general statement is made, that which is primary should be regarded as intended," it is proper that the constant circumflex should be here understood. In such cases, then, as *āthā 'bravīt* (iii.2.11³), where the long *ā* resulting from the combination of the final *a* of *ātha*, which has the enclitic circumflex (by xiv.29), with the initial *a* of *abravīt*, which is grave, has itself the enclitic circumflex, this is not in virtue of the present rule, but falls under the same general rule (xiv.29) that prescribes the enclitic circumflex.

To this effect the commentator: and, whatever we may think of the argument by which he attempts to prove that *svarita* in the rule means only *nitya svarita*, we shall not question the soundness of his conclusions.

न धामापासिपरोबुधियाज्यापूषामिनन्तार्षे ॥ १३ ॥

13. Exceptions are *dhā*, *mā*, and *pā*, when followed by *asi*; also *budhniyā*, *jyā*, *ā pūshā*, and *aminanta*—before a vowel belonging to the text.

That is to say, these words constitute exceptions, not to the last rules respecting accentuation, but to those which prescribe the combination of a final *a* or *ā* with the following initial vowel. The commentator cites the passages in which the first three occur before *asi*, as follows: *svadhā asy urvī* (i.1.9³), *sahasrasya pramā asi* (iv.4.11³: O. omits the first word), and *dhanvann iva prapā asi* (ii.5.12⁴: O. omits the first two words). I have also noted, for *dhā*, *varcodhā asi* (i.2.1¹), *dhā asi svadhā asi* (ii.6.4⁴), and *abhidhā asi* (vii.1.11¹); for *mā*, *pratimā asi*, *vimā asi*, and *unmā asi*, all in the same section and division (iv.4.11³) with *pramā*, as quoted: and, for *pā*, *vratapā asi* (i.1.14⁴; 2.3¹: vi.1.4⁶) and *cahshushpā asi* (i.2.1²). To explain the added specification "when followed by *asi*," the *pada*-readings are quoted for us, namely *svadhe*

*vayavānām utpattikāla eva sambhavāt: anyeshām tu⁸ padotpat-
tikāldā⁹ ūrdhvam aksharānām padānām ca¹⁰ samhitādyām udāt-
tāt paro 'nudāttah¹¹ (xiv.29) iti vidhānāt tasminn anudāt-
te pūrva 'nudāttah svaritam¹¹ (xii.9) ity ādi¹² ca: tasmān
nityasyāi 'va mukhyatvam: sāmānyoktāu ca¹³ satyām mukhye
sampratyaya iti tasyāi 'va svikāro yuktah: athā.... ity ādāv
ekādeśasyo 'dāttānantarabhāvitvād¹⁴ udāttāt paro 'nudāttah
svaritam (xiv.29) ity anendi 'va svaritatvam vijñeyam.*

¹ G. M. *ekam āpnutah*. ² G. M. om. ³ W. O. *-sya*. ⁴ B. *-shana*; G. M. *-sha-*
nam eva. ⁵ O. om. ⁶ B. *-ta*; G. M. *sa*; O. *sarug*. ⁷ W. om. ⁸ G. M. *ca*. ⁹ G.
M. *paro*; O. *aparo*. ¹⁰ W. om.; G. M. O. *vā*. ¹¹ G. M. *udāttam*. ¹² O. om.
¹³ W. om. ¹⁴ G. M. O. *-nānt*.

'*ti* *sva-dhā* (only W. has *sva-dhā* in the repetition), *prame* '*ti* *pramā*, *prape* '*ti* *prapā* (O. omits the readings of *pramā* and *prapā*). Further, to explain the final specification *ārshe*, 'before a vowel belonging to the text,' W. gives next the *jatā*-readings of *svadhā* *asi* and *prapā* *asi*, namely *svadhā* *asy* *asi* *svadhā* *svadhā* *asi*, and *prapā* *asy* *asi* *prapā* *prapā* *asi*; O. has only the former, and substitutes for the latter *dhruvā* '*si* *dharunā* (iv.2.9¹; 3.7²), which would be in place as a counter-example showing that other words than those specified in the rule are not treated as it prescribes before *asi*, but is not introduced as such, and does not make its appearance at all in the other versions; B. also has only the former (reading at the end *svadhā* '*si*), and adds *evam* *ādi*, 'and so on.' G. M. give no *jatā*-readings at all here, but pass directly from the *padu*-readings to the quotations illustrating the remaining words of the rule, namely: *pra* *budhniyā* *irate* (iv.3.13⁶: G. M. omit *pra*); *dhanvaṇ* *jyā* *iyam* (iv.6.6¹⁻²: only G. M. have the first word); *ā* *pāshā* *etv* *ā* *vasu* (ii.4.5¹), with a counter-example, *tam* *pāshā* '*dhatta* (i.5.1²), to show that *pāshā* after any other word than *ā* is not uncombinable; and *ā* *te* *suparnā* *aminanta* *evāih* (iii.1.11⁵: G. M. omit the first two words, O. the first three). Now the question is asked again, "why is it said, 'when a vowel from the text follows?'" and W. B. O., having settled the point already so far as *dhā*, *mā*, and *pā* were concerned, reply by quoting the *jatā*-readings of the other four words, each with its successor, thus: *budhniyā* *irate* *irate* *budhniyā* *budhniyā* *irate* (but B. reads *budhniye* "rate, and O. *budhnye* "rate, the last time), *jyā* *iyam* *iyam* *jyā* *jyā* *iyam* (B. O. again have *jye* 'yam at the end), *pāshā* *etv* *etv* *pāshā* *pāshā* *etv* (B. O. again *pāshāi* 'tu in the third repetition), and *aminanta* *evāir* *evāir* *aminantā* '*minanta* *evāih* (B. O. once more *aminantāi* '*vāih* to close with). G. M., however, who have the application of *ārshe* in the first part of the rule still to illustrate, give us here a most liberal series of extracts from the *jatā*-text: first, for *asi* *svadhā* (i.1.9³ or ii.6.4⁴), namely *asi* *svadhā* *svadhā* *asy* *asi* *svadhā*; then for *svadhā* *asi*, as set down above (with *svadhā* '*si* at the end, like B.; but it seems a merely accidental coincidence, for in all the other cases the third pair of words reads like the first, with the hiatus); for *iva* *prapā*, *iva* *prapā* *prape* '*ve* '*va* *prapā*; for *prapā* *asi*, as above reported from W.; for *pra* *budhniyā*; for *budhniyā* *irate*, as in W.; for *dhanvaṇ* *jyā*; for *jyā* *iyam*, as in W.; for *ā* *pāshā*, *ā* *pāshā* *pāshā* " " *pāshā*; for *pāshā* *etv*, as in W.; for *suparnā* *aminanta*, *suparnā* *aminantā* '*minanta* *suparnā* *suparnā* *aminanta*; and for *aminanta* *evāih*, as in W. From all this illustration, we seem authorized to draw the inference that the words mentioned in the rule as having

13. *dhā*: *mā*: *pā*: ' *eteshv*³ *antyasvara* *ārshe*³ *pāthe*⁴ '*siparah*:
budhniyā: *jyā*: *ā* *pāshā*: *aminanta*: *eteshv*⁶ *antyasvara* *ārshe*⁶
svaraparah *pārvavidhiṃ* *na* *prāpnoti*. *yathā*: *sva*-----: *sah*-----:
dhan-----: *asipara* *iti* *kim*: *sna*-----: '*nra*-----: *nra*-----

endings exceptionally uncombinable in *samhitā* nevertheless combine with *iti* in *pada*-text, and also exhibit their uncombinable quality in *jatā* only before the words whose sequence calls out that quality in *samhitā*—*pāshā*, for example, uniting with its predecessor *ā* into *pāshā*, and *aminanta* with itself into *aminantā* 'minanta' (only, if we may trust the example given, *svadhā* being held apart from its predecessor *asi*, because this happens to be the same word with its successor: and it is by no means impossible that the manuscripts are in the wrong upon this point). But this would be quite sufficiently intimated by the single restriction *ārsha*, without adding *asi* also; and that the latter is specifically intended to apply to the *pada*-readings, and the former to the *jatā*, is not easily to be believed. The *asi* would have best reason to be introduced because the words mentioned occur also before other vowels, with which they enter into combination—only, to be sure, I have not noted any cases in which they do so.

एशतेनेमन्नोन्नोष्ठेवःपरो लुप्यते ॥ १४ ॥

14. When followed by *eshta*, *etana*, *eman*, *odman*, *oshtha*, or *evah*, an *a*-vowel is elided.

That the elision mentioned in the rule is of an *a*-vowel is a consequence of the continued implication of the introductory rule x.3, above—although, as the commentator fails to point out, that implication was interrupted by rules 10–12, and was expressly stated at the outset to remain in force through rule 9. The passages contemplated are quoted by the commentator, as follows: *aci* 'eshtā *rāyah* (i.2.11¹), *saṁitāra upetana* (iii.1.4³, 5²), *apām tv* "emant *sādayāmi* (iv.3.1), *apām tv* "odmant *sādayāmi* (iv.3.1: G. M. O. omit *sādayāmi* in both these citations), *svāh* "oshthābhyām (vii.3.16¹), *upayāmam adharen* 'oshthēna (v.7.12: O. omits the first word), and *nir aminat* 'evaṣ chandah (v.3.5⁴: O. omits the last word). These are, so far as I have discovered, all the cases of application of the rule that the text contains. The commentator notes that rule i.22, which allows a theme ending in *a*, quoted in a rule, to stand for its various derivative forms, is the warrant for regarding *oshthābhyām* and *oshthēna* as involved in *oshtha*. The

-----⁸ 'ārsha iti kim: *sva*-----⁹ *pra*-----¹⁰ *dhan*-----: *ā pu*-----
-----: ¹¹*ākārah kimartha*: *tam*-----: *ā te*-----: *ārshasvarapa*-----
*ra*¹² *iti kim*: ¹³*budh*-----: *jyā*-----: *pā*-----: *am*-----¹³.

¹ O. ins. *ity*. ² B. G. M. *eshv*. ³ B. G. M. *-sha*. ⁴ B. *pāthakāle*. ⁵ B. G. M. O. *eshv*. ⁶ G. M. *-shapāthe*. ⁷ B. G. M. O. om. ⁽⁸⁾ O om. ⁽⁹⁾ G. M. om. ⁽¹⁰⁾ B. *evam ddi*; O. *dhrv*-----; G. M. om. ⁽¹¹⁾ G. M. *ākāreṇa kim*. ¹² O. om. *para*. ⁽¹³⁾ See the note, above.

14. ----- *ity evamparo 'varno* 'lupyate: *athā 'vārnāpārve* (x.3) *ity anuvartanād* 'avarṇa' *iti labhyate*. *aśi*-----: *saṁi*-----: *apām*-----: *apām*-----: *sāh*-----: *oshthaçabdasya sarvāvastha*-----

same two cases were given by him in illustration of the previous rule (see note to i.22). As general counter-examples, to prove the implication of "an *a*-vowel," we have *cityoshṭhaḥ* *ṣitibhruḥ* (v.6.14), and *cityoshṭhāya svāhā* (vii.3.17).

इवर्णाकारौ यवकारौ ॥ १५ ॥

15. An *i*-vowel and *u* become respectively *y* and *v*.

Here, the commentator tells us, the implication "preceded by an *a*-vowel" ceases, but the implication "followed by a vowel" has force—which implication comes all the way from rule 10 of the preceding chapter. The rule says *ukāra*, 'short *u*,' instead of *uvarṇa*, 'an *u*-vowel,' because long *ā* has already (by iv.5) been declared *pragraha*, and protracted *ū* is made uncombinable below (by x.24). The examples are *abhy asthāt* (iv.2.8¹), *ūty aśyāma* (i.3.14³), and *ā pūshā etv ā vasu* (ii.4.5¹).

उदात्तयोश्च परो ञ्नुदात्तः स्वरितम् ॥ १६ ॥

16. And, when they are acute, a following grave becomes circumflex.

The word "and" (*ca*), we are told, brings down from the preceding rule the "*i*-vowel and *u*," there described as suffering a certain effect. The examples given of the production of this kind of circumflex accent, later (xx.1) described as the *kshāipra*, are *vy evā'i 'nena pāri dhatte* (v.3.11³: only G. M. have the last two words), and *apsv āgne* (iv.2.11³). As counter-examples, we have first *nīcā' tāni dhakshy atasām* (i.2.14²) and *mādhv agnā'u juhōti* (ii.3.2⁹), to show that unless the converted vowels are acute, no circumflex appears; and then, to prove that the following vowel must also be grave, *tād yād rey ādhy akshārāni* (ii.4.11¹: G. M. omit the first word), *sā tv 'ā'i yajeta* (ii.6.6³ et al.: G. M. omit this whole example), and *in nv 'ā' ūpastīrṇam ichānti* (i.6.7³):

śya grahaṇam bhavati grahaṇasya ca (i.22) *iti vacanāt: upay-----: nir----- 'avarṇo lupyata' iti kim: ṣity-----: ṣity-----.*

¹ G. M. -*ṇapūrvō*. ² W. -*tanānīnād*; G. M. -*tanānāḥ*. ³ G. M. *avarṇapūrvā*.
⁴ B. -*ṇapūrvō* t; O. -*ṇalopa*; G. M. -*ṇapūrvā*.

15. *avarṇapūrvādhikāro nivṛttaḥ: svaraparādhikāras tu var-tate: atha svaraparo yakāram* (ix.10) *iti pūrvādhyaḥ pra-kṛāntaḥ. ivarṇokārau padāntāu' svaraparāu yathāsamkhyenā' yavakārav āpadyeta' abhy-----: ūty-----: ā pū-----: dīrgha-sya pragrahavidhānāt phutaḥ saṁdhinishēdhād ukārasya kārot-taratvaṁ' kṛtam: ivarṇokārau yavakārav iti.*

¹ W. puts after the next word. ² G. M. -*khyam*. ³ G. M. *vakar*.

compare, for the peculiar *sandhi* in these last two examples, rule v.13.

उभावि च ॥ १७ ॥

17. Also when *û* is the product of the combination.

The "also" (*ca*) of this rule is interpreted as implying that, as in the case of the combination last considered, the first element going to form the *û* must be acute, and the second grave. As examples of the combination and its accentual result are given *sān-nīyam iva* (vi.2.4¹; p. *sā-unnīyam*), *sā'dgātā* (vii.1.8¹; p. *sā-ud-gātā*), and *māsū' ttīshthan* (vii.5.2²; p. *māsū: ut-*); to which G. M. add *dikshū' padādhati* (v.5.5⁴; p. *dikshū: upa-dā*). The only other case of the kind which I have noted in the Sanhitā is *sāpa-sadanah* (vii.5.20; p. *sā-upasadanah*). The commentator adds a couple of counter-examples: the first, *sāpasthā' devāh* (i.2.2³; p. *su-upasthā'h*), shows that the former *u* must be acute; the other, *tā' dikshū' pā' dadhuta* (v.5.5⁴), that the latter *u* must be grave.

A later rule (xx.5) gives this particular variety of the circumflex accent the name *praḥlīkṣita*.

None of the other Vedic texts has an accentual usage corresponding with this. Indeed, there is not in the Atharvan a single case of a combination of two *u*'s such as is here contemplated, nor has any from the other Vedas come to my notice; if such there be, they are left to follow the general analogy of combinations of acute and grave into one homogeneous vowel (as illustrated under rule 10, above), the acute element raising the other to its own pitch and making the result acute. On the other hand, an exception to this general analogy is made in the other Sanhitās (and duly explained in their Prāṭicākhyas: see Rik Pr. iii.7, Vāj. Pr. iv.132, Ath. Pr. iii.56), in favor of the coalescence of two short *i*'s into a long *i*; if the former be acute and the latter grave, they produce together a circumflex. Of such a combination, I have

16. *cakārah pūrvasūtroktanimitindū¹ ivarṇokārāv anvādicati: udāttayor² ivarṇokārayoh paro 'nudāttaḥ ca³ svaritam āpadyate. vy-----: apsv----- udāttayor iti kim: nīḥā-----: madhv-----: paro 'nudātta iti kim: tāḥ-----: sā-----: in-----*

¹ G. M. -tino 'pi. ⁽²⁾ G. M. om. ³ O. om.

17. *cakārah pūrvodāttatvānvākarshakū¹: 'parasyā 'nudāttatvam anvādicati ca². pūrveṇo 'dāttena parasyā 'nudāttasyo 'bhāve kriyamāne³ svaritam jānīyāt. yathā: sān-----: sād-----: mā-----: 'dik-----: pūrveṇo 'dāttena kim: sūp-----: parasyā 'nudāttasye 'ti kim: tā-----*

¹ B. O. *pūrvasyo 'd*; O. -tvānuk-; G. M. *pūrvodāttam paratvānudāttam ca 'karshatī*. ⁽²⁾ G. M. om.; O. om. ca. ³ G. M. om. ⁽⁴⁾ W. B. O. om.

noted about thirty cases in the Tāittiriya text (examples, one in each book, are i.3.6²: ii.1.3¹: iii.5.5²: iv.1.6²: v.1.7²: vi.1.1⁶: vii.5.7⁴); the accentuation is throughout acute, as we should expect.

नं श्येती मिथुनी ॥ १८ ॥

18. Exceptions are *śyeti* and *mithunī*.

That is to say, these words are exceptions to rule 15—and, being thus exempt from the conversion there prescribed, and there being no other rule requiring their alteration, they remain unchanged, as if they were *pragrahas*. Their examples are *śyātena śyeti akuruta* (v.5.8¹: O. omits the first word; *śyeti* occurs also in the next division of the same section, though not before a vowel), and *na mithunī abhavan* (v.3.6²: B. omits *na*). The latter word is found in two other places—at iii.4.9¹ and vi.5.8⁶—exhibiting the same uncombinable quality; and in the latter place it has been made (at iv.53) the subject of special exception as not a *pragraha*. The *pada*-text, in fact, writes both words as if no peculiar character belonged to them.

लुप्येते ववर्णापूर्वौ यवकारौ ॥ १९ ॥

19. But *y* and *v* are elided, when preceded by an *a*-vowel.

The word “but” (*tu*) in this rule, the commentator says, annuls the application of the rule to any other *y* and *v* than such as are the products of prescribed euphonic processes, and makes these alone the subjects of its action. As a *y* or *v* can never occur as final except by euphonic conversion, the particle has no very useful office to fill, according to the interpretation. Evidently enough, it is used here, as elsewhere in the treatise where a specific force is sought for it by the comment, simply as indicative of a sudden change of subject.

Vastly the largest class of cases falling under the rule is that in which, by ix.10, a *visarjaniya* has been converted into *y* after *a*, *ā*, *ās* before another vowel than *a*. In illustration of this class, the commentator quotes *āpa undantu* (i.2.1¹), *dhruvā asmin gopatāu* (i.1.1: G. M. O. omit the last word), and *na vicityāz iti* (vi.1.9¹). The next class consists of cases of final *e* and *āi*, converted into *ay* and *āy* by ix.11,14: the examples are *ima evā 'smāi* (ii.4.10³), and *āsāmahā eve 'māu* (vii.5.2¹). Yet another class embraces the endings in *ān* of which the *n* was turned to *y* (with nasalization of the *ā*, or with *anusvāra* added, by xv.1–3) according to the rules at the end of the last chapter (ix.20–24): the selected example is *martyāñ āviveça* (v.7.9¹). But the rule teaches also the

18. *śyeti: mithunī: ity etayor antyasvaro yathāvikhitam' yavāñ nā "padyate, yathā: śyāi-----: na-----*

¹ O. om. ² W. G. M. O. om.

elision of final *v*; and O. boldly gives examples for this, as well: namely, *vāyav ishtaye* (ii.2.12⁸: W. adds *durone*), and *ahāv ana-data* (v.6.1²), although the text, by a usage which the comment ratifies under the next rule but one (x.21), retains the *v* in such cases, and it is retained by O. in these very phrases given to illustrate its omission. W. has only the former of the two, foolishly prefixing to it *avarṇapūrva iti kim*, 'why is it said, "when an *a*-vowel precedes?"' The other manuscripts pass the point without notice here, leaving it to be settled under rule 21. The true counter-examples for this precept, showing that the elision takes place only after an *a*-vowel, are given by all alike: they are *abhy asthāt* (iv.2.8¹), and *hṛtsvasaḥ* (iv.2.11³).

नोव्यस्य ॥ २० ॥

20. Not so, according to Ukhya.

Ukhya denies that *y* and *v* are omitted in any case; and would therefore read *āpay unīdantu*, *imay eva*, *martyāñy ā*, and so on.

वकारस्तु साकृत्यस्य ॥ २१ ॥

21. Not *v*, according to Sāṅkrṭya.

The connection of this rule is somewhat anomalous, but its meaning is sufficiently evident. Sāṅkrṭya dissents from the principle laid down in rule 19, like Ukhya; "but" (*tu*) his dissent does not go the whole length of the latter's; according to him, only *v* is "not" elided. As the commentator has it, the fact that this rule teaches an exception is inferred, "by vicinage," from its predecessor: its *tu* is intended as an annulment of the opinion of former teachers. And he declares that it alone is approved, while the two that precede (the former of them, of course, only so far as it is inconsistent with this) and the two that follow (B. O. omit this) are rejected. The examples are those already given by a part of the MSS. under rule 19, namely *vāyav ishtaye durone* (ii.2.12⁸:

19. *avarṇapūrvāṁ svaraparāṁ yakāravakārāṁ¹ lupyete. ya-thā: āpa-----: dhru-----: na-----: ima-----: āśā-----: ² vāy-----: ³ ahāv-----: ⁴ mart-----: evampūrvā⁵ iti kim: abhy-----: hṛt-----: tuṣabda itarāṁ yavakārāṁ nivartayann ādeṣa-prāptayor evā⁶ nayoṛ lopaviśayatvaṁ dyotayati. avarṇaḥ pārvo yābhyāṁ tāv avarṇapūrvāṁ.*

¹ G. M. *yavak*. ² W. ins. *avarṇapūrva iti kim*. ³ Only in O. ⁴ G. M. *avar-nap*.

20. *ukhyasya¹ cākhināḥ pakṣhe² 'varṇapūrvāṁ' yavakārāṁ na³ lupyete. uktāny evo 'dāharanāni.*

¹ G. M. ins. *mate*. ² G. M. *mate*. ³ O. *'pūrvāṁ*. ⁴ B. ḥm. G. M. have mixed together to some extent this and the following comment.

W. B. omit this example; O. puts it after the other one, and leaves off *durone*), and *ahāv anadātā hate* (v.6.1²: O. omits *hate*).

This is rather the most striking example afforded us of the over-riding by the commentary of the obvious intent of the Prātiçākhya itself. The usage of the existing Tāittiriya text is on the side of the comment: we have a similar resolution of the final *a* of vocatives into *av*, with retention of the *v*, at i.2.13² twice; 4.39; 6.12³: ii.2.12^{4,5}; 4.12³; 6.11¹: iii.2.10¹: vi.4.3³. Of *av* as result of final *au* before a vowel, I have failed to collect the examples; but had there been any cases of the omission of the *v*, I think I should not have omitted to observe and note them.

उकारौकारपरी लुप्येते माचाकीयस्य ॥ २२ ॥

22. According to Mācākīya, both are omitted when followed by *u* or *o*.

Instead of Mācākīya, the southern manuscripts have, both in the rule and in the commentary, Māyikāya.

All the manuscripts of the commentary declare that "respectively" (*yathāsamkhyam*) is to be understood in the rule—that is to say, that it directs us to drop *y* before *u*, and *v* before *o*; but their examples do not support this interpretation, and it is palpably a false one. It is difficult to believe that the rule itself is not corrupted, and that it ought not to read *ukārāukāraparo lupyate*, 'v is dropped before *u* or *o*' (it does not occur in the text before *u*); for, while we can discover no phonetic reason for the omission of *y* before a labial vowel, there is a very obvious difficulty in the utterance of *v* (*w*) before *u* (no real Sanskrit word begins with *vu*, nor can I recall it in the interior of a word except as the rare result of *sandhi*); and, as thus amended, Mācākīya's view would accord with the accepted doctrine of the Rik Prāt. (ii.9–11), and with one mentioned, though not adopted, by the Vāj. Pr. (iv.125).

The illustrative examples given are in part those which have appeared already, even more than once, under the preceding rules:

21. *sāmnidhyān nishedho labhyate. sāmkr̥tyasya mate'varṇa-pūrvo vakāro na lupyate: yakāras tu lupyata eve 'ty ārtah. 'vāy-.....' āhāv-..... pūrvācāryamatanivartakas tuçabdah.*

sūtram idam eve'shtam: na tu pūrvadvayam² paradvayam³ ca.

(¹) W. B. om.; O. puts after the other example. (²) O. *pūrvasūtrad-*. (³) B. O. om.

22. *yakāravakārāv avarṇapūrvāv ukārāukāraparāu lupyete yathāsamkhyam¹ mādākīyasya² "cāryasya mate³. āpa-.....: yā-..... evamparāv iti kim: ta-.....: vāy-..... lupyete iti 'ha punarārambhah pūrvasūtradvayasthitanañah⁴ sambandhaçāñkā-nirākuraṇārthah⁵.*

(¹) O. om.; G. M. after *mate*. (²) G. M. *māyikāyasya*, as in the rule itself. (³) B. G. M. *matena*. (⁴) W. -*tajanana*; B. -*tajana*; O. -*tanabha*. (⁵) O. om. *çāñkā*; W. -*tham*.

apa undantu (i.2.1¹), and *yā oshadhayaḥ* (iv.2.6⁴⁻⁵: so W. B.; but G. M. O. give instead *yā jātā oshadhayaḥ*, iv.2.6¹); to which O. adds an example for *v*, namely *ṣatakrataḥ ut* (i.6.12³: it ought, in illustration of the rule, to read *ṣatakrata ut*), putting it between the other two. Counter-examples are *ta enam bhishajyanti* (ii.3.11⁴: we are to understand, apparently, that Mâcākīya would read *tay enam*), and *vāyan ishtaye* (ii.2.12⁸).

The commentator remarks in conclusion that the repetition of *lupiyete* in the present rule (it was read above, in rule 19) is intended to remove all suspicion of the continued implication of the negative which forms a part of the two preceding rules.

तेशो वात्सप्रस्यैतयोः ॥ २३ ॥

23. According to Vātsapra, they are imperceptibly uttered.

It might admit of question whether the "they" here spoken of are final *y* and *v* in general, or only *y* and *v* followed by *u* and *o*, as specified in the last rule. As things stand, the use of the demonstrative *etayor* rather favors, though not unequivocally, the latter interpretation, and it is the one adopted by the commentator. But if the preceding rule be restored to what we have suggested above as its more probable original form, then the *etayor* will be very well in place here as referring to *y* and *v* in general; and this interpretation is supported by the fact that the Ath. Pr. (ii.24) and Pāṇini (viii.3.18) ascribe a like opinion to another grammarian, Ākatāyana, whose peculiar views upon the subject are likewise hinted at by the Vāj. Pr. (iv.126). As the meaning of *legu* is defined to be *luptavād uccāranam*, 'utterance as if omitted,' there is not much for the two opposing parties to contend about.

न प्रुतप्रग्रहौ ॥ २४ ॥

24. Exceptions are protracted and *pragraha* vowels.

Such, namely, are exempt from the rules of combination—and not merely those given in this chapter, but also such as are found elsewhere: for example, at ix.11,12. There is nothing about the

23. 'vātsaprasya mata etayor' yakāravakārayor' avarṇapār-vayor leṣaḥ syāt'. leṣo nāma luptavād' uccāranam. etayor ity ukārādukāraparāu nirdiṣṭi. uktāny evo 'dāharanāni.

(¹) B. om., along with the rule. (²) Only in W. (³) G. M. O. *yavak*. (⁴) B. -*tam*.

24. 'na khalu plutaḥ pragrahaḥ ca' saṁdhividhim bhajete'. yathā: astu..... te..... ityādividhau nishiddhe 'nyasmiṅ ca 'nārabhyamāne' prakṛtivād' bhavati.

(¹) G. M. *plutaḥ ca pragrahaḥ ca etau na khalu*. (²) W. B. O. *-jate*. (³) G. M. 'rabh-
(⁴) O. -*tyā*.

rule pointing out that it has a bearing so extensive. Only one example is given for each class: *astu hīz ity abrutām* (vii.1.6¹), and *te enam abhi* (ii.5.6⁵).

The commentator points out, as he did not take the trouble to do under rule 18 of this chapter, that, the rules of combination being thus suspended with reference to these two classes, and no other rule being given about them, they remain in their natural condition.

All the Prātiśākhya have rules equivalent to this (Rik Pr. ii.27; Vāj. Pr. iv.84; Ath. Pr. iii.33: in the note to Ath. Pr. i.73 I overlooked the present precept of the Tāittiriya-Prātiśākhya); none assumes that the pronouncing a vowel to be *pragraha* exempts it, *eo ipso*, from phonetic combination.

परश्च परश्च ॥ २५ ॥

25. Also the remaining vowel.

That is to say, the vowel remaining after the omission of the final *y* or *v* is, like those mentioned in the preceding rule, exempt from farther combination. According to the commentator, the "also" (*ca*) of the rule brings forward "*y* and *v*," the fact of their constituting an exception is inferred from the neighborhood of the preceding rule, and *paraḥ* means 'another,' and qualifies *samdhīḥ* understood: "no further combination takes place." This seems to me inadmissible, as there has been no suggestion of any such word as *samdhī*. Perhaps *para* may be better understood of the vowel "following" the *y* and *v* of which the chapter has been treating. It needs, at any rate, some violence to bring in the rule with the meaning which it is evidently intended to bear: no one would have any right to guess, from its form and position alone, at what it is aimed.

The commentator's examples are *āpa undantu* (i.2.1¹) and *agra imam* (i.1.5¹). In reply to the objection that it would be enough to state the implication of the rule as "where an omission has taken place" instead of "an omission of *y* or *v*," he brings up *se 'd u hotā* (i.1.14⁴), *sāi 'nā 'nikena* (iv.3.13² et al.), and *sāu 'sha-dhīḥ* (iv.2.3³), as examples of an elision of a final which does not prevent the further combination of its predecessor and its successor under the rules of this chapter.

25. *cakārākṛṣṭayor yavakārayor lope sati paraḥ 'samdhīḥ na bhavati.* *yathā:* *āpa*.....: *agra*..... *sāmnidhyān nishedho labhyate. nanu lope sati 'ty' etāvatāi 'vā 'lam:* *yavakārayor iti kim. se 'd*.....: *'sāi*.....: *sāu*.....: *ity ādi.*

iti tribhāshyaratne prātiśākhyavivarane
daṣamo 'dhyāyah.

⁽¹⁾ G. M. *sandhividhīn na bhajate.* ⁽²⁾ G. M. om. ⁽³⁾ W. om. *iti.* ⁽⁴⁾ O. om. ⁽⁵⁾ O. adds *prathamapraṇe.*

CHAPTER XI.

CONTENTS: 1, initial *a* elided after *e* or *o*; 2-18, exceptions, cases of retention of initial *a* after *e* or *o*; 19, dissident view as to the nature of the elision.

लुप्यते त्वकार एकरीकारपूर्वः ॥ १ ॥

1. But *a* is elided when preceded by *e* or *o*.

The subject of the omission or retention of initial *a* after final *e* or *o*, and of the accent thence arising, occupies the whole of this chapter and of the one next following, the cases of retention being mostly rehearsed in this. No attempt is made, here any more than in the treatment of other similar matters in the work, to effect a real classification—much less, an explanation—of the facts dealt with. Nor have I, on the other hand, drawn up such a classification, as I did for the Atharva-Veda (see Atharva-Prātiśākhya, under rule iii. 4). Doubtless, if drawn up, it would show nearly the same state of things to prevail in the Tāittirīya as in the Atharvan text: namely, that the elision is the greatly prevailing, almost exclusive, usage in the prose passages; while, in the metrical passages, the *a* is more usually retained where the metre requires its retention, and omitted where the metre requires its omission—although with numerous exceptions, of which the most regular is that the *a* is dropped in writing at the beginning of a *pāda*, where, of course, it was always retained in metrical utterance. The general subject of the relation of the written and spoken texts to one another in regard to this special point is well worth an elaborate investigation, founded on all the Vedic texts.

For the word “but” (*tu*) in the rule is given an alternative explanation. Some, the commentator says, regard it as suspending the force of the exceptional rule x.24; others, as marking the discontinuance of the general direction “followed by a vowel,” which has been in action since ix.10. As in other like cases heretofore, we have no good reason for applying it to any particular rule or phrase; it merely marks an abrupt transition to a new subject, somewhat exceptional in its relations to the principles already laid down. The subject was, however, anticipated and provided for in rule ix.13.

1. *ekārapūrva okārapūrvo vā 'kāro' lupyate. yathā²: te.....³so.....⁴ tuṣabdo na plutapragrahāv (x.24) iti nishedhasambandhavidhim⁵ nivartayati 'ti kecit: svaraparādhikāram nivartayati⁶ 'ty apare saṁgirante. "ekāraṣ cāu 'kāraṣ cāi 'kārau kārau⁷ ekārau kārau pūrvāu⁸ yasmat⁹ sa tathoktaḥ.*

¹ all the MSS. *akāro*. ² G. M. om. ³ B. om. ⁴ G. M. *-bandhi*; O. *-bandham*. ⁵ G. M. *nivartayati*. ⁶ in W. only. ⁷ B. om. ⁸ G. M. *yasya*.

To illustrate the rule, only two phrases, both of frequent occurrence, are quoted: namely *te 'bruvan* (ii.5.1³ et al.) and *so 'brevit* (ii.1.2¹ et al.).

In the other Prātiśākhya, the apparent loss of initial *a* after *e* or *o* is treated as an absorption of it into its predecessor, or a unification of the two. See Ath. Pr. iii.53 and note, and rule 19 of this chapter, where a somewhat similar view seems suggested.

All the MSS. excepting B. read in the rule *ekāraokārapāraḥ*; and, where the rule is quoted (i.61 and ix.13), we have six cases of this reading against three of *ekārāduk*. But the former is simply an instance of the usage, so common in the commentary (see above, p. 4), of separating, for the sake of clearness, the elements of compound words, or otherwise disregarding the rules of *sandhi*.

अथालापः ॥ २ ॥

2. Now follow cases of non-elision.

The rest of this chapter is occupied with an enumeration of the cases in which initial *a* is retained. First, in rule 3, a number of passages are specified in which non-elision is the rule, and elision (as determined by the rules of the next chapter) is exceptional; then, in the following rules, more isolated cases are disposed of.

धातारातिरूपवानपियनुष्टुप्शेनायोष्यधुवन्नितिरियमेव-
सायाग्निर्मूर्धरुद्रप्रथमोपोत्तमविकर्षविकृत्यहिरण्यवर्णी-
ययाज्यामहापृथ्वे ॥ ३ ॥

3. The *a* is not elided in the following sections: those beginning with *dhātā rātiḥ* and *upa*; those styled *vājapeya*; those beginning with *jush'a* and *cyenāya*; those styled *ukhya*; those beginning with *dhruvakshitiḥ*, *vyam eva sâ yâ*, and *agnir mûrdhâ*; the first and the next to the last of the *rudra* chapter; and those styled *vikarsha*, *vihavya*, *hiranyavarṇāya*, *yājyâ*, and *mahāpr-shithya*.

Here are pointed out not less than seventy-three sections or *anuvākas*, in which *a* is not elided (except in the cases specified in the rules of the next chapter). Those designated by the annotation of their first words are i.4.44; 5.5: iii.1.10; 2.8: iv.3.4, 11; 4.4. The *vājapeya* sections are six, namely i.7.7-12. The *ukhya* sections (as pointed out above, under ix.20) are twenty, namely iv.1.1-10; 2.1-10. The *rudra* chapter is iv.5, containing eleven sections;

2. 'athe 'ty ayam adhikārah.' alopa ucyata ity etad adhikrtam
kavyam ita uttaram yad vakshyāmah. 'na lopo 'lopaḥ,' lopā-
a ity arthah.

M. om. ② all MSS. na lopah alopah.

those here referred to, then, are iv.5.1,10. The name *vikarsha* belongs to five sections, namely iv.6.1-5. Three sections, iv.7.12-14, are styled *vikavya*. The *hiraṇyavarṇīya* section (as shown under ix.20) is v.6.1. The *yājyās* have been repeatedly the subjects of prescription in earlier chapters (iii.9,11; ix.30); they are twenty-three sections, namely i.1.14; 2.14; 3.14; 4.46; 5.11; 6.12; 7.13; 8.22; ii.1.11; 2.12; 3.14; 4.14; 5.12; 6.11,12; iii.1.11; 2.11; 3.11; 4.11; 5.11; iv.1.11; 2.11; 3.13. The *mahāprsthīya* sections, finally, are the first six of those which (as seen under ix.20) bear the name *prsthīya*; they are iv.4.12; 6.6-9; 7.15.

Section i.4.44 is quoted by its two first words, instead of by *dhātā* only, according to the commentator, because of the occurrence in another *śākhā* of a section beginning *dhātā devebhyo 'surān* (G. M. omit *asurān*). Again, iv.3.4 is quoted by *dhruva-kshitih*, instead of by *dhruva* (the first *pada* of *dhruva-kshitih*, i.48), because *dhruva* (by i.22) would include *dhruvaḥ*, and there is another section beginning with this word, and containing cases of elision, *dhruvo 'si dhruvo 'hañ śajāteshu bhāyāsam* (ii.3.9¹: only G. M. have the last two words), which would otherwise be violations of the rule. Yet again, to quote iv.3.11 by *iyam* simply would not answer, because i.2.4 begins with *iyam te śukra tanūr*, and contains a case of elision, *sagarbhyo 'nu sakhā sayāthyah* (i.2.4²: only O. has the last word; G. M. omit the example). But why quote by so long a phrase as *iyam eva sā yā*, of which the last two words are unnecessary? To this objection there is an alternative answer: some say that it is for the benefit of the dull-minded; others, that it is intended to include a verse which, though occurring in another place (at i.4.33), is a remainder to this, and which contains the case of non-elision *o te yanti ye aparīshu paçyān* (i.4.33: G. M. O. omit *paçyān*). Now it is true that the single verse constituting i.4.33 is of kindred subject with iv.3.11, and in the Rig-Veda forms part of the same hymn (i.113) with parts of the latter; and it is also true that the combination *ye aparīshu* is not otherwise authorized by the Prāticākhya; but it is, of course, little less than absurd to assert that an excessive

3. 'dhātā'rātir ity' ādisho anuvākesho ekārapārva okārapārvo vā 'kāro na lupyate. 'dhātā rātir (i.4.44) ity atra yathā:³ nidh-----: rātir iti kim: dhātā devebhyo 'surān iti śākhāntare. 'upaprayanto adhvaram (i.5.5) ity atra yathā³: āre-----: deva savitaḥ pra suva (i.7.7) ity 'ādi shadānuvākānāni⁴ vājapeyasamjñā: 'atra yathā:⁵ te no-----: te agre-----: juṣṭo vāca (iii.1.10) 'ity atra yathā: yas-----: 'yo-----: 'syenāya 'patvāne (iii.2.8) ity atra yathā³: namaḥ-----: viçve-----: ukhye yathā³: çr̥v-----: namo-----: dhruvakshitir (iv.3.4) 'ity atra yathā¹⁰: viçve-----: ūrmir-----: 'kshitir iti kim: dhruve 'ty 'akārāntasya yadi¹² grahaṇām syāt¹¹: dhruvo-----: ity atra bhaved¹³ iti.¹⁴ iyam eva sā yā (iv.3.11) 'ity atra¹⁵:

quotation of the beginning of the one *anuvāka* has any right, or can have been intended, to include the other. The right of i.4.33, it may be remarked, to stand in the text to which our Prātiçākhyā applies, is assured by the contemplation of others of its phonetic phenomena by rules found elsewhere (most unequivocally by vi.5); its case of non-elision would seem to have been overlooked by the makers of the treatise, but discovered by the commentators, some of whom have tried to force it violently within the ken of their rules. It is necessary to quote iv.4.4 by two words, because i.6.8 also begins with *agnih*, and in it we find *yo me 'nti dāre 'rātīgati* (i.6.8¹): the example is wanting in G. M.). Finally, instead of *prsththya* passages, the *mahāprsththya* are specified, because of such cases as *prthivī te 'ntarikshena* (v.2.12²: the *anuvāka* is *prsththya*, but not *mahāprsththya*).

The commentator cites one or more examples from each of the sections or sets of sections which the rule specifies, as follows. From the section beginning *dhātā rātih* is taken *nidhipatir no agnih* (i.4.44¹); it contains three more cases, and one exception. From that beginning with *upa* comes *āre asme ca* (i.5.5¹); it contains six other cases, and one exception. From the *vājapeya* sections, *te no aravatāh* (i.7.8²) and *te agre aṣvam ā 'yurjan* (i.7.7²); they contain eleven examples, and eleven exceptions. The section beginning with *jushta* yields *yas te aṅguh* (iii.1.10¹), and O. alone adds *yo drapso aṅguh* (iii.1.10¹); there are two other cases, and no exception. From the *gyendāya* section, *namah pitrbhyo abhi* (iii.2.8³) and *viṣve arupā edhute* (iii.2.8⁴); there are four other cases, and two exceptions. From the *ukhya* sections, *grīvanti viṣve amṛtasya putrah* (iv.1.1²: only W. has *putrah*) and *namo astu sarpebhyah* (iv.2.8³); they yield seventy-five cases, and forty-five exceptions. From the section *dhruvakshitih* are cited the only two examples, *viṣve abhi grñantu* (iv.3.4²) and *ārmir drapso apām asi* (iv.3.4³: only G. M. have *asi*); there are no exceptions. From the section beginning *iyam* etc. are taken *ketum kṛvāne ajare* (iv.3.11¹: G. M. omit *ketum*) and *trayo gharmāso anu* (iv.3.11¹); there are three other cases, and one exception. The

ketum....: *trayo*....: *iyam ity* ¹⁸*etāvatai 'vā 'lam:*¹⁸ *iyam*
te çukra tanār (i.2.4) *ity* ¹⁷*atra sag-*.... *ity atra mā bhād iti:*
*sā ye 'ti padadvayam*¹⁷ *mandadhiyām pratipattiyartham iti kecit:*
anye tv anyathā kathayanti: asyā 'nuvākasya çeshabhātā ¹⁸*ya*
*rg*¹⁸ *anyatra sthitā sā 'pi* ¹⁹*svīkartavye 'ti*¹⁹: *o te*.... *agnir*
mārdhā ²⁰*diva* (iv.4.4) *ity atra yathā*²⁰: *sa*....: *enā*....:
mārdhe 'ti kim: *agnir mā durishtād* (i.6.3) *ity atra* ²¹*yo me*
....²¹ *rudrapraçnasya prathamopottamānuvākayor yathā*²²:
namo....: *drāpe*....: *uta*....: *uttamasya pārvatah*²³ *saṃni-*
kṛṣṭa upottamah. aṣmann ūrjam (iv.6.1) ²⁴*ity atrā 'nuvāka-*
*pañcasya*²⁴ *vikarshasanjñā: tatrah*²⁵ *'nya* ²⁶*am*....: *pāvako*....:
*vājo naḥ sapta pradīçā*²⁶ (iv.7.12) *ity atrā*²⁷ ²⁷*dyanuvākatra-*

first example here is not well chosen, since the *e* of *kṛvāne* is *pragraha*, and *pragrahas* are not contemplated in the general rules for elision: see xii.8 and note. From the *agnir mīrdhā* section, *sa yojate arushah* (iv.4.4⁴) and *enā vo agnīm namasā* (iv.4.4⁴: O. omits *namasā*); there are three other cases, and one exception. From the specified sections of the *rudra* chapter are taken *namo astu nilagrīvāya* (iv.5.1³), *drāpe andhasas pate* (iv.5.10¹), and *utā mā no arbhakam* (iv.5.10²); they afford fourteen cases, and five exceptions. From the *vikarsha* sections, *anyam te asmat tapantu* (iv.6.1^{3,5}: only W. has *tapantu*) and *pāvako asmahyam* (iv.6.1¹ etc.); there are thirty-three cases, and ten exceptions. From the *vihavya* sections, *viçve adya marutah* (iv.7.12¹: O. omits *marutah*) and *viçve devāso adhi vocatā me* (iv.7.14²: only O. has *viçve*); ten cases and five exceptions. The *hiranyavarṇīya* section affords three cases only, of which one is cited, *eko devo apy atishthat* (v.6.1³). The *yājyā* sections afford a hundred and twenty-nine cases, with thirty-eight exceptions; the selected examples are *supathā rāye asmān* (i.1.14³; repeated at i.4.43¹) and *kāmena kṛto abhy ānat* (i.1.14²: W. B. O. end with *abhī*). From the *mahāprshthya*s, finally, come *vivasrad vāte abhi nah* (iv.4.12⁴) and *somo adhi bravītu* (iv.6.6⁴: O. adds *no diṁ*, doubtless for *no 'ditih*, which follows in the text); they contain thirty-eight cases and nine exceptions.

This rule, accordingly, disposes at one stroke of three hundred and fifty-one cases of the retention of *a*; but it is at the cost of creating a formidable body of exceptions, a hundred and thirty-one in number, which have to be provided for by the counter-rules of the next chapter—while, once more, a considerable number of the cases falling under the rule have to be individually specified, partly in that chapter and partly in the two following rules of this, as exceptions under the counter rules. It is a complicated process, but it successfully attains at last its purpose.

yasya vihavyasaṁjñā: tatra²⁸ viçve----: viçve----- hiraṇyavarṇīye²⁹ yathā³⁰: eko----- yājyāsu yathā³¹: supathā-----: kāmena----- sumid diçām (iv.4.12) *jīmūtasya* (iv.6.6) *yad akrando* (iv.6.7) *mā no mitro* (iv.6.8) *ye vājinam* (iv.6.9) *agner manve* (iv.7.15) *iti³² śaṇṇām eśām³³ anuvā-kānām mahāprshthyaṁjñā: tatra³⁴ vivasrad----: somo ----: mahe 'ti kim: prthivī-----*

(1) W. B. -rāti 'ty. (2) G. M. krameṇo 'dāharanāni. (3) G. M. upa only. (4) G. M. ādinām śaṇṇām an-. (5) G. M. tatra. (6) G. M. om. (7) in O. only. (8) G. M. om.; W. omit yathā. (9) G. M. om. (10) G. M. om. (11) G. M. kṣitigrāhaṇam; O. adds tadd after syāt. (12) O. etāvanmātrasya. (13) G. M. mā bhūd; O. api bhavet. (14) O. om. (15) G. M. om.; O. adds yathā. (16) G. M. ukte; B. adds kim anyāh; O. etāvatā 'lam kim ebhī. (17) G. M. atrā 'pi 'ty adhikopādānam. (18) W. O. yā rḡ; G. M. yā rḡ; B. yām rḡ. (19) W. B. svikuroti; O. adds yathā. (20) G. M. om. (21) G. M. mā bhūd iti. (22) G. M. om. (23) W. pūrvah. (24) G. M. iti praçñāsya dātāh pañcanuvākānām; O. ādi for atra. (25) O. tatra yathā. (26) G. M. om. (27) G. M. O. om. atra. (28) G. M. om.; O. yathā. (29) G. M. -rñāh. (30) G. M. om. (31) G. M. om. (32) B. om. (33) G. M. put before śaṇṇām. (34) O. ins. yathā.

अ॒हसो॑हतिरनिष्टतोऽवत्वस्मानवद्यादहनि च ॥४॥

4. Also in *añhasaḥ*, *añhatih*, *anishṭṛtaḥ*, *avantu asmān*, *avadyāt*, and *ahani*.

The cases of non-elision referred to are as follows: for *añhasaḥ*, *pramūñcanto no añhasaḥ* (iv.3.13⁵); for *añhatih*, *pari dveshaso añhatih* (ii.6.11²); for *anishṭṛtaḥ*, *vardhatān te anishṭṛtaḥ* (iv.1.7²); for *avantu asmān*, *te avantu asmān* (ii.6.12³), with a counter-example, *te no 'vantu pitaro haveshu* (ii.6.12⁴: only G. M. have *haveshu*), to prove the necessity of giving *asmān* along with *avantu* in the rule; for *avadyāt*, *mitramaho avadyāt* (i.2.14⁶); and for *ahani*, *guciḥ gukre ahany ojasinā* (iv.4.12¹: G. M. O. stop at *ahani*). All of them occur in passages which are the subject of the preceding rule, and the commentator points out that the "also" (*ca*) of the rule brings forward the implication of those passages, and that to any of the words specified, if occurring elsewhere in the text, the rule does not apply; citing as example *sa evāi 'nam pāpmano 'ñhaso nuñcati* (ii.2.7⁴: all but G. M. stop at *añhasaḥ*). At first sight, then, the rule appears to be a superfluous repetition of part of the cases involved in the preceding one; in fact, however, its value is that of a rehearsal of exceptions under rule xii.4, which teaches that even in the sections above specified, an *a* before a *y*, *v*, *n*, or *h*, if those letters be followed by a vowel, is elided. The only thing calling for explanation about the matter is the connection in which the counter-exceptions are given, which is, to say the least, quite peculiar.

अनु घर्मासत्रायोमर्तोऽयस्त्वोदत्तेवातःपूर्वः ॥५॥

5. Also in *anu*, when preceded by *gharmāsah*, *āpah*, *marṭah*, *rathah*, *tvah*, *datte*, and *vātah*.

This rule belongs, in part, in the same category with the preceding, as pointing out cases in which the *a* of *anu* is retained according to rule 3 of this chapter, notwithstanding the prohibition of rule xii.4; but in part it is of a more general character, since the last two cases lie outside the sections specified in rule 3.

4. ¹ *cakāro dhātārātir* (xi.3) *ityādivishayānvādeṣakah²:*
añhasaḥ..... *ity eteshu grahaṇeshu dhātārātirityādisthaleshv³*
ekdrapārvo vāu⁴ 'kārāpārvo vā⁵ 'kāro na lupyate. yathā⁶:
pram-----: *pari*-----: *vardh*-----: *te*-----: *asmān iti kim:*
te no-----: *mitr*-----: *guciḥ*-----, *yavanahaparavād⁷*
(xii.4) eshu prāpyamānalopeshv⁸ alopo 'yam⁹ vihitah. anvādeṣaḥ
kimarthah: sa-----.

¹ G. M. ins. *eteshu grahaṇeshu*. ² G. M. -*disthalavish*-. ³ B. adds *anturvartishu*; G. M. -*lipattishu*; O. -*lavartishu satsu*. ⁴ G. M. O. om. *vā*. ⁵ O. om. ⁶ G. M. O. om. ⁷ W. -*ratv*; G. M. -*hasvarapar*-. ⁸ G. M. ins. *satsu*. ⁹ W. om.; B. na.

The commentator explains the phraseology used as signifying that the words rehearsed, having their final *visarga* [with the preceding *a*] converted to *o* [of course, excepting *datte*], have the office of preceding causes—that is, of producing an effect upon the word that follows them; but he gives no hint of the partial suspension of the implication made in the preceding rule; intimating rather, that the cases rehearsed are all of them exceptions under rule xii.4. He quotes the passages, as follows: *trayo gharmāso anu* (iv.3.11¹), *tasmād apo anu sthanu* (v.6.1³), *yadā te marto anu* (iv.6.7³), *anu tvā ratho anu* (iv.6.7³), *pīyati tvo anu tvah* (iv.2.3⁴: only G. M. have the last word), *śukram ā datte anuhāya jāryāi* (iii.2.2²: G. M. O. omit *jāryāi*), and *dhanus tad vāto anu vātu te* (v.5.7^{3,4}: O. ends with *anu*). To show that other words than *anu* are not relieved from the action of xii.4, he gives us *amushmīn loke vāto 'bhi pavate* (v.4.9⁴: all but G. M. begin at *vāto*); and further, to show that *anu* retains its *a* only after these words, *anu gāvo 'nu bhagah kanindām* (iv.6.7³: only G. M. O. have the last word).

I have noted ten cases in which the *a* of *anu* is elided under the operation of rule xii.4.

अभिवात्वपश्च ॥ ६ ॥

6. Also (after *vātaḥ*) in *abhi vātu* and *apah*.

The *ca*, 'also,' here brings down as *pūrvanimitta* simply *vātaḥ*, the word last specified in the preceding rule. The cases have nothing to do with xi.3: they are *mayobhār vāto abhi vātā 'srāḥ* (vii.4.17¹: G. M. omit the first word, and they alone have the last), and *yad vāto apo agamat* (vii.4.20: O. omits *agamat*); and, as counter-examples, the commentator quotes *vāto 'bhi* (v.4.9⁴) to show the necessity of giving *vātu* after *abhi* in the rule, and *ava rundhe 'po 'gre 'bhīryāharati* (vi.4.3²: G. M. omit the last two words) to attest the implication conveyed by the *ca*.

अन्वगमश्च ॥ ७ ॥

5. *utra visargāntānām otvam āpauśānām pūrvanimittatvam¹ iti² vijñeyam: gharmāsah----- ity evampūrva anv ity atrā 'kāro na lupyate. yathā: trayo³-----: tasmād-----: yadā-----: anu-----: pīyati-----: śukram-----: dhanus⁴----- anv iti kim: amushmīn-----: evampūrva iti kim: anu----- yavana-huparatvanishedhārtho⁴ 'yam ārambhaḥ.*

¹ W. G. M. -mittam. ² O. om. ³ a lacuna in B. ⁴ G. M. yavanahasvarapa-; O. -shedhanisheḥārtho.

6. *cakāro vāta ity anvādicati: abhi vātu: apah: ity etayor akāro vātahpūrvo na¹ lupyate. mayo----- vātu iti kim: vāto----- 'yad-----² anvādegena kim: ava-----*

¹ G. M. ins. *khālu*. ² G. M. put before *vātu* etc.

7. Also (after *apah*) in *anu* and *agamat*.

Here, again, the *ca*, 'also,' brings forward only the last word in the preceding rule, namely *apah*—and what is more, gives that word a new character, changing it from *nimittin* to *nimitta* or affecting cause. Of this the commentator takes no notice, and we are doubtless to regard it as quite in order, and as merely adding another to the formidable list of uncertainties involved in the curious system of *anuvṛtti* or continued implication. The passages had in view are *apo anv acārisham* (i.4.45³, 46²: B. reads *āpo adyā 'no*, which is the version of the Rig-Veda, i.23.23) and *apo agamad indrasya* (vii.4.20); as counter-example, is given *paçavo 'nā 'd āyan* (ii.1.5¹), to prove the implication of *apah*.

आपःपूर्वा ऽद्विरपानपादस्मान् ॥ ८ ॥

8. Also in *adbhiḥ*, *apān* *napāt*, and *asmān*, when preceded by *apah*.

The passages are *saṁ āpo adbhir agmata* (i.1.8), *devīr āpo apān napāt* (i.2.3³: vi.1.4⁹; 4.3³), and *āpo asmān mātaraḥ gundhantu* (i.2.1¹: O. omits *gundhantu*). The necessity of specifying *napāt* after *apān* is shown by *vāruṇīr āpo 'pān ca* (ii.1.9²), and the restriction to preceding *āpah* by *so 'smān pātu* (v.5.5¹).

रयिसइन्द्रःपूर्वश्चाकारपरे ॥ ९ ॥

9. In *asmān*, also, if followed by *a*, when *rāye*, *sah*, and *indrah* precede.

The *ca*, 'also,' again brings down the word last mentioned in the preceding rule. The passages for *sah* and *indrah* are *mā so asmān avadhāya* (v.7.9¹) and *indro asmān asmin dvitiye* (iii.1.9²: O. omits *dvitiye*): and other cases of *asmān* after *sah* are to be found at i.6.6⁴ and iii.2.7². As counter-examples, are given *so 'smān pātu* (v.5.5¹), to show that the *asmān* must be followed by *a*; and *smo 'smān anutra* (vi.6.1⁴: all the MSS. of the commentary have the false reading *so 'smān*; such a phrase would be precisely out of place here as illustration), to show that it is only

7. *apa iti cakāro 'nvāddhigati: anu: agamat: ity etayor akāro 'nā khalo' apahpārvo lupyate. apo anv-----: apo ag----- evampārva iti kim: paçavo-----.*

(¹) G. M. O. om. *khalu*, and put *na* next before *lupyate*.

8. *adbhiḥ----- eteshv' akāra apahpārvo na lupyate. saṁ-----: devīr-----: napāt iti kim: vāruṇīr.: āpo----- evampārva iti kim: so-----.*

(¹) G. M. *eshv*; O. *eshu grahaneshv*.

after the words specified that *asmān*, even before *a*, remains unmutilated.

The other case, that of preceding *rāye*, makes more difficulty, since the *saṁhitā* contains no passage in which *asmān*, when itself followed by *a*, has *rāye* before it. The commentator first declares the passage had in view to belong to another text (*śākhā*); but adds, as an alternative explanation, that the precept relates to the *jaṭā*-text, where we read *rāye asmān asmān rāye rāye asmān* (i.1.14³; 4.43¹). He proceeds further to say that, in case any one objects that in the *saṁhitā* form of the passage the example does not hold good, since *asmān* is not there followed by *a* (it reads *rāye asmān viçvāni*), he shall reply that the case is one falling under i.61. It is there taught, namely, that a passage of three words or more, if repeated in the text, reads as it read on its first occurrence: now the one in question first appears in i.1.14, which is a *yājñā* section, and hence the *a* of *asmān* is retained by xi.3; at i.4.43, then, its retention is assured. But then there ought to be no necessity for specially establishing its retention in *jaṭā*, any more than in any other case where an *a* is retained in *saṁhitā*. This difficulty the commentator evidently perceives, although he does not state it; for otherwise the *jaṭā* explanation would have satisfied him, and he would never have thought of suggesting another *śākhā*. The difficulty really remains unsolved, and a serious one: either there was a blunder on the part of the makers of the treatise, or a passage not contained in the present *Saṁhitā* was contemplated by them: I incline to think the former more likely.

तेपूर्वी ज्ञान्धोऽशुभे ॥ १० ॥

10. Also in *adya*, *andha*, *añcuḥ*, and *agne*, when *te* precedes.

The commentator quotes the passages, as follows: *paçun paçupate te adya* (iii.1.4¹: W. O. omit *paçun*), *upo te andha* (i.4.4 and iii.4.2¹), *añcunā te añcuḥ* (i.2.6: B. omits the example), and *yat te agne tejas tena* (iii.5.3²: only B. has *tena*). Counter-examples are, first, to show that only these words keep their *a* after *te*, *te gnaye pravate* (ii.4.1²: B. has a corrupted reading, *te enum*, and W. a lacuna to the end of the comment, putting in place of it an example from under the next rule, *tena tvā "dadhe gne āngirah*),

9. *cakārākṛṣhte 'smāngrahane 'kīrapare sati' vartumāno³ 'kāro rāye sa indra ity⁴ evampūro na lupyate. rāyepūro asyo 'dāharuṇam śākhāntare: 'atha vā⁵ jūṭāyām bhavati: rāye..... yathā-saṁhitāyā⁶ no 'dāharuṇam akāraperatvābhāvāt⁷ tarhi⁸ katham alopa⁹ iti kecū¹⁰: tripadaprabhṛtipunaruktatād iti brūmah. mā..... indro..... akāraperā iti kim: so..... evampūro ity¹¹ kim: śmo..... akārah paro yusmāt¹² tad akāraperam¹³: tasmin.*

¹ iu. W. only. ² G. M. put before 'kīrapare. ³ G. M. O. om. ⁴ O. om. ⁵ G. M. O. ins. tu. ⁶ W. O. -patvābh: G. M. -parābh-. ⁷ O. tathā; G. M. add tadā. ⁸ G. M. bpa. ⁹ G. M. O. cet. ¹⁰ W. tad akām; G. M. akāraperah.

and second, to show that these words do so only after *te*, *prathamō 'ñcu skandoti* (iii. .8³: only B. has *skandati*).

Of *agne* after *te*, the text presents eighteen other cases: namely i.2.11² twice; 4.43²; 5.2⁴, 3², 4³; 6.6²; 7.6⁴; iii.4.10⁵; 5.3² (a second case): v.4.7⁵; 7.4¹, 6³, 8¹ three times: vi.2.2⁷; 6.1².

मेपूर्वश्च ॥ ११ ॥

11. In *agne*, also, when preceded by *me*.

Only *agne*, the last word of rule 10, is brought down into this. The commentator quotes *yan me agne asya* (i.6.2¹, 10²: W. B. omit *asya*) and *imā me agna ishtakāḥ* (iv.4.11^{3,4} and v.4.2⁴); and there is another case in iv.4.11⁴. He adds, as usual, a number of counter-examples, of obvious intent: they are *tena tvā "dadhe 'gne aṅgīrah* (i.2.12¹: O. omits *aṅgīrah*), *prāṇaḥ ca me 'pānaḥ* (iv.7.1¹), and *tad aṣakam tam me 'rādhi* (i.6.6³).

अस्याश्चिनापरा च ॥ १२ ॥

12. As also, in *asya*, *aṣvīnā*, and *aparā*.

That is to say, when these words follow *me*. The passages are *vīyantu devā haviṣho me asya* (i.5.10³: O. begins at *devā*), *punar me aṣvīnā yuvam cakshuh* (iii.2.5⁴: W. B. omit the last word, O. the last two), and *yad vā me aparāgatam* (vi.6.7²).

नःपूर्वा ऋदग्निरघान्तमोऽभ्यस्मिन्नग्यपथि ॥ १३ ॥

13. Also in *asat*, *agnih*, *agha*, *antamah*, *abhi*, *asmin*, and *adya pathi*, when preceded by *naḥ*.

The examples are *supārā no asat vāge* (i.2.3¹ and vi.1.4⁴), *ayam no agnir varivah* (i.3.4¹ and i.4.46³; there is another case of *no agnih* at v.7.9¹), *rakshā mākir no aghaṇṣa īgata* (i.4.24 and

10. *adya*----- *eteshv*¹ *akāras ta ity evampārvo na lupyate. yathā*²: *paḥum*-----: *upo*-----³ *añṣunā*-----³ *yat*----- *eteshv iti kim*: ⁴*te*-----: *tepārva iti kim: prathamō*-----⁴

¹ O. *eshv*. ² in W. only. ³ B. om. ⁴ W. om., and ins *tena tvā* etc.

• 11. ¹*cakāro 'gna ity anvādiṣati: mepārvo 'gna ity atrā 'kāro* *nā lupyate. yathā*²: *yan*-----: *imā*----- *mepārva iti kim: tena*-----: *anvādegena*³ *kim: 'prāṇaḥ*-----⁴ *tud*-----

¹ B. *cakārākṛṣhte sati agna ity asmin akāro ma ity evampārvo*; G. M. the same, omitting *sati*; O. the same, omitting *sati* and the second *iti*. ² in W. only. ³ O. *-ga iti*. ⁴ O. om.

12. *mepārva iti cakāro 'nvādiṣati: asya*-----¹ *eteshv*² *akāro mepārvo na lupyate. vi*-----: *punar*-----: *yad*-----

¹ G. M. ins. *iti*. ² O. *eshv*.

iv.6.6⁴: G. M. O. omit *īcata*), *agne tvam no antamah* (i.5.6³ and iv.4.4⁸), *sviṣṭīm no abhi vasiyah* (iii.1.9²: G. M. O. omit *vasiyah*), *śikṣā no asmin* (vii.5.7⁴), and *tebhīr no adya pathibhih sugebhi rakṣā ca nah* (vii.5.24: all but W. end with *pathibhih*). The necessity of including *pathi* in the rule is shown by *no 'dya vasu vasati 'ti* (ii.5.3⁶⁻⁷). Other counter-examples, of obvious intent, are *tasmād agvād gardabho 'sattarah* (v.1.2¹: G. M. omit the first two words), *so 'gnir jātah* (v.1.4¹), *uttarato 'ghāyur abhidāsati* (v.7.3¹: B. O. omit the last word), *te 'sminn āichanta* (vii.2.10¹), *namo 'gnaye 'pratividdhāya* (i.5.10¹: the example is found only in G. M.), and *te nah pāntu te no 'vantu* (i.2.3¹; 8.7¹: iv.3.3²).

नमःपूर्वा ऽग्नेऽग्नेभ्योऽग्नियाय ॥ १४ ॥

14. Also in *agre*, *agvebhyah*, and *agniyāya*, when preceded by *namah*.

The passages are *namo agrevadhāya ca* (iv.5.8¹), *namo agvebhyo 'ṣvapathibhyah* (iv.5.3²: B. omits the last word; the whole example is wanting in W.), and *namo agniyāya ca* (iv.5.5²). Counter-examples are *apo 'gre 'bhivyāharati* (vi.4.3²) and *namo 'gnaye 'pratividdhāya* (i.5.10¹).

आविन्नःसोमःपूर्वा ऽग्निपरः ॥ १५ ॥

15. Also when *āvinnaḥ* or *somaḥ* precedes and *agni* follows.

It may be made a question whether the rule should not read *gniparah* (without sign of omission), and mean 'also an *a* preceded by *āvinnaḥ* or *somaḥ* and followed by *gni*.' But the authority of the comment (see below) is decidedly, though not unequivocally, in favor of what I have given, and the construction, though a peculiar one, has its analogies elsewhere in the treatise (compare x.4 etc.). The further difficulty remains, however, that the only passages in the text to which the rule can apply read *agnih*, in the nominative singular, after the two words specified, so that there appears to be no reason why we should not have simply '*gnih*', instead of '*gniparah*'. This the commentator does not fail to perceive,

13. *asat..... eteshv akdro na ity evampūrvo na lupyate. yathā¹: supārā.....: ayan.....: rakṣā.....: agne.....: svi-
shtīm.....: śikṣā.....: tebhīr..... pathi 'ti kim: no.....
nahpārva iti kim: tasmād.....: so.....: uttarato.....: te.....
eteshv iti kim: 'namo.....² te.....*

¹ in W. only. ² in G. M. only.

14. '*agre.....¹ eteshv akdro namahpūrvo na lupyate. namo
.....: 'namo agv.....² namo agni..... namahpārva iti
kim: apo.....: eteshv iti kim: namo 'gn.....*

(¹) O. om. (²) W. om.

and accordingly—resorting, as we cannot well help saying, to one of his usual subterfuges—he declares *agni* (or, according to W. B. O., *gni*) “a part of a word, intended to include a number of cases occurring in another *gākhā*,” not going so far, however, as to quote any of these cases. I suspect *gniparah* to be either a corruption of *gniḥ*, or originally intended as equivalent with it.

The passages are *āvinno agnir gr̥hapatiḥ* (i.8.12²) and *somo agnir upa devāḥ* (iii.2.4¹); and the commentator adds counter-examples, so *gnir jātaḥ* (v.1.4¹) and *āvinno 'yam asū* (i.8.12²).

धीरासोऽद्व्यासश्कादशासञ्जप्रोणांपुत्रः शार्यतिष्ठाः पि-
तारः पृथिवीयज्ञासतेयेगृह्णाम्यग्रे वाऽश्पज्ञज्ञेसस्फानोयु-
वयोयः पृष्ठेपतिर्वीगोशुष्मः पुवः समिद्धञ्जभः पाथोवचोव-
र्षिष्ठेनुषाणोयोरुद्रोवृष्णः पूर्वः ॥ १६ ॥

16. Also *a* is retained when preceded by *dhîrāsah*, *adabdhāsah*, *ekādaśāsah*, *r̥shinām putrah*, *gāryāte*, *ashādah*, *pitārah*, *pr̥thivī yajñe*, *āsate ye*, *gr̥hṇāmy agre*, *vān eshah*, *yajñe*, *saṁsphānah*, *yuvayor yah*, *pr̥sthe*, *patir vah*, *go*, *cushmah*, *puvah*, *samidāhah*, *r̥shabhah*, *pāthah*, *vacah*, *varshishthe*, *jushāno*, *yo rudrah*, or *er̥shnah*.

The passages had in view are quoted as follows: *tām dhîrāso anudreya yajante* (i.1.9³: G. M. O. omit the last word); *adabdhāso adabdhāmyam* (i.1.10² and iii.5.6¹); *ekādaśāso apsushadah* (i.4.11); *r̥shinām putro adhirāja eshah* (i.3.7²: G. M. O. omit the last word), with a counter-example, *yasya putro jātaḥ* (i.5.8⁵; 7.6⁵), to show the need of including *r̥shinām* in the *nimitta*; *yathā gāryāte apibah* (i.4.18: G. M. omit *yathā*); *ashādho agniḥ* (i.5.10¹⁻²); *tvatpitāro agne devāḥ* (i.5.10²: G. M. O. omit *devāḥ*); *pr̥thivī yajñe asmin* (i.6.5¹), with a counter-example, *te mā 'smīn yajñe* (iii.2.4¹), where, as only W. B. point out, the *jāta*-text shows the mutilation of *asmin* after *yajñe* not preceded by *pr̥thivī* (thus, *asmin yajñe yajñe 'smīn asmin yajñe*); *adhyāsate ye antarikshe* (iii.5.4³), with *ye pr̥thivīyān ye 'ntarikshe* (iv.5.11²: only O. has the first *ye*) as counter-example; *mayi gr̥hṇāmy agre agnim* (v.7.9¹⁻²), with *ashtān krtvo 'gre 'bhi shanoti* (vi.4.5¹: O. omits *shanoti*) as counter-example; *idāvān esho asura* (i.6.6⁴ and iii.1.11¹), with *śukra esho 'nto 'ntam mānushyah* (vii.2.7²: O. stops at

15. *āvinnoḥ: somah:* ¹ *evampāro* ² *kāro 'gniparo* ³ *na bipyate: agni* ⁴ *'ti padāikadeṣah gākhāntare bahūpādīnārthaḥ. āvinno* ----- *somo* ----- *evampāro* *iti kim:* *so* ----- *evampara* *iti kim: āvinno* -----

¹ G. M. ins. *ity.* ² G. M. *agni ity evamparah akāro*; B. *akarah agniparo*. ³ W. B. *Q. gni.*

'ntam) to show the need of *vān*; *itah prathamam jajñe agnih* (ii.2.4⁹: only G. M. have *itah*; without it, also i.3.14⁵): see what is said of this passage, and of the rule as fixing its reading, under i.61; *sañsphāno abhi rakshatu* (iii.3.8²), as counter-example to which, to show that *sphānah* in the rule would not have been enough, is given *gayasphāno 'gnishu* "from another *śākhā*," but the genuineness of the reason is open to doubt; *yuvayor yo asti* (iii.5.4¹) with *yo 'psu bhasma praveçayati* (v.2.2⁵: only O. has the last word) to prove the need of *yuvayoh*; *nākasya prsthe adhi rocane divah* (iii.5.5³: G. M. O. omit *divah*; another nearly identical case at iii.5.4¹); *yajñapatiḥ vo atra* (v.7.7¹), with *na vo 'bhāgāni havyam* (v.1.1¹: O. omits *havyam*) as counter-example; *goargham eva somam karoti* (vi.1.10¹: O. omits *-mam karoti*; *goargha* occurs twice more in this section, and at v.2.9⁴ we have *goacva* twice), to which, by rule i.52, *agoargham* (vi.1.10¹ three times) is to be added as further example; *uchushmo agne yajamānāyāi 'dhi* (i.6.2²: only G. M. have *edhi*, and O. omits also the preceding word; there is a second case, of *ūgushmah*, in the same division); *agrepuvo agrepuvāh* (i.1.5¹); *samiddho anjan* (v.1.11¹: and we have *samiddho agne* at i.6.6²; 7.6⁴; ii.5.8⁶), without any counter-example to show that *iddhah* would not have been enough to answer the needs of the rule; *dyām rshabho antariksham* (i.2.8¹: O omits *dyām*, and G. M. have, like the Calcutta edition, the false reading *yām*); *priyam pātho apī 'hi* (iii.3.3³ three times); *ugram vaco apā 'vadhīm* (i.2.11²: another nearly identical case in the same division); *varshishthe adhi nāke* (i.1.8 and i.4.43²); *jushāno aptur ājyasya vetu* (i.3.4¹ and vi.3.2²: G. M. omit *vetu*); *yo rudro agnāu yah* (v.5.9³: G. M. O. omit the last word), and, as counter-example, *yad upatrūhyād rudro 'sya* (vi.3.9³: but O. reads *agnīyād* for *upatrūhyād*, which makes the reference to i.6.7⁴); and, finally, *vṛshno acvasya samdānam asi* (ii.4.7², 9⁴: O. stops at *acvasya*, which would make the reference include also vii.4.18² twice; and there are further cases of retention after *vṛshpah* at i.4.2 and vi.4.5³).

16. *dhīrāsah----- evampūvo na' khale² akāro lopyate. yathā³: tān----- adab----- ekād-----: rshinām-----: rshinām iti kim: yasya-----: yathā-----: ash-----: tvat-----: prthivī-----: prthivī 'ti kim: te----- 'ity atra jatādyām⁴: adhy-----: āsatu iti kim: ye-----: mayi-----: grhnāmī 'ti kim: asht-----: idāvāñ-----: vān iti kim: çukra-----: itah-----: sañs-----: sam iti kim: gayasphāno 'gnishu iti śākhāntare: yuvayor-----: yuvayor iti kim: yo-----: nākasya-----: yajña-----: patir iti kim: na-----: go-----: apy akārādi (i.52) vacanād⁵ agoargham 'iti co 'dāharanam⁶: uchushmo-----: agrepuvo-----: samiddho-----: dyām-----: priyam-----: ugram-----: varsh-----: jushāno-----: yo-----: ya iti kim: yad-----: vṛshno-----.*

¹ O. puts next before *lupyate*. ² O. om. ³ G. M. O. om. ⁴ G. M. O. om. ⁵ O. *iti prāptih*. ⁶ O. om.

अरतिमस्ययज्ञस्यातिद्रुतोऽतियत्यनृणोऽविष्यन्ननमीवो-
 ज्ञेधर्चिरजीतानज्यानिमद्भियाम्ब्रात्यर्वत्तमस्त्वकृणोद-
 क्षिरोऽप्सुयोऽस्क्रभायदच्युतोऽश्वसनिरस्यभिरशिष्रेदङ्गे-
 ऽग्निय ॥ १७ ॥

17. Also in *aratim*, *asya yajñasya*, *atidrutah*, *ati yanti*, *anṛṇah*, *avishyan*, *anumīvah*, *anneshu*, *arcih*, *ajñān*, *ajyānim*, *ahnigāh*, *ambāli*, *arvantam*, *astu*, *akṛnot*, *ahgirah*, *apsu yah*, *askabhāyat*, *acyutah*, *açvasanih*, *asthabhih*, *açicret*, *añge*, and *aghniya*.

The passages had in view are quoted by the commentator as follows, with such counter-examples as are needed to justify the inclusion of more than one *pada* in any case: *mārdhānam divo aratim prthivyāh* (i.4.13 and vi.5.2¹: O. begins at *divah*, and it alone has *prthivyāh*); *yan me agne asya yajñasya* (i.6.2¹, 10²), with the counter-example *ete syā 'mushmīn* (vi.1.10⁵); *pratyah kim somo atidrutah* (i.8.21: all the MSS. here insert the *k* before *somo*, as required by v.32, and G. M. even convert it to *kh*, according to xiv.12); *paçyanto ati yanti* (iii.2.2¹), and, as counter-example to both these last examples, *nai 'nāñ somo 'ti parate* (vi.5.11⁴: O. begins at *somo*); *tad agne anṛṇo bharāmi* (iii.3.8²: O. omits *bharāmi*); *na yavase arishyan* (iv.4.3³); *svāveço ananīvo bhavā nah* (iii.4.10¹: B. O. omit *bhavā nah*); *ye anneshu rividhyanti* (iv.5.11¹: O. omits the last word); *jātivedo yo arcih* (v.7.8¹); *çarado ajitān* (v.7.2³); *teshām yo ajyānim* (v.7.2³); *tiroahniyā mā suhutāh* (vii.3.13: O. omits *suhutāh*); *ambe ambāli* (vii.4.19^{1,2} twice, ³ twice); *yo arvantam jighāñati* (vii.4.15: O. omits the last word); *bahis te astu bāl iti* (iii.3.10²: O. stops at *astu*; the text furnishes eleven other cases of *astu* with *a* retained, at i.2.3³; 4.45¹; 8.14²: iii.1.1⁴; 2.5⁷, 8²: v.5.9³ twice; 7.2⁴, 4^{3,4}); *ita indro*

17. *aratim*.....¹ *eteshv akāro*² *na khalv*² *ekārapārva okāra-pārvo vā lupyate. yathā*³: *mārdh*-----: *yan*-----: *yajñasye 'ti kim: ete*-----: *pratyah*-----: *paçy*-----: *drutoyanti 'ty ābhyām*⁴ *kim: nai*-----: *tad*-----: *na*-----: *svāv*-----: *ye*-----: *jāta-vedo*-----: *çarado*-----: *teshām*-----: *tiro*-----: *ambe*-----: *yo*-----: *bahis*-----: *ita*-----: *agne*-----: *yo*-----: *ya iti kim: açvo*-----: *yo*-----: *madāya*-----: *yo*-----: *sanir iti kim: açvebhyo*-----: *indro*-----: *bhir*⁵ *iti kim: çam*-----: *ity atra*⁶ *jātāyām*⁶: *asthabhyo*-----: *varuṇo*-----: *añge*-----: *aghniye 'ty akāragrhitah paddikadeço bahūpādānārthaḥ: etāni*-----: *yad*-----: *payo*-----.

¹ G. M. om. the enumeration, and ins. *iti*. ² G. M. om. *khalv*, and put *na* next before *lupyate*. ³ G. M. O. om. ⁴ B. *tābhyām*; G. M. *etābhyām*. ⁵ B. G. M. *asthabhir*. ⁶ O. om. ⁷ B. om.

akṛnot (i.1.12); *agne aṅgiro yo 'syām* (i.2.12¹: there is another case in the same division, and one at vi.2.7³); *yo apsu ya osha-dhishu* (v.5.9³), with the counter-example *açvo 'psujo vetasah* (v.3.12²: but O. gives instead *yo 'psu bhasma*, v.2.2⁵); *yo askabhāyad uttaram* (i.2.13³: G. M. O. omit *uttaram*); *madāya raso acyutah* (i.2.6); *yo bhaksho açvasanīh* (iii.2.5⁷), and, as counter-example, *açvebhyo 'çvapātibhyaç ca* (iv.5.3²: only O. has *ca*); *indro dadhico asthabhir iti* (v.6.6³: O. omits *iti*), and a counter-example from the *jatā*-text of the passage *çam asthabhyo majjabhyah* (v.2.12²: O. omits), namely *asthabhyo majjabhyo majjabhyo 'sthabhyo 'sthabhyo majjabhyah* (G. M. give simply *majjabhyo 'sthabhyah*); *varuno açigret* (i.8.10²); *aṅge-aṅge nī dedhyat* (i.3.10¹ and vi.3.11²: it would have been better to include in the example the preceding word *prāno*, to show that the first *aṅge*, as well as the second, furnishes an example under the rule; there is another like pair of cases, after *apāno*, in i.3.10¹); and finally, it is explained that the quotation of *aghniya* with final *a* makes it (by i.22) a part of a word, intended to include a variety of cases, and three such cases (being all that the text contains) are quoted: namely *etāni te aghniye nāmāni* (vii.1.6⁸), *yad āpo aghniyā varune 'ti çapāmahe* (i.3.11: B. omits the last word; G. M. O. the last three); and *payo aghniyāsu hrtsu* (i.2.8¹: O. omits *hrtsu*, which would make the citation include also vi.1.11³). This exposition seems to prove that the proper reading at the end of the rule is *aghniya*, and I have ventured to adopt it, though all the MSS. (except T., which is ambiguous, running rules 17 and 18 together in *sandhi*) give *aghniyā*. *Aghniyā* would answer as including *aghniyāsu*, but it would not include also *aghniye*.

अधर स्वरपरे ॥ १८ ॥

18. Also in *adhvara*, when a vowel follows [the *r*].

The examples *given in illustration of the rule are *satyadharmāno adhware* (i.2.1²), *haviṣmān devo adhvarah* (i.3.12), and *upāprayanto adhvaram ity āha* (i.5.7¹). In regard to the last of them, it is remarked that rule i.61 is not of force for it, since the conditions imposed by that rule do not arise in it. The rule, namely, directs that a passage of three words or more, being repeated in the text, is to be read as where it first occurred; now *upāprayanto adhvaram* was found at i.5.5¹, where the retention of the *a* comes under rule 3 of this chapter; but here only two

18. *adhvara ity asmin¹ grahaṇe svarapare² vartamāno 'kāro³ na khalv³ ekārāṅkārāpūrv⁴o lupyate. satya-----: haviṣmān-----: upa-----: atra⁵ triṣadaprabhṛti* (i.61) *nyāye na prasaratī⁶: tallukshandāsambhavāt. svaropara iti kim: çug-----: andho-----.*

¹ G. M. *elasmin*. ² O. *ius. satī*. ³ G. M. *om*. ⁴ G. M. O. *ekārāpūrvā okārāpūrvā vā*; G. M. adds *na*; B. adds *vā*. ⁵ M. *tatra*. ⁶ B. *sarati*.

words, instead of three, are cited in the repetition. As counter-examples, showing the value of the restriction "when a vowel follows," are given *gug vā agniḥ so 'dhvāryum* (v.6.2⁴) and *andho 'dhvāryuḥ syāt* (v.1.3¹ and vi.1.8³: O: alone has *syāt*, and, without that addition, the phrase is found also at v.1.3²). This proves that what is to be "followed by a vowel" is the *r* of *adhvara*; but how that meaning is conveyed by the terms of the rule is not easy to discover. The MSS. are at variance as to the reading of the first word of the rule, T. W. B. O. giving *adhvara*, and G. M. *adhvare*, between which I am at a loss to decide confidently, because neither of them appears to be what is wanted. But I prefer *adhvara*, both because it is better supported, and because it is not the usage of the treatise to put in a case-form the words or themes which it cites from the text.

An additional case falling under the rule is *ūrdhvo adhvarah* (i.1.12); and yet others (as i.5.5¹ twice, and, doubtless, i.4.46²⁻³), to which it would else apply, are disposed of under the general rule xi.3.

स पूर्वस्यार्धसदृशमेकेषामर्धसदृशमेकेषाम् ॥ ११ ॥

19. In the opinion of some, it becomes half-similar with its predecessor.

This is a very blind precept, and we are permitted to doubt whether its purport is interpreted aright by the commentary; in which, moreover, there are peculiar and unintelligent variations of reading. What letter is the subject of the rule—the elided *a*, or the non-elided? The comment says the latter (although the majority of MSS. blunderingly say the "non-protracted" instead), and states that it acquires a quantity similar to half a *mora*, or becomes one and a half *moras* long. It is added, that no special examples are given, because such would not bring to light any difference (? only O. has the reading that means this: W. B. omit the "not;" G. M. are unintelligible). This appears to me quite unsatisfactory. The distinct demonstrative *sa* in the rule ought to point back to something distinctly stated above, and that is the

19. *yo 'yam akāro 'luptah' sa pārvasyādi "kārasyaṁ 'kārasyaḥ vā 'rdhamātrasadṛṣaṇi' kālam bhajata' ity ekeshāṁ ṛshēṇām' matam*⁸: 'adhyardhamātraḥ syād' ity arthaḥ. uktāny evo 'dāharāṇāni viśeṣhādṛṣaṇāt'. ardhena sadṛṣo 'rdhasadṛṣaḥ': tam ardhasadṛṣam¹⁰.

iti tribhāshyaratne prātigākhyavivarana¹¹

ekādaśo 'dhyāyāḥ.¹²

¹ W. B. O. *aphutah*. ⁽²⁾ G. M. *ekāraokārapūrvasya*. ³ W. -*tram sad-*; G. M. -*trāsad-*. ⁴ G. M. *labhata*. ⁵ O. *ācāryāṇām*. ⁶ O. om. ⁽⁷⁾ W. O. -*trasyām*; B. G. M. -*tra syād*. ⁸ W. B. -*shadar-*; G. M. *darṣaṇāt*. ⁹ G. M. *yah*. ¹⁰ O. om. ¹¹ O. in *Prathamapraṇe*. ¹² G. M. add *prīṭishṇāya namaḥ*.

akāra which in rule 1 is said to be dropped after certain "predecessors." We have had no *akāra ahipta* spoken of, but only cases of *alopa* of *akāra*. And it seems to be taught here, in accordance with the doctrines of all the other Prāticākhyas (see note to Ath. Pr. iii.53), that some regard the *a* as (not elided, but) so absorbed into the preceding diphthong as to become assimilated to, or identified with, the latter half of that diphthong. We may with plausibility conjecture the rule to be a later addition to the original substance of the chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTENTS: 1-8, elision and non-elision of initial *a* after final *e* or *o* in exceptional and special cases; 9-11, resulting accent.

अथ लोपः ॥ १ ॥

1. Now for cases of elision.

This is a general heading to the chapter (that is to say, to its first eight rules); which, as the commentator points out, has for its sphere of action the passages specified in rule 3 of the preceding chapter. This is a matter of course: the general rule (by xi.1) being elision, there can be need of an additional authority for elision only where that rule is contravened by another of opposing character, and of wider application than to specific cases only.

असि ॥ २ ॥

2. The *a* of *asi* is elided.

The examples given are *suparno* 'si *garutmān* (iv.1.10⁵; 6.5³; v.1.10⁵: O. omits the last word) and *pratho* 'si *prthivy asi* (iv.2.9¹: O. stops at 'si). The elision is not infrequent in this word, usually occurring in the little prose phrases which are inserted among the verses in the sections concerned; I have noted eighteen other cases: but they are hardly worth detailed reference.

न गर्भःसंनद्धोयमोभद्रःपूर्वः ॥ ३ ॥

1. *athe* 'ty *ayam adhikārah*: *akārasya lopa ucya* ity *etad adhikṛtaṁ veditavyam ita uttaraṁ yad vakshyāmaḥ. dhātārā-tir* (xi.3) *ityādīvishayo* 'yam *adhyāyārambhaḥ*¹.

¹ G. M. *etadadh*.

2. *asī* 'ty *asminn akāro lupyata ekārāukārapūrvah*¹. *yathā*²: *suparno*-----: *pratho*-----.

¹ G. M. *-rvo vā*. ² in B. only.

3. But not when *garbhah*, *saṁnaddhah*, *yamah*, or *bhadrah* precedes.

The examples quoted by the commentator are *garbho asy osha-dhānām* (iv.2.3³), *saṁnaddho asi vīdayasva* (iv.6.6⁵), *asi yamo asy ādityah* (iv.6.7¹: G. M. O. omit the last word), and *tvam bhadro asi kratuh* (iv.3.13¹). There is another case of *asi* after *garbhah* at iv.1.4², which is then repeated at v.1.5³, the *a* standing this time unelided by rule i.61.

As usual, the commentator thinks it necessary to account for the inclusion of the double *pada sam-naddhah*, instead of simply *naddhah*, in the rule. Some, he says, quote as counter-example *upanaddho 'surah* (iv.4.9); but its propriety is questionable, since the passage does not fall under xi.3, and moreover, there is no *asi* in it (O. has the good sense to pass without notice this most absurd suggestion); and the valid counter-example is to be sought in another *śākhā*. We have here an unusually clear example of the arbitrary way in which the plea *śākhāntare* is resorted to, in order to avoid the attribution of a slight inconsistency to the treatise-makers.

यवनहपरः स्वरपरेषु ॥ ४ ॥

4. *A* is elided before *y*, *v*, *n*, and *h*, when these are followed by a vowel.

The examples given are *hiraṇyacrāgo 'yo asya pādāh* (iv.6.7⁴: O. omits *pādāh*), *vanaspate 'vā sṛjā rarāṇah* (iv.1.8³: O. omits *rarāṇah*), *varenyo 'nu prayānam* (iv.1.10⁴), and *jambhayanto 'him vṛkam* (i.7.8²: O. omits *vṛkam*). These are but specimens selected from among a considerable number of cases: namely, before *y*, two; before *v*, nineteen; before *o*, fourteen (all but three of them, cases of *anu*, the counter-exceptions to which form in part the subject of xi.5); before *h* (which, as the counter-exceptions noted in xi.4 show, includes also *ñh*), five; in all, forty. To show the necessity of the restriction "when these are followed by a vowel," are cited *śukraṁ te anyat* (iv.1.11²) and *ugre ahnāñ hitah* (iv.1.3⁴: O. omits *hitah*).

There is a well-established difference of reading here in the rule itself: T. B. G. M. have *yavanaha svarupareshu*, only W. and O. adding *para* (which I have amended to *parah*) after *ha*. So also,

3. *garbhah*.....¹ *evampūrvah sāmīnidhyāl labdhe 'sī 'ty as-min grahaṇe³ 'kāro ' na⁵ lupyate. garbho*.....: *saṁnaddho*.....: *'sam iti kim: upan*..... *iti kecid udāharanti: tac cintyam: dhātārātir* (xi.3) *ityādyantaḥpātivābhāvād asiśabdā-darśaṇāc 'ca: mukhyam tu' śākhāntare vijñeyam pratyudāharaṇam⁶. asi*.....: *tvam*.....

¹ G. M. ins. *ity*. ² W. *tasmīn asi*. ³ B. O. om. ⁴ G. M. ins. *ekārapūrvā okāra-pūrvā vā*. ⁵ B. om. ⁶ O. simply *udāharanti śākhāntare*. ⁷ W. *cā 'mukhyam kīmtu*.

where the rule is quoted under i.21, W. alone (there is no O. for that part of the work) introduces *para*; under xi.4 and 5, W. and B. alike have *yavanahaparatva* etc., but the testimony as to the rule is equivocal, since *para* might well have been added there by way of exposition instead of quotation. I have, as usual, followed W., although not without suspicion that the *para* is a gloss, introduced to help the otherwise blind and inaccurate phraseology of the rule—which latter, however, is not altogether discordant with the usage of the treatise elsewhere.

The exceptions under this rule, instead of being rehearsed after it, as is the general habit of the Prāticākhya, are given in rules 4 and 5 of the preceding chapter, and, in the latter rule, mingled with instances of a wholly different character. Here, then, a particular specification of cases already included under a general rule is regarded as insuring against inclusion in a more general statement of exceptions under that rule. I believe that the treatise offers no other example of this canon of interpretation.

अकारमपर उदात्तः ॥ ५ ॥

5. Before *j* and *gn*, *a* is elided if acute.

The examples are *ojo* 'jāyathāh (i.6.12⁴) and *gucih pāvaka vandyo* 'gne (i.3.14⁵); and the counter-examples, of a unaccented remaining unelided, are *nā tatṛshānō ajārah* (iv.6.1²) and *nidhi-pātir no agnīh* (i.4.44¹). There is, as the examples show, a real reason in the accent: *ājāyathah* and *agne* are both words that are accented only at the beginning of a *pāda*, where (as remarked under xi.1) the elision of *a* is an almost universal rule. All the other cases of elision before *gn* (nine in number) are of the same kind; not, however, those before *j* (only two).

मोवचोदधानस्थेपूर्वश्च ॥ ६ ॥

6. Before *gn*, also when preceded by *mah*, *vacah*, *dadhānāh*, and *sith*.

The *ca*, 'also,' of this rule, brings down simply *gn* from its predecessor, the intent being to point out the cases where the *a* of *agni* is elided even when unaccented. *Mah*, it is stated, is a part

4. ¹ *yakāravakāranakārahakāraparo* 'kāro² *lupyate teshu yakā-rādishu svarapareshu satsu. hiraṇ-----: vanas-----: vareṇyo-----: jambh----- svarapareshv³ iti kim: sukram-----: agre-----*

¹ G. M. ins. *ekāraokārapūrva akārah*. ² G. M. om. ³ O. *-para*. ⁴ G. M. add *evam ādi*.

5. *yakāraparo*¹ *gnaparag cā* 'kāra² *udātto lupyate. ojo-gucih----- udātta iti kim: na-----: nidhi-----*

¹ G. M. *yakārag ca*. ² O. puts after *udātto*.

of a word, so given for the sake of conciseness, and including the two cases *āṅgirasvad ache'mo 'gnim* and *āṅgirasvad bharishyāmo 'gnim* (both iv.1.2²: O. omits *āṅgirasvad* in each). The other passages had in view by the rule are *vaco 'gnaye bharatā brhat* (iii.2.11¹: O. omits the last two words), *dadhāno 'gnir hotā* (iv.1.3⁴), and *sadhasthe 'gnim purishyam* (iv.1.3¹: O. omits *purishyam*). To prove the implication of *gn* only, is given *sadhasthe adhy uttarasmin* (iv.6.5³; 7.13⁴: v.7.7²: O. omits).

By xi.16, *vacah* does not as a general thing elide the following *a*; but there is no clashing between the two rules, as they have reference to different parts of the text. •

अभ्यावर्तिन्नूपमपिदधाम्यद्यान्वदितिः शर्मणिर्निह्वामग्न-
यः पप्रयोऽस्माकमस्मेधत्ताश्चाश्रुतिरश्यामामार्यमन्नस्म-
त्याशानस्मिन्यज्ञेऽस्ताव्यथमानाभिद्रोहमधाय्यदोऽथोऽदु-
ग्धाग्रिष्टाग्रथाग्रचर्त्यन्तरस्यामत्रस्थान्नायाङ्गिस्वदकरम्

॥ ७ ॥

7. The *a* is elided in *abhyāvartin*, *apūpam*, *api dadhāmi*, *adyā 'nu*, *aditih çarma*, *agner jhivām*, *agnayah paprayah*, *asmākam*, *asme dhatta*, *açmā*, *açvā* wherever found, *acyāma*, *amā*, *aryaman*, *asmatpāçān*, *asmin yajñe*, *astā*, *avyathamānā*, *abhidroham*, *adhāyi*, *adah*, *atho*, *adugdhāh*, *arishtāh*, *arathāh*, *aranti*, *antar asyām*, *atra stha*, *annāya*, *āṅgirasvat*, and *akaram*.

The commentator gives an example for each specification of the rule, with counter-examples for every case in which more than one *pada* is taken, as follows: *agne 'bhyāvartin* (iv.2.1²), and, as counter-example, *kāmena krto abhy ānad arkam* (i.1.14²: G. M. omit the last word, O. the last two); *bhadraçoce 'pāpam deva* (iv.2.2³: only W. has *deva*); *agne 'pi dadhāmy āsye* (iv.1.10²), and, as counter-example, *baddho apikaksha āsani* (i.7.8³: O. omits the last word); *anu no 'dyā 'numatih* (iii.3.11³: iv.4.12⁵; 7.15⁵), and, as counter-example, *pra tat te adya çipivishta nāma* (ii.2.12⁵: O. ends with *adya*, and G. M. substitute another passage,

6. *gnapara iti cakāro jñāpayati: mah----- ity evampūro
gnapuro* ¹'nudātto 'py' ²'akāralopo bhavati.' *yathā: aṅgi-----
ma ity* ⁴'atra padātikadeçagrahaṇam' ⁵saṁkshepārtham: *aṅgi-
-----: vaco-----: dadhāno-----: sadhasthe-----* ⁶'anvādeçah
kimarthah: ⁵*sadh----- gnaparasyā* ⁶'kārasya' ⁷'nudāttārtho 'yam
ārambhah.

(¹) in W. only. (²) G. M. O. *akāro luyate*. (³) in W. only. (⁴) G. M. *apadagrahaṇam*. (⁵) G. M. *anvādeçena kim*; O. om., along with the following example. (⁶) in W. only.

namely *viçve adya marutah*, iv.7.12¹); *adhi bravītu no 'ditih çarma yachatu* (iv.6.6⁴: G. M. O. omit the first two words), and, as counter-example, *yathā no aditih karati* (iii.4.11²: only O. has *karati* [reading it *karat*]; G. M. substitute a *jatā* reading, *aditir no no aditir aditir nāh*, without anything to show whether it is put forward as the *jatā*-text of this passage, or of another, occurring at iv.6.9⁴, where the *samhitā* likewise reads *no aditih*); *adhvaram no 'gner jihvām abhi grñitam* (iv.1.8²: B. omits the last word, O. the last two, G. M. the last and first), and, as counter-example, *vratā dadante agneḥ* (iv.1.8²); *te no 'gnayah paprayah* (i.7.7²), and, as counter-example, *purishyāso agnayah prāvanebhīh* (iv.2.4³: G. M. omit the last word); *naro 'smākam indra* (iv.6.6⁷; there are two other cases, at iii.2.8⁶ and iv.6.4³); *viçve 'sme dhatta* (i.4.44²), with the counter-example *dravinām vājo asme : vājasya mā* (iv.7.12¹: only B. has *mā*, and G. M. O. end at *asme*); *pari vrñdhi no 'gmā bhavatu nas tanūh* (iv.6.6⁴: G. M. end with 'gmā, and only O. has the last two words); for the phonetic complex *açvā*, however followed, *vṛshapānayo 'çvā rathebhīh* (iv.6.6³: O. omits after 'çvā), *pracetaso 'çvān* (iv.6.6⁵), and *bharanto 'çvāye 'va* (iv.1.10¹: O. omits this example), with two counter-examples, *cashālam ye açvayūpāya takshati* (iv.6.8²: O. alone has the last word, and it omits the first) and *kshatram no açvo vanatām* (iv.6.9⁴: O. omits *vanatām*), to show that *açva* would not have answered the purpose instead of *açvā*; *vājayanto 'çyāma dyumnān* (i.3.14³: G. M. omit *dyumnān*); *punas te 'māi 'shām* (iv.7.14³); *ye te 'ryaman* (ii.3.14⁴); *te 'smatpāçān* (iv.3.13⁴), with the counter-example *anyam te asmat tapantu* (iv.6.1^{3,5}: v.4.4⁵: only O. has *tapantu*); *yah pitā te 'smān yajñe* (ii.6.12⁶), with the counter-example *te asmān javam ā 'dadhuḥ* (i.7.7²); *prasitim drāṇāno 'stā*

7. *abhyāvartin*..... *eteshv akāro lupyate ekārāukārapūrvah¹. yathā²: agne*..... *āvartin³ iti kim: kāmēna*..... *bhadra-çoce*..... *agne*..... *dadhām⁴ 'ti kim: baddho*..... *anu*..... *anv iti kim: pra*..... *adhi*..... *çarme 'ti kim: yathā*..... *adhv*..... *jihvām iti kim: vratā*..... *te*..... *papraya iti kim: purish*..... *naro*..... *viçve*..... *dhatte 'ti kim: drav*..... *pari*..... ⁴ *açve 'ty asya⁵ yatrayatraya çrutis⁶ tatratatra lopah: vṛsha*..... *çrutir iti kim: prace*..... *bhar*..... *dirghagrahaṇena⁷ kim: cashālam*..... *kshatram*..... *vājay*..... *punas*..... *ye*..... *te*..... *pāçān iti kim: anyam*..... *yah*..... *yajña itī kim: te*..... *prasitim*..... *mā*..... *jane*..... *droham iti kim: brhas*..... *upa*..... *ye*..... *mayam*..... *çūra*..... *pūrve*..... *ye*..... *gāya*..... *abhi*..... *asyām iti kim: rukmo*..... *ye*..... *sthe 'ti kim: tva-shtā*..... *rāyas*..... *prthivyāḥ*..... *aham*.....

¹ G. M. put before *lupyate*, and add *vā*. ² G. M. O. om. ³ W. *abhyāv*. ⁴ O. ins. *açvā çrutih*. ⁵ G. M. O. om. ⁶ G. M. *çrūyate*. ⁷ G. M. ins. *iti*.

'si (i.2.14¹: O. omits *prasitim*); *mā suparno 'vyathamānā* (iv.2.9¹); *jane 'bhidroham manushyāh* (iii.4.14¹): O. omits *manushyāh*), with a counter-example, *brhaspate abhīcāster amuñcah* (iv.1.7⁴: only W. has *amuñcah*); *upa prā 'gāt sunṣṇme 'dhāyi manma* (iv.6.8³: all but O. begin at *sun-*, and G. M. end with *'dhāyi*); *ye 'do rocane divah* (iv.2.8³: O. omits *divah*); *mahyam agne 'tho sīda* (iv.1.9³; 2.1⁵); *gūra nonumo 'dugdhāh* (ii.4.14²); *pūrve 'rishtāh syāma* (iv.7.14²: all the MSS. read *-shītā*); *ye pavayo 'rathāh* (i.6.12⁶: only G. M. have *ye*); *gāyatrino 'reanty arkam* (i.6.12²⁻³: only G. M. have *arkam*); *abhi gāguco 'ntar asyām* (iv.1.9³; another case at iv.2.3³), with the counter-example *rukmo antar vi bhāti* (iv.1.10⁴⁻⁵ et al.); *ye 'tra stha purānāh* (iv.2.4¹), with the counter-example *tvastā no atru varivah* (i.4.44¹); *rāyas posho 'nḍāyu tvā* (i.7.9²: O. omits *tvā*); *prthivyāh sadhashte 'ngirasvat* (iv.1.6^{1,2} four times; other cases at iv.1.1^{3,4} three times); and *aham tebhyo 'karanā namah* (iv.5.1³).

गाहमानोजायमानोदितयोमन्यमानोवनस्पतिभ्यःपते-
स्त्रिधस्तपसःस्वधावोभामितोज्ञयन्नायोऽध्वयीक्रतोपूर्वः

॥ ८ ॥

8. An *a* is elided when preceded by *gāhamānah*, *jāyamānah*, *hetayah*, *manyamānah*, *vanaspatibhyah*, *pate*, *sridhah*, *tapasah*, *svadhāvah*, *bhāmitah*, *agnayah*, *āyo*, *adhvaryo*, and *krato*.

The quoted passages are *gāhamāno 'dāyah* (iv.6.4²); *jāyamāno 'hnam ketuh* (ii.4.14¹); *hetayo 'nyam asmat* (iv.5.10⁵); *manyamāno 'martyam* (i.4.46¹); *vanaspatibhyo 'dhi sambhrtām* (iv.6.1¹: O. omits the last word), with the counter-example *namah pitrbhyo abhi* (iii.2.8³); *annapate 'nasya* (iv.2.3¹ and [by i.61] v.2.2¹); *niho atī sridho 'ty acittim* (iv.1.7³: O. omits the first two words); *tapaso 'dhi jātah* (iv.2.10⁴); *deva svadhāvo 'mrtasya dhāma* (iii.1.11⁶: O. omits the first word and the last), with the counter-example *anyā vo anyām avatu* (iv.2.6³: O. omits the last word); *bhāmito 'mitrasyā 'bhidāsatah* (i.6.12⁵: O. omits the last word); *yān agnayo 'nvatapyanta* (iii.2.8³: O. omits *yān*); *agne 'dabdhāyo 'gītātano* (i.1.13³: O. omits *agne*); *adhvaryo 'ver apāsh* (vi.4.3⁴: O. ends at *'veh*); and *çatakrato 'nu te dāyi* (ii.5.12⁵).

A special explanation is required for the passage in which *agnayah* occurs, since the following *pada* is *anu*, which might seem to

8. *gāhamānah*----- *ity evampūrvo*⁴ *'kāro* *lupyate*. *yathā*²:
gāh-----: *jāy*-----: *hetayo*-----: *many*-----: *vanas*-----:
vanaspati 'ti *kim*: *namah* : *anna*-----: *niho*-----: *tapaso*
-----: *deva*-----: *svadhe* 'ti *kim*: *anyā*-----: *bhāmito*-----:
yān--- : *ukārasya vakāravikriyāyām vyañjanaparo nakāra*³ *iti*
yavanaha (xii.4) *nishedhābhāvad alope prāpte tadapavādo*

fall under xii.4. Its inclusion here is necessary, because in *saṁhitā* the word becomes *anv*, so that its *n* is no longer "followed by a vowel," as required by that rule. The question might arise, whether rule i.51 would not, at any rate, cause *anv* to be implied along with *anu*; but the commentator does not raise it, and the course taken by the treatise is evidently the more reasonable and safer one.

The last three cases which the rule deals with are of a peculiar character, and quite different from all the rest falling under this chapter, being those in which a final *pragraha* or uncombinable vowel elides an initial *a*, either in the passages specified in xi.3 (like the last of the three) or elsewhere (like the other two). This the commentator points out, and declares that in every other instance the *a* remains after a *pragraha*. I have already noticed (under iv.6,7) what the usage of the text is after *pragrahas* in *o*: that, against the two cases here mentioned of *a* elided after a vocative in *o*, there are but two in which the *a* remains; but that after a final *o* containing the particle *u* we have twenty-one cases of *a* retained, and no case of its elision. The passages where *a* is retained after an *e* that is *pragraha*, I have omitted to note: but there is a considerable number of them, including many (e. g. i.4.30: ii.5.6⁵: vi.3.5³: vii.5.3²: the commentator cites a single one, *ime aṇvīṇā samvatsarah*, v.6.4¹) where the retention is not otherwise authorized: so that inability to cause elision is unquestionably involved in the very character of a *pragraha* vowel, according to the view of the treatise, and needs not to be expressly stated. At this we have a right to be surprised, especially for two reasons: first, that it is thought necessary to teach (see x.24) that *pragrahas* are not liable in general to combination with the initial vowels that follow them; and secondly, that according to this treatise there is no combination of the initial *a* with the preceding *e* or *o*, but an actual loss of it, leaving the *e* or *o* unaffected (except sometimes as to accent). But the essential character of the *pragraha* vowels, the reason of their peculiar treatment, and the proper significance of the term by which they are called, are obscure points as yet in Hindu phonetics and nomenclature.

It remains to inquire how complete and accurate is the enumeration by the Prāṭiśākhya of the cases of elision or non-elision of *a* occurring in the Tāittirīya Saṁhitā. I have, in looking through the Saṁhitā, carefully considered every case with reference to the rules of the treatise, and the result is that, apart from *ye aparīṣhu*

'yam. agne----: adhvaryo----: śatakrato----: atra yavanaha (xii.4) ityādināi 'va lope siddhe punar asya grahanam niyamārtham: āyo 'dhvaryo' krato ity etatpadatrayapārvasyāi 'vā' 'kārasya' lopo na tv itarapragrahapārvasye' 'ti: yathā: ime-----.

¹ G. M. -vas tv. ² G. M. O. om. ³ B. -rapara. ⁴ O. ādh-. ⁵ B. om. ⁶ O. kāra. ⁷ B. itaratra pr-.

(i.4.33) already treated of under xi.3 (p. 244), I have found only two cases of *a* retained which are not accounted for: namely *ūrdhvo asthāt* (v.2.1⁵; R-V. x.1.1) and *so agnih* (v.2.3³; R-V. vii. 1.16); and both these I suspect to fall under i.61, I having failed to note the previous occurrence of the passages. Of cases explained by i.61 there is a considerable number; only, as was remarked under that rule (see p. 47), there are three among them to which, if the commentator's forced interpretation of its terms be admitted, it cannot be made to apply. Of cases of elision of *a* unaccounted for, I have found none. Of course, my examination of the Sanhitā, having been made by the help of a single *saṁhitā* manuscript, is not to be credited as absolutely accurate: yet I have a good deal of faith in the trustworthiness of its result.

तस्मिन्ननुदात्ते पूर्व उदात्तः स्वरितम् ॥ १ ॥

9. When the elided *a* is grave, the preceding diphthong, if acute, becomes circumflex.

All the Prātiśākhya's, and the usage of the known Vedic texts, are in accord upon this point (see note to Ath. Pr. iii.55). To the particular circumflex hence resulting, the treatise gives later (xx.4) the name *abhinihata*; the others call it *abhinihita*. The examples given are *tē 'bruvan* (ii.5.1³ et al.) and *sō 'bravīt* (ii.1.2¹ et al.).

The representation of the tone of the elided *a* in the resulting accent of the eliding diphthong, of course, favors the view that regards it as absorbed into the latter, rather than elided.

उदात्ते चानुदात्त उदात्तम् ॥ १० ॥

10. When it is acute, the preceding diphthong, if grave, becomes acute.

This, also, is a universal usage. The commentator quotes two examples: *āva rundhatē 'sātram vā'i* (vii.3.8¹; O. omits *ava*) and *ānnapatē 'nnasya* (iv.2.3¹ and v.2.2¹).

स्वरितश्च सर्वत्र स्वरितश्च सर्वत्र ॥ ११ ॥

11. As also, in every case, if circumflex.

¹ The commentator explains *ca*, 'also,' as bringing down *udātte*,

9. *yam*¹ *adhikṛtyā* *'yam* *prabandha* *uktas* *tasminn*² *akāre* *'nu-*
dātte *hupte* *sati* *pūrva* *ekāra* *okāro* *vo* *'dāttaḥ*³ *svaritam* *āpadyate*.
*yathā*⁴: *tē*-----: *sō*-----.

¹ G. M. *ayam*. ² G. M. *asm*-. ³ G. M. put next after *pūrva*. ⁴ in B. only.

10. *tasminn*¹ *evā* *'kāra* *udātte*² *hupte* *sati*³ *pūrva* *ekāra* *okāro* *vā*
'nudātta *udāttam* *āpadyate*. *yathā*⁴: *āva*-----: *anna*-----.

¹ O. *asm*-. ² O. puts next after *eva*. ³ O. om. ⁴ in O. only.

'when the elided *a* is acute,' from the preceding rule, and *sarvatra*, 'in every case,' as signifying 'whether the circumflex be independent or enclitic.' His examples are *bheshajām gāvē 'gāya* (i.8.6¹) and *ōjō 'jāyathāh* (i.6.12⁴), where the final syllables of *gāve* and *ōjah* have the enclitic circumflex by xiv.29, and *ātho 'kthyō 'thā 'tirātrāh* (vii.1.5⁴: G. M. O. omit the first word), where the final syllable of *ukthyāh* has the independent circumflex before the elision.

We might perhaps also fairly conclude that *sarvatra* implies an inclusion of the case treated of in rule 9, and virtually teaches that a final circumflex, eliding an initial grave, is still circumflex.

With this chapter ends the first *pragṇa*, or section, of the treatise. The division into *pragṇas* is a purely external and formal one, and (as I gave notice would be the case, in the Introductory Note to the Atharva Prāticākhya) is made no account of in this edition. References made to the succeeding chapters by section and chapter will easily be found by adding twelve to the number of the chapter as given.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTENTS: 1-3, loss of *m*, before semivowels and spirants; 4, its retention before *rijaṇ* etc.; 5-15, details of the occurrence of *ṇ*, otherwise than as the result of *sandhi*; 16, interchange of *ḍ* and *l*.

अथ मकारलोपः ॥ १ ॥

1. Now for the omission of *m*.

11. *udātta iti caṣabdo jñāpayati: tasminn¹ akāra udātte² sati sarva³ ekāra okāro vā svarita udāttam āpadyate. bheshajām -----: ojo ----- sarvatre 'ti vacanān nityasvarito⁴ 'pi tathāi 'va tad vidhānam syāt: atho-----.*

*iti tribhāshyaratne prāticākhyavivaraṇe
dvādaśo 'dhyāyāḥ.*

'iti prathamah pragṇah.⁵

¹ O. *asm.*. ² G. M. ins. *lupte*; O. ins. *ca lupte*. ³ O. *sarvatra*; G. M. *sarvatra-sthita*. ⁴ O. *-ritasyā*. ⁵ O. om.; G. M. *prathamapragṇas samāptah. hariḥ om: cūbham astu om*; W. adds *1 hari hi om*, and, as prelude to the next section, *ṛiganeśāya namaḥ. hariḥ om*; B. adds *hariḥ om*.

1. *athe 'ty ayam adhikārah: makāralopa¹ ucyata ity etad adhi-kṛtaṁ veditavyam 'ita uttaraṁ yad vakshyāmaḥ². makārasya lopo makāralopaḥ³.*

¹ O. *-rasya l.* ² W. B. om. ³ B. om.

A general heading, of which, however, the force extends but a very little way (through rule 4). The subject is a supplement to that treated at v.27-31, where we are told what is done with *m* before a mute, or before any other semivowel than *r*.

रेफोष्मपरः ॥ २ ॥

2. A *m* is omitted, when followed by *r* or a spirant.

This omission of *m* is accompanied, according to xv.1-3, by the nasalization of the preceding vowel, or else the insertion of *anusvāra* after it. Respecting the relation of these alternative views to one another, see the note to ii.30. The definition of the *m* as lost or omitted accords best with the former view: it is sufficiently logical and consistent to say that the consonant is lost and the vowel nasalized; if, however, an *anusvāra*, as a separate vocal element, is to take the place of *m* after the vowel, the only acceptable form of statement must be that the *m* is directly converted into *anusvāra*. This form of statement is in fact adopted by the Rik (iv.5) and Vāj. (iv.1) Prātiśākhya, which acknowledge an *anusvāra*, while the other is rightly preferred by the Ath. Prāt. (ii.32, i.67), which holds the theory of the nasalized vowel: our own treatise, as was pointed out above (p. 68), trims between the two views.

The commentator's examples are *pratyushtañ rakshañ* (i.1.2¹ et al.), *sañcitam me brahman* (iv.1.10²; v.1.10²), *tañ shad ahāni* (v.5.2⁶), *sañsam id yuvase vṛshan* (ii.6.11⁴; iv.4.4⁴; only G. M. have *vṛshan*), and *tvañ ha yad yavishthya* (ii.6.11¹). Counter-examples are given: to show that *m* before other letters is not dropped, *idañ vām āsye* (iii.3.11¹); to show that the dropped *m* must be a final, *tasmāt tāmrā āpah* (vi.4.2⁴). The commentator, namely, has quietly introduced the limitation *padāntah*, 'when final,' into his explanation of the rule, without pointing out whence he derives it: it comes, in fact, only from the general scope of the treatise, which thus far, having the relation of *pada* and *samhitā* texts under treatment, has dealt almost exclusively with final and initial letters.

यवकारपरश्चैकेषामाचार्याणाम् ॥ ३ ॥

3. As also, according to some teachers, when followed by *y* or *v*.

2. *rephaparaç*¹ co² "shmaparaç ca padānto³ makāro lupyate. yathā⁴: praty-----: sañ-----: tañ-----: sañ-----: tvañ-----
"evampara iti kim: idañ-----: padānta iti kim: tasmāt-----
rephaç co "shmañaç⁵ ca 'rephoshmāñah: te pure⁶ yasmāt sa tathoktañ.

¹ W. *rephaç*. ² O. om. ca. ³ B. -nte. ⁴ G. M. om. ⁵ O. om. ⁶ G. M. O. -mā.
(7) B. G. M. O. *rephoshmāñāu tāu parāu*.

The authorities here quoted are, as the commentator does not fail to point out, the same with those referred to above, in v.30, where we were taught that some teachers hold *m* not to be assimilated to a following *y* or *v*, any more than to *r*. The accepted teaching of the treatise, however, is (v.28-9) that *m* before *y*, *l*, and *v* becomes a nasal counterpart to those letters respectively: whence the present rule is pronounced unapproved. For the bearings of the discordant doctrine, see note to v.30.

The examples are *tvāñ yajñeshv īdyah* (i.1.14⁴; 2.3¹⁻²: O. omits *īdyah*) and *tañ vā etañ yajamānāḥ* (v.6.9³: O. omits the last word): the ordinary and approved reading would be *tvāñ*, *tañ*, and *etañ*—as all the MSS. in fact read, neglecting the illustration of the opinion set forth in the rule. A counter-example is given, *yamīkāmāyeta* (i.6.10⁴ et al.).

न सप्तमिति रापरः ॥४॥

4. But not the *m* of *sam* and *sām*, when followed by *rā*.

This is a precept applying only to the two words *samrāj* and *sāmrajya*, and in the other Prātiçākhyas (see note to Ath. Pr. ii.36) these words or the root *rāj* are particularly specified; since, however, the syllable *rā* does not chance to occur in the Tāittirīya Sanhitā except in these words after *sam* or *sām*, there is no inaccuracy in the more general statement as here made. The examples of the occurrence of the words in question selected by the commentator as illustrations are *pra samrājam* (i.6.12³) and *sāmrajyāya sukratuh* (i.8.16¹: O. omits *sukratuh*). As counter-examples, we have *çañ rājann oshadhībhyah* (iii.2.3¹) to show that no other words

3. *yakāraparo*¹ *vakāraparo vā makāro lupyata ity ekeshām*² *matam: ya evā'sya pañcamādhyāye*³ *savarṇāpattim*⁴ *pratishedhayanti*⁵ *teshām evāi 'shu lopavidhīr iti tām anvādicati cakārah* *siñhāvalokanena*⁶. *yathā: tvāñ-----: tañ-----: evampara iti kim: yañ----- yakāraḥ ca vakāraḥ ca yavakārāu: tāu parāu yasmāt sa tathoktah.*

¹ *'etat sūtram anishtaṁ.'*

¹ G. M. ins. *vā*. ² G. M. O. ins. *acāryānam*. ³ B. G. M. *-mānuvāke*. ⁴ B. *savarṇam agre vartinaḥ*; G. M. *-ṇapratip-*. ⁵ W. B. *-dhanti*. ⁶ O. *-kañnyāyena*. ⁷ G. M. O. *nai 'tat sūtram iṣṭam*.

4. *'re 'ty' evamparah*¹ *samsām ity etayor grahaṇayor*² *makāro na lupyate. yathā: pra-----: sām-----: sam sām iti kim: çañ-----: rāpara iti kim: sañrarāṇaḥ. padāntaḥ ca vy-añjanaparah prākṛta* (xiv.28) *iti*³ *vakshyamānam*⁴ *dvitva-nishedham iticabdo*⁵ *nivārayati: tasmād atra dvitvasiddhiḥ.*⁷

¹ the MSS., as usual in such a case, *rā ity*. ² G. M. put at beginning; O. om. *grahaṇayor*. ³ in G. M. only. ⁴ O. om. ⁵ G. M. *-ṇa*. ⁶ G. M. *tu-*. ⁷ G. M. add *iticabdas sam sām ity anayor eve 'ti samarthayati*.

retain an unchanged *m* before *rā*, and *sañrarāṇah* (i.4.44¹) to show that only *rā*, not *ra*, effects the retention.

According to W. B. O., the particle *iti* in the rule is intended to deny the application to the word here had in view of rule xiv.28, respecting duplication, and to assure the duplication of the *m* before the *r*. But G. M. insert *tu*, 'but,' in the rule after *iti*, ascribing to it the effect just defined, and making the *iti* simply signify that the words mentioned, and no others, are the subjects of the rule. And G. (not M.) writes the examples accordingly, *sammrājan* and *sānmrājyāya*. That this bit of constructive interpretation is a pure figment of the commentators does not need to be pointed out; respecting its occasion and bearing, see the note to xiv.28. I have adopted the reading of W. etc., which is presumably the older and more genuine: in the comment on xiv.28, even G. M. agree with the others in making *iti* the bond of connection between the two rules.

अथ वर्णानाम् ॥ ५ ॥

5. Now of individual sounds.

According to the comment on rule xxiv.2 (see the note to that rule), we have here one of the main division lines of the treatise. Thus far, from the beginning of the fifth chapter, we have had to do chiefly with the combination of separate words or *padas* into connected text; now we turn to the determination of individual letters, which are read alike in both forms of text. That the intention of the treatise-makers recognized so grand a transition here may be doubted; but that the change is one of some importance is not questionable.

ऋकार्काररषपूर्वा नकारो एकारश्च समानपदे ॥ ६ ॥

6. Within the same word, a *n* preceded by *r*, *ṛ*, *r*, or *sh*, becomes *n*.

5. *athe 'ty ayam adhikārah : varṇānām saṁhitā vakshyate' ity etad adhikṛtaṁ veditavyam : "atha vā :"* *athacabdah*³ *padasaṁhitānishedhakah*.⁴

¹ O. *ucyate*. ² G. M. om. ³ B. *cabdah*. ⁴ B. *-tāyām nish-*.

6. *samānapada ekapada ṛkāraṅkāraṅrephashakārapūro' nakāro nakāram*² *āpadyate*³. *tribhīr*.....: *tvāñ*.....: *esha*.....: *kṛshṇo*.....: *'evampūrva iti kim : devānām*.....:⁴ *samānapada iti kim : ebhīr*..... *samānam ca tat padam ca samānapadam : tasmin*.

O. has a *lacuna*, beginning with *-napade* at the end of the rule, and ending with *tribhīr* *r*- in the first example. ¹ G. M. *ṛkāraṅreph-*. ² G. M. *natvam*. ³ B. G. M. *āpnoti*. ⁴ O. om.

Already, in a previous chapter (vii.1-12,15,16), we have had detailed all the cases in which a *n* is changed to *ṇ* in the course of the combination of words into phrases, in the conversion of *pada* into *samhitā*; now, the treatise sets out to account for every single *n* occurring in the whole text. And the present is the leading general rule, involving, with the extensions and restrictions imposed later, by far the greater number of cases.

The commentator's examples are *tribhir ṇavā jāyate* (vi.3.10⁵: O. has a *lacuna*, involving the beginning of this citation), *tvāñ hotṛṇām* (iv.3.13⁴), *ēṣhā vā ṛco varṇah* (vi.1.3¹: but W. has instead *ēṣhā vā ahno varṇah*, vi.1.3¹⁻²), and *kṛṣṇo 'si* (i.1.11¹); his counter-examples are *devānām vā anton jagmushām* (vii.5.8¹: but G. M. have only *devānām*, which of course is found in various places; and O. omits altogether), where none of the lingual letters specified comes before a *n*, and *ebhir no arkāih* (iv.4.4⁷: O. omits *arkāih*), where the *r* is in another word than the *n*. All these are cases in which the alterant letter immediately precedes the altered.

व्यवता ऽपि ॥ ७ ॥

7. Even though other sounds are interposed.

Rule 15, below, puts a restriction upon this, pointing out what letters may not intervene between the affecting and the affected letter. The examples are *aparaçurṇavā dahati* (v.1.10¹: W. B. omit *dahati*; O. inserts *ha* between the other two words), *ātman evā 'ramanani kurute* (vi.5.11⁴: only O. has the first two words, and it omits the last), *adhishavanam* (i.1.5²: but G. M. O. have *adhishavane*, iv.7.8 or vi.2.11⁴), and *kṛṣṇamānah pratishthākāmah* (iii.4.3³).

हिरण्यम् ॥ ८ ॥

8. Also in *hiraṇmayam*.

The only passage in which the word occurs is quoted by the commentator: *hiraṇmayam dāma dakṣiṇā* (ii.4.13: O. omits *dakṣiṇā*). The intent of the rule is to establish in advance a counter-exception to the exception "not when followed by a mute," made in rule 15, below.

7. *uktanimittapūrvō nakāro 'nyena* ¹ ² *vyāveto 'pi* ³ *vyavahito 'pi* ⁴ *natvam āpnoti. yathā*: *ap*-----: *ātman*-----: *adhi*-----: *kṛṣh*-----.

¹ G. M. ins. *varṇena*. ² W. O. om. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ in O. only.

8. *hiraṇmayam ity asmin grāhaṇe nakāro* ¹ *natvam āpnoti*. *yathā*: *hiraṇ*-----: *sparçapara* (xiii.15) *iti* ² *vakshyamāṇa-pratishedhasya* ³ *pratiprasavārtham idaṁ sātram*.

¹ G. M. *nakāram āpadyate*. ² in B. only. ³ O. om. ⁴ O. *ṇasya pr*-.

पाणिगणपुण्यकण्ठकाणगाणबाणवेणुगुणमणिप्रवादेषु पूर्वः १॥

9. Also, in the inflectional and derivative forms of *pāṇi*, *gana*, *punya*, *kaṇva*, *kāṇa*, *gāṇa*, *bāṇa*, *veṇu*, *guṇa*, and *maṇi*, the first nasal is *ṇ*.

The word *pravāda* is not found elsewhere in our treatise or its commentary. From the latter's explanation and use of it we derive for it a meaning somewhat different from that which, according to Regnier (note to Rik Pr. ii. 99), it bears in the Rik Prātiçākhyā. The latter makes it mean 'theme;' in our comment, on the other hand, it evidently signifies a derived form of a theme, in any gender or case, in composition, or in extension by secondary suffix; and I have translated it accordingly. So far as I can see, however, the same signification belongs to it in most of the passages of the Rik Pr. also, and Regnier's exposition of its use calls for revision.

There is an abrupt change of implication here, without any intimation of it in the terms of the precept itself; it is only at the end of rule 14, below, that we find the word *prākṛtāḥ*, which we must understand as applying to rules 9-14—a kind of footing instead of heading (*adhikāra*): see another like case in the third chapter, rules 2-7 (note on iii. 2). In this connected paragraph of rules we have an enumeration of the words in which a *ṇ* is "original," and hence found equally in all the forms of the text.

The examples are *supāṇiḥ svaṅguriḥ* (iii. 1.11⁴: iv. 1.6³: O., in this and the two following examples, has only the first word), *vṛṣhapāṇayo 'śvāḥ* (iv. 6.6³), and *hiraṇyapāṇīm itaye* (i. 4.25: ii. 2.12²): the text contains half a dozen other examples of the *pravādas* of *pāṇi*;—*gaṇānām tvā gaṇapatiḥ havāmahe* (ii. 3.14³: O. omits the last word), *gaṇā me mā vi tṛṣṇan* (iii. 1.8²), *gaṇena gaṇam* (v. 4.7⁷), and *dāreṇamitraḥ ca gaṇaḥ* (iv. 6.5⁶): the cases,

9. *pāṇi* 'tyādiçabdānām' pravādeshu pūrvaḥ prathamō nakāraḥ prakṛtyāi 'va veditavyaḥ. prakarṣheṇu vādah³ pravādaḥ³: līnga-vibhaktibhedasamāsataddhitādibhir⁴ nirdega⁵ ity arthaḥ. yathā⁶: sup-----: vṛṣhap-----: hiraṇ-----: gaṇānām-----: gaṇā-----: gaṇena-----: dāre-----: puṇyo-----: sā-----: kaṇvā-----: tasyāi-----: akarṇayā-----: gāṇap-----: viçalyo-----: veṇur-----: veṇunā-----: yad-----: yathā-----: maṇinā-----: 'nanu gaṇaçabdupravādatvād gāṇagrahaṇam ayuktam: 'māi 'vam:⁸ gaṇappravādatve sati tad bhavet: kiṁtu gaṇapatiçabda-pravādo 'yam. pūrva iti kim: gaṇ-----: veṇ-----: maṇ-----: ityādishū 'ttarasya⁹ natvam mā bhād iti.

¹ G. M. -ādinām grahaṇānām. ² W. -dāh. ³ W. -vādāḥ; G. M. om. ⁴ W. om. bheda. ⁵ W. nirdiṣṭā. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ G. M. om. ⁸ W. ivam. ⁹ G. M. O. -ra-nakārasya.

compounds, and derivatives of *gana* are found by dozens in the Sanhitā;—*punya bhavati vasantam* (i.6.11⁴: O. omits the last word) and *sā mā sarvān punyān* (vii.1.7¹): *punya* occurs in five other passages, once (iii.3.8⁵) in composition;—*kanvā abhi prā gāyata* (iv.3.13⁷: O. ends with *abhi*): there are two other cases of declensional forms;—*tasyāi kāno yā datah* (ii.5.1⁷: O. alone has the last word, and it omits the first; G. M. end with *kānah*) and *akarnayā 'kānayā 'clonayā* (vi.1.6⁷: only W. has the last word): there is no other case;—*gānapatyān mayobhār e 'hi* (iv.1.2²: O. has only the first word; only G. M. have the last two): I have noted but one other case;—*viśalyo bānavāñ uta* (iv.5.1⁴: O. omits the first word): we have a declensional case of *bāna* at iv.6.4⁵;—*venur vānavi bhavati* (v.1.1⁴: O. omits the last word), *venunā vi nimite* (v.2.5²), and *yad venoh sushiram* (v.1.1⁴): there are a couple more of cases;—*yathā gune gunam* (vii.2.4²): we have elsewhere only *dviguṇa*, at v.2.5^{2.3};—and *maninā rūpāni* (vii.3.14): elsewhere only *manivāla*, at v.6.13. To explain the limitation *pāvah*, 'the first, nasal,' in the rule, the commentator quotes parts of passages already given—namely *ganānān tvā*, *venunā vi*, and *maninā rūpāni* (but O. omits the second example, and the second word of the third)—in which the *pravādas* exhibit a second nasal which is dental. He raises the objection, moreover, that the mention of *gāna* in the rule is unnecessary, since the word is a *pravāda* of *gāna*; but replies that the word (*gānapatyā*) aimed at is a *pravāda* of *ganapati*, not of *gāna*. It is true, now, that *gānapatyāt* stands one degree farther removed from *gāna* than does, for instance, *ganapatibhyah*, or than would *gānikah* if it occurred in the text; yet we should hardly have expected it on that account to receive a different treatment.

पणिपणिंवियमाणऊण्योः ॥ १० ॥

10. Also in *pani*, *panim*, *vīyamānah*, and *ūnyoh*.

The passages are *agne deva panibhir vīyamānah* (i.1.13²: only G. M. have the last word), *panim goshu starāmahe* (ii.6.11²: O. omits the last word), *vīyamānah: tam ta etam* (i.1.13²: O. has only the first word; G. M. read *-nas tam* etc., neglecting the pause of division between the two words), and *ūnyoh kavikratum* (i.2.6¹). These words are said to be made a separate rule of because there is no longer any inclusion of *pravādas* or derived forms.

ठवर्गपरः ॥ ११ ॥

11. Also before a lingual mute.

10. ¹ *pani* 'tyādigrahaṇeshu' nakārah prakṛtyāi 'va veditavyah. apravādārtho 'yam ārambhah. agne..... panim..... vīy-..... ūnyoh.....

¹ O. prefixes the whole series of words. ² O. -ādishu; G. M. -ādishu gr.

The examples are *ṣitikanthāya ca* (iv.5.5¹: but G. M. have instead *ṣitikanthāya svāhā*, which I do not find in the text, not even at vii.3.17, where a number of similar expressions are read) and *kandāyeta pāmanambhāvukāh* (vi.1.3⁸: O. has the first word only). The combinations *ṇṭ* and *ṇḍh* do not occur in the Saṁhitā.

चङ्कुणफणत्स्यूणीहिणुयाद्विणोतिकौणियोऽणिष्ठाउल्ब-
णमुगणाश्रुतिश्रुपुणीकाबाणिनायाणवश्चाट्णारस्थाणुत्-
णवेवोणायामशोणयापणेतवाणीःकल्याणीकृणपंवाणः-
शनशोणाश्रुतिर्धाणिकामेणी ॥ १२ ॥

12. Also in *caṅkuna*, *phanat*, *sthānāu*, *hinuyāt*, *hinoti*, *kāu-neyah*, *anishthāh*, *ulbanam*, *uganā* wherever found, *cupunīkā*, *bāñjāya*, *anavaṣ ca*, *āṇārah*, *sthānum*, *tānave*, *vināyām*, *aḥṇayā*, *paneta*, *vāñh*, *kalyāñi*, *kuṇapam*, *vāṇah* *ṣata*, *ṣoṇā* wherever found, *dhāñikā*, and *m eni*.

The passages aimed at are quoted by the commentator as follows: *avabhr̥tha nicaṅkuna niceruh* (i.4.45²: all but O. omit *niceruh*, which would allow the passage to be found also at vi.6.3⁴; O. omits *avabhr̥tha*): *nicaṅkuna* occurs a second time in i.4.45²; *anvāpaniphanat* (i.7.8³); *āyāsthānāv uditāu* (i.8.12³); *bhr̥treyāya pra hinuyāt* (ii.2.6⁵: O. begins with *pra*); *evā 'smāi pra hinoti* (ii.2.6⁵); *rajanō vāi kāuneyah* (ii.3.8¹); *ye 'nishthās tām* (ii.5.5²); *yajña ulbanam kṛiyate* (iii.4.3⁷), and also, by i.53, *amulbanam* (at iii.4.3⁶); *āvyaḍdhim̐r uganā uta* (iv.1.10³: the example is wanting in W.) and *uganābhyas tr̥ṇhatibhyah* (iv.5.4¹: O. omits the last word); *varshayanti cupunīkā nāmā 'si* (iv.4.5¹: only W. has the first word, and it omits the last); *mantrīṇe bāñjāya kakshānām pataye* (iv.5.2²: B. G. M. omit the first word, G.

11. 'tavarge pare' nakārah' prakṛtyāi 'va veditavyah. ṣiti-
-----: kaṇḍ-----: tavargah paro yasmāt sa tathoktah.

(1) B. G. M. -rgaparah; O. -rgaparo vā. (2) G. M. put after 'va.

12. caṅkuna----- eshu nakārah prakṛtyāi 'va veditavyah.
avabh-----: anv-----: aya-----: bhrāt-----: evā-----: ra-
jano-----: ye-----: yajña-----: yatrāyatra ṣrutir uganāgraha-
nasya' tatratastra natram karapīyam: 'āvya-----: ugan-----:
varsh-----: mantrīṇe-----: priy-----: ce 'ti kim: anavas
-----: etam-----: ya-----: yā-----: aḥṇayā-----: pane-----:
indram-----: kalyāñi-----: purushak-----: vāṇah-----: ṣate
'ti kim: 'rtāv-----: ṣoṇā-----: 'ṣrutir iti kim: ṣoṇāya-----:
ni-----: vanas-----: makāreṇa kim: ubhay-----

¹ G. M. O. put before *yatra*. (2) W. om. (3) O. om. (4) O. om.

M. the last, W. O. the last two); *priyamgavaṣ ca mē 'navaṣ ca me* (iv.7.4²: G. M. omit the first word, O. the first three), with a counter-example, *anuvas te ratham* (i.6.12⁶), to prove the need of *ca* in the citation; *etaṁ vāi para ātūārah* (v.6.5³); *ya sthānāñ hanti* (vii.3.1¹): we have *yajñasthāni* twice at vi.1.2⁴; *yā tānave yā vīndyām* (vi.1.4¹); *aḥṇayā 'saptagaphayā krīṇāti* (vi.1.6⁷: only O. has *krīṇāti*); *panetā 'goargham* (vi.1.10¹); *indram vāñr anūshata* (i.6.12²); *kalyāñ rūpasamṛddhā sā syāt* (vii.1.6⁶: only O. has the last two words); *kalyāñi* occurs in one or two other passages: *purushakunapam aḥvakunapam gāuh* (vii.2.10²: only O. has *gāuh*): we have *kunapam* as independent word at vii.2.10²; *vānaḥ śutatantur bhavati* (vii.5.9²), with a counter-example, to show the necessity of adding *śata* in the rule, *ṛtāvānaḥ caya-mānā ṛdāni* (ii.1.11⁵: only G. M. have *ṛdāni*; O. omits the example: *vānaḥ* is a *pada* in the word as divided, *ṛta-vānaḥ*); *ṣoṇā dhr̥shnū nṛvāhasā* (vii.4.20: W. B. end with *dhr̥shnū*) and *ṣoṇāya svāhā* (vii.3.18: O. omits the example, along with the specification of the point it illustrates), the only examples of *ṣoṇa* that the text contains; *nī jalgulīti dhānikā* (vii.4.19³); and *vanaspatinām eñ* (v.5.15: O. reads *enya*), with a counter-example, to show that the word only occurs after a *m*, *ubhayata eñ syāt tad āhuḥ* (vii.1.6⁵: G. M. O. end with *syāt*).

अवग्रहो वृषणहीर्षणब्रह्माण्णचर्मणचर्षण् ॥ १३ ॥

13. As final of the former member of a compound, *n* is found in *vṛshan*, *śīrshan*, *brahman*, *akshan*, *carman*, and *carshan*.

The term *avagraha*, we are told, is here taken in the sense of *avagrahastha*. The same interpretation has been given before (under vi.9); and the whole use of *avagraha* in the treatise verges toward an equivalence with its derivative. Only T. O. change the *ç* of *śīrshan* to *ch* after *n*; but, as this is in accordance with the teaching of the Prātiśākhya (v.34), I have adopted it.

The examples quoted by the commentator are *vāto apām vṛshan-vān* (ii.1.11¹: O. omits *vāto*), *śīrshanvān medhyo bhavati* (vii.5.25¹), *brahmanvanto devā āsan* (vi.4.10¹: W. B. omit *āsan*), *akshanvate svāhā* (vii.5.12¹), and *carmanvate svāhā* (vii.5.12²): we have *vṛshan*- also at ii.5.8⁴: iv.1.2¹: vii.5.5¹; *śīrshan*- at vii.5.12¹; and *brahman*- at v.7.8³ and vi.4.10¹ (a second time). As counter-examples, to show that the *n* occurs in these words only before a

13. *vṛshanñ ityādigrāhaṇeshv¹ avagraho nakārah prakṛtyāi² va veditavyaḥ. vāto-----: śīrsh-----: brahm-----: aksh-----: ²carman-----² ³carshaṇgrāhaṇasya⁴ śākhāntare⁵ vijñeyam udāharanam⁶: mitrasya----- iti kecid udāharanti⁷: tan na sādhu: anto⁸ 'lopād⁹ (xiii.15) iti vakshyamānapratishedhapratiprasavārtham uktatvād eśām grāhaṇānām carshanādhṛta ity atra¹ nakā-rasya padāntatvābhāvāt. athavā: ṛkārarkārarakāśā⁶ (xiii.6)*

pause of division, he gives (the whole subject is omitted in O.) *vrshann agne viśvāny arya ā* (iv.4.4⁴), *tasmāt saptaçirshan* (v.1.7¹), *brahman viçam vi* (ii.3.3⁵: G. M. omit *vi*), *akshann amimadanta* (i.8.5²), and *paçūndām carman* (vi.1.9²).

This disposes of all the *avagrahas* cited in the rule save *carshan*. No such *pada* as *carshan* is to be found in the Tāittirīya-Sanhitā, nor, so far as has yet come to light, in any other Vedic text; nor does the word seem like one that could anywhere occur. One cannot help surmising that its presence in the rule may be by a blunder merely, it being, perhaps, an unintelligent repetition of *carman*. But, by whatever hap or mishap it found its way in, it is now an accepted part of the text, and has to be dealt with. And the commentator first creeps out of the difficulty through the hole to which he usually betakes himself in a like case, asserting that the passage aimed at is read in another text (*yākhā*). He then proceeds to state that "some quote as here referred to the passage *mitrasya carshanīdhṛtaḥ çravaḥ* (iii.4.11⁵ and iv.1.6³: O. omits *çravaḥ*): this is not good, since the words are quoted in the rule by way of antecedent exception to an exception [to rule 6] which is to be made farther on, by the words 'nor when final, nor by the omission of *a*' (rule 15); and in *carshanīdhṛtaḥ* the *n* is not final. Or: others are of opinion that the words in question are specified for the sake of removing any doubt which might arise as to whether the *n* in them were a product of alteration under rule 6 of this chapter; and, in this aspect, the citation of *mitrasya carshanīdhṛtaḥ* is to be approved." The logic of this final conclusion I entirely fail to see: for no question can possibly arise as to whether the *n* of *carshanīdhṛtaḥ* falls under rule 6; that it does so is palpable and undeniable.

As we should expect, considering the way in which the Prātiçākhyā treats the cases, these words are read with *n* in the *pada*-text also: namely *vrshan-vān*, *brahman-vantaḥ*, and so on. The same is the case in the *pada*-texts of the Rik and the Atharvan (see Ath. Pr. iv.99).

ऋषभाणां नाराणां चेति प्राकृताः ॥ १४ ॥

14. Also in *ṛṇṇ*, *shanṇ*, *shṇ*, *mṇ*, and *rāṇṇ*—these are original.

The application of the term *prākṛtāḥ*, 'original,' in this rule is, as was pointed out above (under rule 9), to all the cases rehearsed in rules 9–14.

"*dīprāpter atra ṇakāro vāikṛta iti çaikānirākaraṇārtham etāni grahaṇāni* 'ty anye' manyante: *tathā sati mitrasya carshanīdhṛta ity udāharaṇaṁ ramanīyam*. ¹⁰*avagraha* ¹¹*iti kim: vrshann* -----: *tasmāt*-----: *brahman*-----: *akshann*-----: *paçūndām* -----: *avagrahastho* ¹²*vagraha ity lakshyate*.¹⁰

¹ W. -*ne*; G. M. -*dishu gr*-. ⁽²⁾ O. om. ⁽³⁾ B. om. ⁴ W. -*shanḥ*-. ⁽⁵⁾ G. M. om.

⁶ W. -*haraṇāni*. ⁷ G. M. om. ⁸ G. M. *ṇakāra*. ⁹ B. *anena*. ⁽¹⁰⁾ O. om. ¹¹ W. -*ha*-*sthā*. ¹² G. M. put next before *lakshyate*.

The commentary, after pronouncing the citations of the rule "parts of words, intended to include a number of cases," quotes examples, as follows: *svayamātrnnām upa* (v.2.8¹; 3.2¹, 7⁴; 5.4³: O. omits *upa*), *asamitrñe hi hanā* (vi.2.11³: O. omits *hanā*), and *svayamātrnnā jyotiḥ* (v.7.6²): I have noted *nn* elsewhere only in *anāchrñnam* (v.1.7⁴); *abhishanno yasmāt* (ii.4.2³), *nishannāya svāhā* (vii.1.19¹: only G. M. have this example), and *daḥamāsā nishannā āsan* (vii.5.1¹, 2¹: O. omits the first word); *pūshno rañhyāi* (i.3.10²), *pūshnā sayijā saha* (iv.1.2² and v.1.2⁴: only G. M. have *saha*), and *pūshne prapathyāya svāhā* (vii.3.15: G. M. O. omit *svāhā*): I have noted further only *pāushna* (i.8.9² et al.); *aryamne caruṁ nīr vapet* (ii.3.4¹ twice, ²: G. M. O. stop at *caruṁ*); I find besides *sutrāmne* (i.8.9² et al.) and *nṛmna* (i.7.13²), which last, however, the rule was not specially intended for; finally, *dadhikrāvno akārisham* (i.5.11⁴ and vii.4.19⁴: O. omits *akārisham*) and *ā grāvṇaḥ* (vi.3.2³: O. omits this example): further cases of *dadhikrāvan* and *grāvan* are met with in the text showing the combination *vn*; I have noted no other words in which it occurs. Counter-examples, showing that *vn* follows *rā* only, would have been easy to furnish: thus, *rāyaspohadārne*, at i.2.10¹.

Cases of quite various and discordant nature are here thrown together. Most unequivocally calling for treatment in the Prāṭicākhya, in order to determine their reading, are the three passages in which *sanna* is altered to *shanna* after *abhi* and *nī*, since (as quoted by the commentator below) the *padu*-text restores the original form of the word, reading *abhishanna ity abhi-sannaḥ* etc. Its *s* is converted to *sh* according to vi.2, but there is no authority excepting here for the change of *nn* to *ñn*; chapter vii. does not deal with this, because it takes up only those cases in which the alterant cause and the altered nasal are found in different *padus*; and rule 6 of the present chapter does not apply to it because its first *n* is protected (according to xiii.15) by being "followed by a mute," and its second *n* by "having a lingual mute interposed." The case of *trñna* is akin with this, only with the important difference that the alteration of its nasals lies beyond the ken of the Prāṭicākhya, the *ñn* being read in every text. The remaining three all fall under rule 6 of this chapter, but they require specification because they are also covered by one of the exceptions in rule 16; for they exhibit, as compared with their

14. *atra' sūtre paddikadeṣā ete' bahūpādīnārtham uktāḥ: rññā-dishv eshu' ca' nakārāḥ prākṛtā eva vijñeyāḥ. svay-....: asam-....: svay-....: abhish-....: 'nish-....: daḥa-....: pū-shno-....: pūshnā-....: pūshne-....: aryamne-....: dadhi-....: ā-....*

prākṛtagabdo 'yam pānyādishv eva carshanparyanteshu mukhyaḥ: catasṛshu saṁhitāsu natvasādbhāvāt: rññe' 'ty ādishv tu' na mukhyaḥ: kiñtu prāptyabhāve 'pi' natvaprapānārthaḥ. tathā hi: rññādāu pārvanākārasya¹⁰ sparṇaparavān nishedhaḥ:

themes (*aryaman*, *-krāvan*, *grāvan*), a “loss of *a*” (*alopa*): compare what is said of this *alopa* below.

As regards the application of the term *prākṛta*, ‘original,’ their discordance is more essential, and, indeed, irreconcilable. In *ṛṇna*, to be sure, the cerebral *n*’s are as original as in the words specified by rule 13, since, in all alike, the alteration is an accomplished fact in all the forms of text, although ultimately referable to the cause laid down in rule 6. But the last three cases, although also read alike in all texts, are introduced here as counter-exceptions to rule 15, and their *n* is no more original than is that of any other of the words falling under rule 6. And finally, there is no sense whatever in which the lingual nasals of *-shanna* are “original.” To call them all original, then, seems even more than a looseness or inaccuracy in the use of that term: it is a blunder.

The commentator perceives the difficulty, and attempts to remove it by a lengthy passage of special pleading. The term *prākṛta*, he says, is *mukhya*, ‘of primary value’ or ‘of full force,’ as applied to the words beginning with *pāni* (rule 9) and ending with *carshan* (rule 13), since in them the lingualized nasal is found in all the four *samhitās*; but in *ṛṇn* and the rest it is not *mukhya*, but is simply intended to authorize the nasalization even in the absence of a rule prescribing it. Thus, namely: in *ṛṇn* etc. (i. e. in *ṛṇn* and *shann*), the first nasal constitutes an exception (under rule 6) as being followed by a mute (rule 15); the other nasal, as having a *t*-mute between it and the altering cause (rule 15). In *shn* and *nn*, again [why not in *rānn*?], the nasal falls under the exception touching the loss of *a* (rule 15). And if it be objected that the lingualization is assured by the competency of the citation—still [it is answered], the implication is avoided that the occasion of the citation is the originality of the *n* [?]. Moreover, the word *ca*, ‘also,’ in the rule, being used in the sense of subsidiary adjunction (*anvācaya*), shows the lingualization to be not of primary value; if it were primary, it would be found in all the four kinds of text; but it is not so found; for we read in *pada*-text *abhishanna ity abhi-sannah* and *nishannāye ’ti ni-sannāya*. And since, from the words *pūshan* and *aryaman*, which end in *n*, such forms as *pūshno rañhyāi* and *aryamne carum* are read in the *varṇa*-text, therefore the conversion into *n* (all but O. say “non-conversion into *n*”) in

“*itarasyo ’ttamasya*” *ṭavargīyavyavahitavāt*”¹²: *shannnagrahānāyos tv alopād iti nishedhah. grahanasāmarthyād eva*”¹³ *natvam sidhyati ’ti cet: evam svabhāvatram eva grahanasyā ’pi*”¹⁴ *mālam iti parihārah. kim ca: anvācaye*”¹⁵ *vartamānaḥ cakāro ’py eteshu natvam amukhyam*”¹⁶ *iti dyotayati: mukhyam*”¹⁷ *cet: catasṛshu samhitāsu vidyeta*”¹⁸: *na cā ’tra vidyate: tathā hi: abhishanna ity abhi-sannah: nishannāye ’ti ni-sannāya: ity atra*”¹⁹ *padasamhitāyām: pūshann aryamann iti nakārāntaḥ sabdayoh: pūshno rañhyāi: aryamne carum: ity ādi siddharūpatvād*”²⁰ *atra varṇasamhitāyām etatsāhacaryād ekasūtrasthāyor*”²¹

varna-text is to be inferred also for *rnn* and *shann* (O. says *rāvn*) in virtue of association with the others, they being found in the same rule with them; for all who understand the rules of affairs hold that the determination of equivocal classes is made by mention in connection with words unequivocal. Therefore the meaning of *prākṛta* (all but O. say *prakṛti*) as defined by us is alone acceptable.

By comparison with the explanations given above, it may readily be seen how much of reason there is in all this talk. The commentator raises an obscuring dust about the difficulty, but does not at all remove it. The *mukhyatvam* of the term *prākṛta* as here applied is more easily disproved than its *mārkatvam*.

न पुम्नो ऽग्निर्युष्मानीतो ऽतो ऽलोपात्स्पर्शपरो व्यवा-
येषु शसचटतवर्जयिषु ॥ १५ ॥

15. But not in *shumna*, *agni*, and *yushmānīta*; nor when final; nor after the omission of an *a*; nor when followed by a mute; nor when *ç*, *s*, or a palatal, lingual, or labial mute intervenes.

It would be rather more in accordance with the ordinary usage of the treatise to make five distinct rules of the five independent and unconnected specifications which are here crowded together into a single precept: in fact, we should be guilty of no great violence if we were to divide it into five, affixing to each its own (independently constructed, as if for an independent rule) portion of the comment. But in that case, at any rate, the first rule should read *na shumno'gnir yushmānītaḥ* (not *gnir*). It is not unobjectionable as it stands, since we should expect the first and third complete *padas* to be quoted as they stand in the text, and the second, which is only a fragment of a *pada*, to be distinguished as such from a possible *agnih*. As to the first, moreover, there is a difference of reading among the MSS. of the text: only T. W. have *shumno*; B. O. have *sumno*; G. M. have *sushumno*; and, as is seen below, even W. has *summaḥ* in the reiteration of the rule by the comment. G. M., it may be added, read *vyarādyishu* for *-yeshu* in the last specification.

apy²² rñnashannayor²³ vārṇasamhitāyām natvabhāvo²⁴ māṇṭa-
vyah: prasiddhāpadāsamabhiyāhāreṇ²⁵ 'prasiddhāpadārtha-
samarthanam²⁶ arthaśāstravidaḥ²⁷ sarve khalu svikurvate. tasmād
asmadukta eva yuktaḥ prākṛtaçabdārthaḥ²⁸.

¹ G. M. om.; O. *asmin*. ² O. om. ³ B. *eteshu*. ⁴ O. om. ⁽⁵⁾ in G. M. only. ⁶ G. M. -*sambhavad*. ⁷ O. *rñn* i. ⁸ G. M. put after *na*. ⁹ G. M. O. om. ¹⁰ O. -*vanā-kāra*. ⁽¹¹⁾ G. M. O. *uttarasya*. ¹² W. B. *savarg*-; G. M. *tavarg*- (?). ¹³ O. *evā*. ¹⁴ W. om. *api*. ¹⁵ G. M. *atra yo*. ¹⁶ B. G. M. *mukh*-; O. *anumu*-. ¹⁷ G. M. -*yaç*. ¹⁸ B. G. M. *vidyate*. ¹⁹ O. om. ²⁰ O. om. *rūpa*. ²¹ W. -*yo*; B. -*trayor*; G. M. -*brasthitayor*. ²² W. om. ²³ O. *rñnarāṇanayor*. ²⁴ W. B. G. M. -*tvābh*-; O. *eva* *navasadbhā*-. ²⁵ W. G. M. -*na*, but W. inserts a sign of omission before the following *pr*-. ²⁶ B. -*dārthan*; G. M. -*dārthan na bhavati*. ²⁷ B. *sarvaçā*-; G. M. *niya-* *manī çā*-. ²⁸ W. B. G. M. *prakṛtiç*-.

Under the first part of the rule, the passages aimed at are quoted as follows: *sushumnaḥ sūryaraçmih* (iii.4.7¹), *indrāgnibhyāni tvā sayujā* (iv.4.5¹: G. M. omit *sayujā*; the *pada*-reading is doubtless *indrāgni-bhyām*, so that the *r* and *n* are *samānapade*, as required by rule 6), and *yushmānīto abhayaṁ jyotiḥ* (ii.1.11⁶: only *Ō*. has *jyotiḥ*; from its inclusion here, the word must remain undivided in *pada*-text, though in that of the Rig-Veda [ii.27.11] it is read *yushmā-nītaḥ*).

Examples of final *n* not lingualized are *pitṛn havishe attace* (ii.6.12¹) and *pra mṛṇīhi çatrān* (i.2.14²).

The precept touching the omission of an *a* has reference, so far as I can discover, only to the oblique cases of *vṛtrahan*, of which two (and I have failed to note any others) are cited, namely *vṛtraghna indrāya tvā* (i.4.1¹: *Ō*. omits the example) and *vṛtraghna stomāḥ* (iv.7.15¹)—for the derivative adjective *vātraghna* (ii.5.2⁵ et al.) can hardly be aimed at; and yet, the authority of this rule is needed to establish the dental *n* in this word also, which would otherwise fall under rule xiii.6. The mode of definition of the cases here intended is in very remarkable contrast with the usage elsewhere of the treatise, which, as has been repeatedly pointed out, differs from the other Prātiçākhyas especially in avoiding all reference to grammatical categories, forms, and derivations, and defining the words to which its rules relate simply by external circumstances of position and surroundings in the text. And this departure from its custom is a quite unfortunate and ill-judged one: for, in the first place, it renders necessary a part of the specifications of the preceding rule (namely *shu*, *mn*, and *rāvu*), which really lie outside the province of the treatise, and have no good reason to be mentioned; and, in the second place, as the commentator points out, it involves an inconsistency with the general subject of the chapter, which has to do with conversions arising *samānapade*, ‘within the limits of the same *pada*,’ while in *vṛtra-ghnaḥ* etc. the affecting cause is in one *pada* and the nasal to be affected in another. The commentator explains that the intent is, by a far-reaching glance backward (literally, ‘a lion’s look’), to lay down a further example to a rule in the seventh chapter, where the restriction *samānapade* is not in force: *ghnaḥ* etc., namely, are altered forms of *han*, whose

13. *shumnaḥ*¹: *agnih*²: *yushmānītaḥ*: *eteshu*³ *nakāro natvaṁ nā* “*padyats*: *sush*-----: *indrā*-----: *yushm*----- *antaḥ*⁴ *padānto nakāro natvaṁ nā* “*padyate*: *pitṛn*-----: *pra*----- *alopād akāralopāt*⁶ *paro* “*pi nakāro natvaṁ nā* “*padyate*: “*vṛtra*-----: “*vṛtra*----- *nanv atra nimittanimittinor bhinnapadasthavad vishamo dr̥shṭāntaḥ*: *satyam*: *siṅhāvalokananyāyena*⁷ *prathamapraçne*⁸ *saptamādhyāye*⁹ *çeshodāharaṇarūpeṇa*¹⁰ *ghaṭate*: *tatra ca samānapadaniyamo*¹¹ *nā* “*sti*: *ghna ity asya haṇçabduvikṛtatvād*¹² “*rashaḥpūrvvo havanī*¹³ (vii.11) “*ti prāptiḥ*. “*spargaparo nakāraç ca*¹⁵ *natvaṁ nā* “*pnoti*¹⁶: *saṁkr*-----: *ava*-----

nasal, by vii.11, is liable to lingualization. But *han*, by the usage of the treatise, signifies 'the syllable or audible complex of sounds *han*,' not 'the theme *han* and its derivatives;' and, as the text contains no example of the combination *ghn*, it would have been easy to exempt *n* from lingualization *ghakārāt*, 'after *gh*.'

The cited examples of *n* remaining unchanged when followed by a mute are *samkrandano nimishah* (iv.6.4¹: O. has the first word only), *ava raudhe tārpyam* (ii.4.11⁶: O. omits the last word), and *nakhanirbhinnam* (i.8.9¹).

The commentator then proceeds to enter into a long discussion of more than usual subtilty and obscurity, of which I am by no means confident that I apprehend the meaning. The point aimed at, indeed, seems quite clear: by xiv.4, the *n* of such a word as *pārṇa* is to be doubled, making *pārṇa*; here, then, is a case where the first *n* is "followed by a mute" (*sparṣaparah*), and so would seem to have its lingual character forbidden by the present rule. The reasonable reply to so hair-splitting and impertinent an objection would appear to be that, a duplication being ordered by the treatise, the product can be nothing but *nn*, since *nn* would be no duplication at all. The commentator, however, prefers to get around the difficulty by limiting the word *sparṣa*, 'mute,' as here used, to one which is not the product of express prescription (?). For in *pārṇā paṣcād* (iii.5.1¹ et al.) there is duplication, making *pārṇā* (not one of the MSS. writes the duplication), the one *n* being prescribed by xiv.4, the other being its occasion or root (*mālu*). With this, O. prudently ends; the other MSS. go on to explain "express" (? *prasiddha*) by referring to the word *nakha-nirbhinnam*, already quoted above, as, with its like, also exhibiting an instance of occasion of prescription. This word, namely, falls under rules xiv.4,5 (becoming thereby *nakhanirbbhinna*); and in rule 5 the term "succeeded by a consonant" (*vyāñjanottara*) is used in a different sense from "followed by a consonant" (*vyāñjanapara*); the meaning of which will be there explained at full length (as we shall find to our cost, in one of the obscurest discussions of the entire treatise). The appositeness of the whole reference I do not understand.

Finally, examples are quoted of the suspension of nasalization by

nakha----- *sparṣo* 'trā¹⁷ 'prasiddhalakṣaṇavishayo¹⁸ *vivakshyate*¹⁹: *anyathā*²⁰ *pārṇā paṣcād ity ādāu natvam nu syāt: rephāt param ca* (xiv.4) *iti hi prasiddham*²¹ *lakṣaṇam tanmūlaṁ ca*²² *pārṇne* 'ty atra dritvam. ²³*prasiddhapadena kim* ²⁴: *nakhanirbhinnam ity ādāv api katham cīt*²⁵ *lakṣaṇamālatvam sambhavati. kim tal lakṣaṇam iti cet: dvitīyacaturthayor* (xiv.5) *ity atra sūtroktavyāñjanottarayor*²⁶ (xiv.5) *iti vāco yuktyantaram iti brūmah: tasya lakṣaṇam tatrāi* 'va *sphuṭikarishyate*²⁷ *mahatā prabandhena*²⁸. *sparṣah paro*²⁹ *yasmād asāu sparṣaparah*. ²⁹ *ṣasacatatavargīyeshu* ³⁰ *vyavadhāyikeshu*³¹

an intervening *c* or *s*, or a palatal, lingual, or dental mute: namely *raçanām ā datte* (vi.3.6³), *agne rasena tejasā* (i.4.46²: only G. M. have *tejasā*), *rocante rocanā divi* (vii.4.20: O. omits *rocante*), *somañ rājānam* (i.7.10¹ et al.), *prakṛidinaḥ payodhāḥ* (iv.3.13⁷), *ṛtānā jayāmi* (iii.5.3^{1,2}), and *janaprathanāya svāhā* (iii.2.8¹: only O. has *svāhā*; G. M. have the false reading *-pradhā-*, and O. has dropped out a part of the word, giving *jananāya*).

In the note to Ath. Pr. iii.94, I have pointed out the physical reason why these sounds, by their interposition, prevent the lingualization of the nasal: they are, all of them, such as call into action for their utterance the tip of the tongue, throwing it out of adjustment for the lingual contact. The tendency which the history of Aryan language in India exhibits toward the conversion of dentals into linguals shows itself most actively in the case of the nasal: the tongue, being rolled back into the position of lingual articulation by the utterance of *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *r*, or *sh*, hangs suspended there, as it were, and makes the next nasal contact lingual, unless the tendency is satisfied by the intermediate production of such a contact, or frustrated by the transfer elsewhere of the articulating organ.

The Prātiçākhyā's enumeration of the cases of occurrence of the lingual nasal is, so far as I have been able to determine, complete. No one of the other treatises undertakes such an enumeration.

पृक्तस्वरात्परो लो उं पौष्करसादेः पौष्करसादेः ॥ १६ ॥

16. In the opinion of Pāuṣkaraśādi, *l* after a mixed vowel becomes *d*.

The mention of Pāuṣkaraśādi (O. has everywhere Pāuṣkaraśādi), the commentator says, is out of respect, and not because the rule is not a peremptory one. "Mixed vowel" is a term which is not elsewhere employed by the treatise, nor does the latter contain anything that should intimate an explanation of its meaning. The comment glosses it by 'the sound *ṛ*:' it appears, then, that *ṛ* is thus styled, from having its vocalic quality "mixed" with consonantal, namely, with the *r*-sound. The other Prātiçākhyas (see

satsu nakāro natvaṁ nā "padyate: yathā"²: *raçanām*----: *agne*----: *rocante*----: *somañ*----: *prakṛi*----: *ṛtānā*----: *janā*----: *ṛkārarkār* (xiii.5) "diprāpteh"³ *pratishedho*⁴ 'yam vihitah.

¹ W. B. O. *sumnah*; G. M. *sushumnah*. ² W. O. *agni*. ³ O. *eshu*; G. M. *eshu grahaneshu*. ⁴ W. B. *tatah*. ⁵ W. B. O. om. ⁽⁶⁾ O. om. ⁷ G. M. *-kanena*. ⁸ O. om. ⁹ G. M. *-yāya*. ¹⁰ W. O. *viçesh-*. ¹¹ G. M. O. *-datvani-*. ¹² G. M. *-bdādihkr-*. ⁽¹³⁾ G. M. *ḍṛṣṭah pūrvo bhavati*. ¹⁴ G. M. ins. *sparcaparāh*. ¹⁵ G. M. om. ¹⁶ G. M. "padyate". ¹⁷ B. G. M. *tra*. ¹⁸ B. *-viçeshayor*. ¹⁹ O. *vikshyate*; G. M. *pi vā yujyate*. ²⁰ W. B. *yathā*; G. M. *athā 'pi*. ²¹ O. *-dāha*; W. *pratisiddha*. ²² W. *ce 'ti*; O. om. ⁽²³⁾ O. om. ²⁴ W. B. O. ins. *ca*. ²⁵ W. O. *etal*. ²⁶ B. *sūtravy-*; G. M. *sūtre vy-*. ²⁷ G. M. *spashtik-*. ²⁸ W. *pūrvo*. ²⁹ G. M. ins. *vyavāyishu*. ³⁰ B. ins. *vyavāyeshu*. ³¹ G. M. O. om. ³² in W. only. ³³ G. M. *-tiḥ*. ³⁴ W. O. *pratinish-*.

note to Ath. Pr. i.37) directly define it as so composed. The *l* liable to the change into *ḍ* is called in the comment *duḥḥlishta*, 'ill joined'; i. e., I presume, 'of difficult articulation' (G. M., to be sure, seem to apply this title the first time to the *ḍ* instead of *l*, and only O. attaches it the second time clearly to the *l*, the others' readings being corrupt; yet there can hardly arise a doubt as to its true connection); it is, of course, the lingual *l* which forms an acknowledged part of the alphabet of the Rīg-Veda (Rik Pr. i.11-2, r. 52 etc.). But no such articulation belongs to the alphabet accepted by this treatise—although, on the strength of the present rule alone, it is crowded into that alphabet by the commentator under rule i.1. Nor does the edition of the Saṁhitā, nor do the MSS., so far as known to me, make any use of a lingual *l*. As for the MSS. of the Prāṭicākhya and its comment on this rule, B. O. write the ordinary *l* throughout; W. alternates irregularly between the two; G. M. and T. have the lingual letter only. As regards the binding force of the rule, the commentator is right so far as this—that a *ḍ*, not *l*, is read of necessity in the words to which it relates; but that this is, to the makers of the Prāṭicākhya, the result of alteration of an original *l* there is no reason to believe; the euphonic exchange of the two letters is not less strange to the Tāittirīya text than to the Vājasaneyi (of the Mādhyandina *śākhā*: see Vāj. Pr. iv.143, viii.45) and Atharvan; and the rule is really *pūjārtham* only, and an intrusion into our treatise of something foreign to its system.

The commentator first gives his own explanation and illustration of the precept. As example of the operation of the rule, he cites *mṛdāti* "ḍṛṣṣe" (i.1.14³); and, as counter-example, to show that the change is made only after a "mixed vowel," he has nothing better to offer than an alleged passage "from another text," *nalām plavam*. For, in such words as *ūlitah* (i.1.11¹), *provodhum* (i.1.14³), *idāyāh* (i.2.5¹), *ayād* (i.4.45²), *hedah* (i.5.11³), *śrāushad* (i.6.11¹), where the Rīg-Veda reads regularly the lingual *l* and its aspirate, the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā maintains the *ḍ*, not less firmly than after *r*. This, the commentator goes on to say, is an interpretation (but the term he uses is *pāṭha*, properly 'reading' or 'ver-

16. *prkṭasvarāt ṛkārāt* paro² *lakāro duḥḥlishtasamijniko*³ *ḍakāram āpadyate: pāuṣhkarasāder*⁴ *mate*⁵. *mṛdāti*.... *prkṭasvarāt iti kim: nalām plavam*⁶ *iti*⁷ *śākhāntare. pāuṣhkarasāder*⁸ *grahṇam pūjārtham*⁹ *na tu vikalpārtham*⁹. *mūrdhasthānatayā duḥḥlishtalakārayoh*¹⁰ *sādṛśyam*¹¹ *asti*¹² *ti vyākaranānusāri*¹² *sātrapāṭho*¹³ *yam: katham anusāritvam iti cet:*¹³ *tathā hi*¹³: *sthāne*¹⁴ *ntaratamaḥ: sthāne prāpyamānānām*¹⁴ *antaratama*¹⁵ *ādeḥ bhavati*¹⁶ *ti*.

*sātrasya*¹⁶ *pāṭhāntaram api*¹⁷ *vyākhyāyate: prkṭasvarāt paro lo dam*¹⁸ *pāuṣhkarasādeḥ*¹⁹: *utra samānapada*²⁰ *ity asyā*²⁰ *nuvartanam vijñeyam: pāuṣhkarasādeḥ śākhinah*²¹ *samānapade prkṭa-*

sion') of the rule founded on the authority of the grammarians, who assert a homogeneousness of the *duhgliṣṭa* *l* and of the *d*, as being both produced in the lingual position: and if the question is raised as to how it is so founded, reference is made to a rule of Pāṇini (i.1.50), which prescribes that, in case of substitution, the most nearly related letter is to be taken. I do not see that this exposition and reference have any pertinence whatever.

Then, the commentator adds yet another interpretation, which, he remarks, is also highly esteemed. It differs from the one already given only in implying (apparently, from xiii.6) *saṁānapade*, 'within the limits of a single *pada*;' taking, then, a different example, *te no mṛdayantu* (iv.4.3² et al.), with the counter-example *ilāṁdam bhavati* (vii.5.9¹)—which, in view of the frequent occurrence in the Saṁhitā of *ilā*, *ilāvanta*, and their like, is not much to the point—and finally, as further counter-example, to justify the restriction *saṁānapade*, the phrase *pitṛlokaṁ somena* (ii.6.2¹; p. *pitṛ-lokaṁ*), where the *l* does not become *d* after *r*. But in this last case is involved an additional difficulty; namely, that in the compound *pitṛlokakāmasya* (vi.6.4¹; p. *pitṛloka-kāmasya*) the *r* and *l* do meet *saṁānapade*, and yet the *l* maintains itself: over this, the commentator hobbles as best he may, with the plea that, prohibition having been made in the case of *pitṛloka*, it is extended by association to the further compound.

The groundlessness and unintelligence of all this special pleading, resorted to for the purpose of forcing in as an integral part of the Prātiçākhyā a precept altogether foreign to it, is palpable enough; and one grudges the time and words spent in its exposure.

*svarād rkrāt²² puro lakāro dakāram āpadyate. yathā²³: te-----
prktasvarād iti kim: ilāṁ-----: saṁānapada iti kim: pitṛl-
----- sahacāritevād²⁴ ekasya²⁵ nishedha²⁶ itarasyā 'pi pitṛloka-
kāmasye²⁷ 'ty asyā 'pi²⁸ saṁānapadatce saty api nishedho bha-
vati. idam api pāthāntaram bahvādr̥tam.*

*iti tribhāshyaratne prātiçākhyavivarane
trayodaço²⁹ 'dhyāyeh.*

¹ W. B. om. ² B. om.; G. M. *lo dam*. ³ all but B. *duḥ*; B. *jñako*; O. *jño*; G. M. *jñakam*. ⁴ O. everywhere *pauska*. ⁵ W. *-tena*; B. *-tam*. ⁶ B. *-vad*. ⁷ B. *iti*. ⁸ G. M. O. *-di*. ⁹ W. om. ¹⁰ all but B. *duḥ*; W. B. *-shṭadlak*; O. *-lakāra-* *duk*; G. M. *-talakār*. ¹¹ O. *sudṛṣyasamjño dakāram*. ¹² W. *-sārāt*; G. M. *-sāra*. ¹³ G. M. *ucyate*. ¹⁴ G. M. ins. *varṇānim*. ¹⁵ G. M. O. *-mas sudṛṣatama*. ¹⁶ W. *asya*; O. *sūtra*. ¹⁷ B. *iti*. ¹⁸ B. ins. *iti*. ¹⁹ O. *-sāda ity*; G. M. *ity* only. ²⁰ G. M. *-dasya*, and om. *ity asya*. ²¹ G. M. ins. *pakshe*. ²² W. om. ²³ O. om. ²⁴ W. B. O. *-caritatv*. ²⁵ O. *-smiṇ*. ²⁶ B. *nishedha*. ²⁷ W. B. *-kasye*; G. M. *-lokamasye*. ²⁸ G. M. O. om. *api*. ²⁹ G. M. O. *dvitiye praṇe prathamō*.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONTENTS: 1-7, duplication of one of the members of a group of consonants; 8, duplication of *ch*, *kh*, and *bh*, in certain cases; 9-11, insertion between a surd spirant and mute; 12-13, aspiration of a surd mute before a spirant; 14-28, exceptions to the rules for duplication, and discordant views of certain authorities respecting them; 29-33, occurrence of the enclitic circumflex.

स्वरपूर्वं व्यञ्जनं द्विवर्णं व्यञ्जनपरम् ॥ १ ॥

1. A consonant preceded by a vowel is doubled, if followed by a consonant.

The intricate and obscure subject of duplication in consonant-groups is treated at more length in this than in the other Prāticākhyas (compare R. Pr. vi.1-3; V. Pr. iv.97-114; A. Pr. iii.26-32; also Pāṇini viii.4.46-52), but chiefly on account of the liberal citation here made of the discordant views of various teachers respecting it. The doctrines of the treatise itself are mainly in accordance with those of the rest. This first and leading principle, that the first consonant of a group is doubled, is stated in equivalent terms by all. The principal restrictions to its application are, as stated below, that *r*, *h*, *z*, *φ* (rule 15), and a letter doubled, or a mute followed by another of the same series (rule 23), are exempted from duplication. For the details, see the following rules.

Of course, in applying the rules for duplication, we have to assume the form of the consonant-groups as determined by the other precepts of the Prāticākhyā—treating *visarjanīya*, for example, as is prescribed in the ninth chapter, and making the insertions pointed out in the fifth (v.32,33 etc.). And further, to finish the matter, the rules for *yama*, *nāsikya*, and *svarabhakti* (xxi.12-16) must be duly taken into account.

In an additional note to the Atharva Prāticākhyā, I gave a complete list of the consonant-groups of the Atharva-Saṁhitā, with the forms which they come finally to assume under the laws of combination. It has been necessary to prepare a similar one for the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā, in testing the reach and bearing of the rules of the present treatise: but the scheme is hardly worth giving in full.

1. *svarapūrvam vyañjanam¹ vyañjanaparam² dvivarnam āpad-yate. yathā³: uru..... evampūrva iti kim: tat..... evampara iti kim: uru..... vyañjanam iti kim: pra..... svarah pūrvo yasmāt⁴ tat⁵ svarapūrvam: vyañjanam asmāt param iti vyañjanaparam: deayor varṇayoh samāhāro dvivarnam.*

¹ G. M. put next before *dvivarnam*. ² O. *param*. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ W. ins. *asāu*. ⁵ B. om, ⁶ O. adds *svarapūrvam iti kim: prajānanam: padbhayām..... vyañjanaparam iti kim: ugaṇā uta: vyañjana iti kim: prañgaṇam.*

The commentator offers a single example, *uru prathasva*, i. e. *uru pprathassva* (i.1.8 et al.: the MSS. of the comment only very rarely and irregularly write the groups in their duplicated form, so as to illustrate the rules of the chapter), and adds counter-examples: first, to show that the consonant is liable to duplication only after a vowel, *tat pravāte* (vi.4.7²: hardly a well-chosen example, since, though the *p* of *pra* is this time unchanged, the *t* before it must be doubled, *tatt pr-*; a *pra* after a pause would have answered better); second, that the duplication takes place only before a consonant, *urukrd uru nah* (ii.6.11³); third, that only a consonant, not a vowel, in the defined position, is duplicated, *prāṅgam uktham* (iv.4.2¹). O. appends a new set of counter-examples, as if a part of a new exposition; namely *prajananam* (i.5.9¹), *padbhyām dve savane* (vi.1.6⁴: an ill-chosen example, containing cases of duplication as well as of its omission), and *ugandā uta* (iv.1.10²).

लवकारपूर्व स्पर्शश्च पौष्करसादिः ॥ २ ॥

2. Likewise, according to Pāuṣhkarasādi, a mute preceded by *l* or *v*.

The commentator declares that the *ca*, 'likewise,' in this rule brings down from the one preceding the being preceded by a vowel, and duplication. The former part of the defined implication is at least otiose, since *l* and *v* never occur in the Sāhitā before a mute, except as themselves preceded by a vowel: *v*, indeed, is found in combination only with the nasal mutes, *n* and *ṇ*; *l*, in the groups *lk*, *lg*, *lp*, *lb*, *lbh*, *lm*, and *lpy*. The examples quoted are *kalpāṇ juhoti* (v.4.8⁵) and *vibhādāṇne* (iii.5.8¹, 9²: all save B. actually read this time *-dāṇne*, with doubled *n*). According to the interpretation given to the next rule, the worthy Pāuṣhkarasādi does not regard the duplication of the mute after the semivowel as suspending the duplication of its predecessor also, by rule 1; and he would accordingly read *kallppāṇ* and *-dāṇne*; and this part of his doctrine is, as we shall see, declared unapproved.

Counter-examples are given: *kalyāṇī rūpasamrddhā* (vii.1.6⁶: to be pronounced *kallyāṇī*, or, by rule 21, *kalyāṇī*) and *vāyavyam* (i.8.7¹ et al.: to be made *vāyavyam*), to show that no other letter than a mute is thus doubled; and *kāṣmāṇ chakabhīh* (v.7.23) and *tasmād etat* (vi.3.11⁶), instancing other consonants than *l* and *v*, with the following mute not doubled: in these words, the sibilant

2. *pāuṣhkarasāder¹ mate lakarapūrvo² vakārapūrvo vā sparṣo³ dvivarnam āpadyate⁴. kalpāṇ-----: vibh----- svarapūrva-
tvam dvitvam cā 'nvādicati cakārah⁵. 'sparṣa⁶ iti kim: kaly-
-----: vāy----- evampūrva iti kim: kūṣ-----: tasm-----⁵ lakā-
raṣ ca vakāraṣ ca lavakārāu⁷: tdu pūrvāu yasmāt sa tathoktaḥ.*

¹ O. *pauskar-*, as also in the rule. ² B. G. M. ins. *vā*. ³ O. *dvitvam āpnōti*.
⁴ G. M. put at beginning of clause. ⁵ O. om. ⁶ G. M. *sparṣapara*. ⁷ W. O. *lakā avak-*.

is itself doubled (except by Hārīta, rule 18), a first mute of the same series with the nasal is inserted before the latter (rule 9), and between the two mutes a *yama* (xvi.12); so that we have as final result the formidable combinations *gyppm* and *syppm*.

The Rik Pr. (vi.2) also requires a double mute after *l*, and the Vāj. Pr. (iv.99) after any semivowel—which last is equivalent with our rule, since *y* is never followed by a mute.

We have a right to be surprised at the introduction of this and the rule next following before rule 4, since the duplication they teach is analogous to that after *r*, and of secondary importance to it.

स्यर्श एवैकेषामाचार्याणाम् ॥ ३ ॥

3. According to some teachers, the mute only.

That is to say, in the combinations just treated of, the mute is duplicated, but not the preceding semivowel also; and we are to read *kalppān* and *vibhādānne*.

According to the commentator, this rule represents the approved usage in the *pākhā*. It seems very strange to find such approved usage laid down in the Prātiśākhya merely as the *dictum* of certain authorities. But a rule (xiv.7) is given below, without any restriction, which plainly implies the validity of the present one.

रेफात्परं च ॥ ४ ॥

4. Also a consonant that follows *r*.

The *r* itself being, by rule 15, not liable to duplication. This is the rule second in importance in the whole system, and is found in all the Prātiśākhyas and in Pāṇini. The Ath. Prāt. (iii.31), the Vāj. Prāt. (iv.98), and Pāṇini (viii.4.46) ascribe the same effect to *h* as to *r*: and it is strange that our treatise, which is so liberal in its citation of discordant opinions, makes no reference to one so well supported as this. After *h* we find in the Sanhitā only the three nasals specified in rule xvi.14 as requiring the insertion of a *nāsi-kyā*, and the three semivowels *y*, *r*, *v*; *r*, on the other hand, forms numerous groups as first member: I have noted twenty-four of two consonants, forty-three of three consonants, and five of four consonants; a few of them are exempted from duplication by rules 16, 20–23. The cited examples are *arcanty arkam arkinah* (i.6.12³:

3. *ekeshām* ¹ *mate lavakārapārva* ² *sparṣa* ³ *eva dvivarnam* ⁴ *āpnoti*: ⁵ *anena vadhāraṇena sūtrāntarārambhanena ca pāuṣkaraśādimate lavakārayoḥ ca dvitvam asti* ⁶ *ti gamyate*.

idam eva sūtram ishtaṁ na tu pārvam. *pārvoktāny* ⁷ *evo dāharaṇāni*.

¹ G. M. O. ins. *acāryāṇām*. ² B. *-rvaḥ ca*; G. M. put after *eva*. ³ G. M. *-ṣapara*, as also in the rule. ⁴ O. *dvitvam*. ⁵ G. M. O. *āpadyate*. ⁶ O. om. ⁷ O. *sūtram*.
⁸ O. *ukt*.

i. e. *arceanty arkkam arkkinaḥ*), *arkyena vāi* (vii.5.9¹: i. e. *arkk-yena*: wanting in O.), and *ārg vā udumbarah* (v.1.10¹ et al.: i. e. *ārgg vāi*).

The *ca*, 'also,' of the rule, according to the commentator, implies duplication, and precedence of the *r* by a vowel (bringing down *svarapūrva* from rule 1). The question is raised by an objector whether sequence of the consonant following the *r* by another consonant (in virtue of *vyañjanaparam* in rule 1) is not also implied: but such sequence is declared not obligatory; and it is pointed out that later rules (15,16), exempting a consonant *in pausa*, and a spirant before a vowel, from duplication after *r*, prove that the present rule prescribes duplication also where no consonant follows, and where a vowel follows; since there would be no propriety in denying by a special rule what had not been already enjoined by a general rule. In support of his assertion that the *r* must be preceded by a vowel, the commentator cites the word *tryambakam* (i.8.6²), in which he says that the *y* must not be doubled: and he fortifies his claim by appealing to Pāṇini's rule (viii.4.46), which expressly restricts duplication after *r* and *h* to cases in which these letters follow a vowel (G. M. add the remark that in Pāṇini also no implication of *vyañjanaparam*, 'followed by a consonant,' is found). The Vāj. Pr. (iv.102) makes an equivalent restriction explicitly. The groups are not numerous in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā in which a *r* that does not stand first is followed by a consonant, and the only consonant so following is *y*: the combinations are *jry*, *try*, *ūtry*, *ttry*, *ntry*, *stry*, and *tstry*.

This finishes the proper exposition and illustration of the rule; but the commentator suffers himself to be enticed into a lengthy and tedious refutation of a trivial suggestion which some one has been impertinent enough to make. There are those, he says, who

4. *rephāt param*¹ *vyañjanam*² *divarnam āpadyate*³: ⁴ *yathā*: *arc*-----: ⁵ *arky*-----: *ārg*----- *svarapūrvadvitrayor ākar-shakaṣ cakārah. nann*⁶ *vyañjanaparatrākarshakah kim na syāt*: *ne 'ti brāmaḥ: nīyamābhāvāt: tathā hi: avasāne*⁷ (xiv.15) *ūshmā svarapara* (xiv.16) *ity etannishedhadrāyena rephāt pa-rasya*⁸ *vyañjanasya*⁹ *vyañjanaparatrābhāve*¹⁰ *svarapūrvatve*¹¹ *'pi dvitvam asti 'ti niṣcīyate*¹²: *aprasaktapratishedhānupapattē*¹³. *svarapūrvatvānvādegena*¹⁴ *kim: tryambakam ity ādāu mā bhād iti: kim ca: 'aco rahābhyām dve iti*¹⁵ *pāṇinīyasātrenā* *'pi svarapūrvatve saty eva*¹⁶ *dvitvam vidhīyate: 'tasyā*¹⁷ *'yam arthaḥ: acu uttarāu yāu rephahakārāu tābhyām uttarasya yaro dve bhavata*¹⁸ *iti.*²⁰

*kecid evam ācuh*²¹: *svarapūrvādiṣabdavad rephapūrvam iti vācye*²² *vāco*²³ *yuktyantaram arthāntaram samarthayati*²⁴: *a har* ---- *ity ādāu*²⁵ *vāikṛtarephād*²⁶ *uttarasya*²⁷ *'na syād dvitvam*²⁷ *iti. tad etadudhyayanaviruddhapaddhatim adhyāste*²⁸: *vayam tu va-*

maintain that the analogy of *svapūrvam* in rule 1 would require *rephapūrvam*, 'preceded by *r*,' to be employed here (instead of *rephāt param*, 'following *r*'), and that the difference of phraseology intimates a difference of meaning—namely, that a consonant coming after a *r* which is the product of euphonic alteration, as in *ahar devānām āsit* (i.5.92: only W. B. have *āsīt*), is not doubled. But this, he replies, enters upon a path which is at variance with the reading of this *śākhā*; and he proposes himself to set forth the true ground of the different term employed. If *rephapūrvam*, namely, were used, the rule would be liable to the suspicion of meaning the direct opposite of its real intent, since *rephapūrvam* admits of being understood as *rephāt pūrvam*, 'preceding *r*.' And if it be retorted that this false implication is of no account, since the case it would involve is already provided for in the first rule of the chapter, and the present rule would be a mere useless repetition, and that the avoidance of such repetition is of itself enough to refute the implication—then the farther reply is made, that that is not sound doctrine, in view of the principle stated in the verse "non-contact with mud is far preferable to the washing of it off;" and the teacher uttered the rule in its form as given, with the intent that not even a particle of suspicion of wrong meaning should find occasion from it.

There is no good reason to suppose that the author of the treatise, in saying *rephāt param*, intended to do anything more than use a lawful discretion in the selection of his phraseology. The ambiguity which the commentator ascribes to the other reading is suffered to pass in numberless other cases. The more desirable cleanliness of him who has incurred no need of ablution has been referred to once before (under iv.23), in a case somewhat similar.

*dāmo vāco yuktyantaraprayojanam: rephapūrvam ity ukte viruddhavigraheṇa*²⁹ *sātrani sandigdhami syāt: rephāt pūrvam rephapūrvam*³⁰ *iti: bhavato*³¹ *esha*³² *vigraha iti cet: adhyāyādisū-trenāi 'tad gutam iti*³³ *pānmaruktyam asya sūtrasyā* "padyate: nam pānmaruktyabhayād eva viruddhavigraham nivārayāmaḥ"³⁴: *ne 'yam saralā vṛttiḥ: prakṣālanād dhi*³⁵ *pañkasya dūrād aspar-ganam varam iti*³⁶ *vyūyād*³⁷ *atra viruddhaṣaṅkādleo 'pi nā 'vakā-* *gam labhatām iti vāco yuktyantareṇa sūtram ācāryaḥ provāca.*

¹ G. M. ins. ca. ⁽²⁾ O. *deitram āpnoti*. ³ G. M. ins. *svapūrvatvadvitvayor ākar-shakaḥ cakirah na tu vyanjanaparatvākarshakah*. ⁴ in G. M. only. ⁽⁵⁾ O. om. ⁽⁶⁾ G. M. *cakiro* only. ⁷ G. M. *atha na* (xiv.14) *ity uttaranishedhādihikāre ava-sānavisarjanīyajihvāmūlīyopadhmānyāḥ* (xiv.15). ⁸ W. O. *paraḥ ca*. ⁹ W. B. om. ¹⁰ W. B. *-vena*; O. *-bhāne*; G. M. om. ¹¹ G. M. *-raparave*; O. om. ¹² O. *g-miyate*; G. M. *niḥcaye katham*. ¹³ G. M. *-ktasya pra-*. ¹⁴ O. *-rvānv-*. ⁽¹⁵⁾ G. M. om. ¹⁶ W. O. *evam*. ¹⁷ G. M. ins. *tat katham: aco rahādhyān dve*. ¹⁸ G. M. *asy-*. ¹⁹ G. M. *sta*. ²⁰ G. M. add *tatrā 'pi vyanjanaparatvaprasaktir na dryate*. ²¹ O. *āhuh*. ²² B. om. ²³ W. om.; G. M. *rephāt param iti vāco*. ²⁴ G. M. *-yati 'ti arthāntarasya 'dāharānam ucyate*. ²⁵ G. M. *atra*. ²⁶ W. om. *vāikṛta*. ⁽²⁷⁾ G. M. *vyanjanasya dvitvan na syūd*. ²⁸ O. *-āsita*. ²⁹ W. *viruddhāv iti gṛhaṇena*; G. M. O. *-hane*. ³⁰ W. B. *pūrvam*; O. corrupt. ³¹ W. B. *bhavaty*. ³² G. M. *esha*. ³³ G. M. *tataḥ*. ³⁴ O. *-ma iti cet*. ⁽³⁵⁾ G. *pañke 'ti*; B. om. *varam*. ³⁶ G. M. *-yenā*.

द्वितीयचतुर्थयोस्तु व्यञ्जनोत्तरयोः पूर्वः ॥५॥

5. In place, however, of second and fourth mutes, when followed by consonants, is put the preceding mute.

That is to say, when an aspirate occurs between a preceding vowel (as the commentator specifies in his paraphrase of the rule) and a following consonant, or in such circumstances that by rule 1 it would be doubled, it receives instead an increment (*āgama*) of the mute next preceding it in its own series, or of its corresponding non-aspirate. Examples are *vikhyāya* (i. e. *vikkhyāya*) *cakshushā tvam* (iv.1.2³: only G. M. have the last two words) and *meghyā* (i. e. *megghyā*) *vidyuto vācah* (v.2.11¹: only G. M. have *vācah*); to which W. B. add *tat savituh* (i.5.6⁴ et al.; the *t* is converted to *th* by xiv.12, and to the *th* is then prefixed *t*, making *tatth savituh*) and *sādhyā* (i. e. *sāddhyā*) *vāi devāh* (vi.3.4⁸ et al.). To show that only the aspirates are thus treated, is quoted *ādyam* (i. e. *ād-dyam*) *asyā 'nnam* (ii.2.5⁶: O. omits *annam*); to show that a vowel must precede, *vashat svāhā* (vii.3.12; by v.33, *t* is inserted between *t* and *s*, and the inserted letter is made *th* by xiv.12; then, by this rule, no farther change of the *th* occurs, and we read *vashattth*, not *vashatttth*; W. goes so far on this road as to read *vashatti svāhā*) and *padbhyām* (i. e. *padalbhyām*, not *paddbbhyām*) *dre savane* (vi.1.6⁴)—but G. M. O. substitute for the former another similar case, *vat svayamabhiḡārtāya* (iii.2.8¹ seven times: i. e. *vattth sv-*; O. writes *vattth sv-*)—; to show that a consonant must follow, *ukhāyāi sadane sre* (iv.1.9³ et al.: W. B. omit *sre*) and *meghāyate svāhā* (vii.5.11¹). The word *tu*, 'however,' in the rule, the commentator explains as intimating the denial of duplication, enjoined by rule 1. He adds that some give the particle a different interpretation, as

5. *dvitīyacaturthayoḥ¹ svarāpūrvayor vyañjanottarayoh pārvā-gamo bhavati: yathākrameṇa dvitīyasya prathamāṣ caturthasya trtīyah. yathā²: vi-.....: me-.....: 'tat-.....: sū-.....³ dvitī-yacaturthayor iti kim: ādyam-..... evampūrva⁴ iti kim: va-shat-.....: pad-.....: evamparayor⁵ iti kim: ukh-.....: megh-..... prathamāsūtreṇa prasaktam dvitram nivartayati tuṣabdhā. anye tv anyathā manyante: pūrvāgomasya dvitram nivartayati 'ti. nāi 'tat sāram: savarṇasavargīyapara (xiv.23) ity uttaranishedhād⁶ eva tasya tannivṛttiḥ⁷.*

atra kecid āpuh: vyañjanaparayor iti vācye⁸ vāco yuktyanta-ram arthāntaram sūcayati⁹: sāmhitāsāmhitāsādhāraṇam¹⁰ para-nimittam¹¹ uktam¹²: tata¹³ ihā 'nyatarastha¹⁴ āgamanimittatve prāpte 'sāmhitapadānām nityatvāt tadgrahanam¹⁵ eva¹⁶ nyāyyam iti kṛtvā vāikṛtavyañjanaparavṛte sati nāi 'tad vidhānam bhavati¹⁷: yathā: abhy asthād ity ādi. nā 'yam pakṣah: adhyayana-

signifying that the increment-consonant is not itself to be doubled; but justly pronounces this to be inappropriate, as such duplication is forbidden by rule 23 of this chapter.

In this and the three following rules is contained, for all the cases which come within the purview of the Prāticākhya, the explicit prohibition of a double aspirate. Such double aspirates are, however, sometimes written by the Hindu scribes, both in situations where the authority of the phonetic treatises directly forbids them, and elsewhere. Thus, my manuscript of the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā has, three times, *dh dh* instead of *d dh* as the result of combination of *t* and *h* (at ii.6.12⁵: iii.4.14⁴: v.3.12²), and the Calcutta edition, so far as printed, gives, unadvisedly, the same. Both authorities agree in reading *dididhḍhi* at iii.1.11⁴. The edition, absurdly enough, gives *adhaththāh* at i.1.13², where my manuscript has *adhaththāh*. And I find a few cases of *khkh* and *chch*, which will be noted under rule 8, below.

As under the preceding rule, the commentator here also enters into a tedious and useless discussion of a verbal question; namely, why 'followed by consonants' is represented by *vyāñjananottarayoh* instead of *vyāñjanaparayoh*. Some, he says, have maintained that a difference of meaning is intended by the difference of phraseology; that it is desired, namely, to except cases like *abhy asthāt* (iv.2.8¹), where the following consonant is the product of euphonic alteration. The ground alleged for this claim is not entirely clear to me: it seems to be that a specified following cause (one that produces an effect in something that precedes it) is common to the *saṁhitā*-text and that which is not *saṁhitā*; hence, a cause of increment occurring in either kind of text being in question, a citation of words from outside the *saṁhitā* is alone suitable, on account of their constancy—that is, *abhi*: *asthāt* not being citable as an example under the rule in its *pada*-form, it must not be so treated in its *saṁhitā*-form, as well. But the claim is disallowed, as being opposed to the actual reading, and also to the fundamental

*virodhān mālasūtravirodhāc*¹⁸ *ca*: *tathā hi*: *mālasūtre svarapārvatve vyāñjanaparatve*¹⁹ *ca sati vihitam*²⁰ *dvitvam atra nishpād-yate*²¹: *na tu*²² *tatra vyāñjanam vigeśhitam: tadapavādukatvād atrā*²³ *'pi tadvigesho vaktum ayuktaḥ*²⁴. *śikshādīparīkṣaṇād*²⁵ *adhyayanānurodhāc ca vāco yuktyañturābhīprāyo 'smābhīr abhi-dhīyate*²⁶. *apavādyāpavādukayor*²⁷ *anayor*²⁸ *'niyamo nā 'sti: kim iti*²⁹. *svrapārvatve sati vyāñjanaparām eva vyāñjanam*³⁰ *dvitvam*³⁰ *bhajate*: ³¹ *dvitīyacaturthāu ca*³² *vyāñjanaparāv*³³ *eva pārvāgamam*³⁴ *bhajata iti: kim tu prācūryābhīprāyē 'dam sūtra-dvayam pravṛttam. katham niyamābhāvah: anyathā*³⁵ *kutracit kāryudvayadarganāt*. ³⁶ *attā-----: annapata ityādāu dvitvam: pra-----: addhi----- ityādāu pārvāgamah*³⁷: *tāñ hasta ity atra tu*³⁸ *prāptāu satyām api ne 'dam kāryam dr̥c̥yata iti ca*³⁹ *niyamābhāvah. śikshā cāi 'vam vakshyati*:

rule. For, the intent is to cast out or deny a duplication established by the fundamental rule (xiv.1), where the being preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant was implied; and there no limitation was laid down for the following consonant; hence, it is improper to lay one down here, where an exception is prescribed.

The commentator then goes on to say that he will set forth the real intent of the difference of phraseology, with due regard to the Āikshā, and in accordance with the accepted reading of the text. But I am compelled to confess myself incapable of extracting a satisfactory meaning from his exposition and argument. The point of it is an asserted absence of *niyama* in the two rules (1 and 5), as of one suffering and the other prescribing exception. *Niyama*, 'obligatory force,' appears to signify here joint application, and so a mutual or reciprocal influence. When a vowel precedes, he continues, a consonant is doubled only when followed by a consonant; and second and fourth mutes take increment of the mute that stands before them in the alphabet only when followed by a consonant. But the pair of rules in question is constructed with the intent of multiplicity ('diversity' or 'independence?' *prācurya* is not found elsewhere). How does an absence of *niyama* appear? Why, from the fact that otherwise a twofold effect would in some cases come to light. In *attā haviṁshi* (ii.6.12²) and in *annapate* (iv.2.3¹ et al.), and so on, there is duplication; in *prachac chandah* (iv.3.12³: G. M. have instead *acchāvākah*, the reference for which I have failed to note) and *addhi tvam deva prayatā* (ii.6.12⁵: G. M. O. omit *prayatā*), and so on, there is increment of a preceding mute; but in *tān haste* (vi.1.3⁷: W. has *tāns te* [iv.1.10³], but doubtless by accidental omission of *ha*), even though it falls under the rule, the same effect is not seen: hence, there is

*svarāt⁴⁰ pūrvasya⁴¹ varṇasya kvacid dvitvaṁ ca kathiyate⁴²:
na ca varṇadvitīyasya na caturthe kadā⁴³ cana.*

vyākhyātvaṁ ca vacanam etadvidvadbhiḥ:

*kuṭracit svarayor madhye dvitvaṁ lakṣyānusārataḥ:
pūrvāgamas tathā tatra jñeyo varṇavicakṣaṇāḥ.*

⁴⁴ *evamrūpam aniyamanāṁ svacayitūṁ vyañjanottarayor⁴⁵ ity anta-
rasvikārah⁴⁶.*

vyañjanam uttaram yābhyāṁ tāu⁴⁷ vyañjanottarāu⁴⁸: tayoh.

¹ G. M. O. put next before *pūrv-*, O. adding *tu*. ² in O. only. ³ G. M. O. om. ⁴ G. M. O. *svapūrvayor*. ⁵ G. M. *vyañjanottarayor*. ⁶ B. *utratranti*; G. M. *uttarasūtranti*. ⁷ G. M. O. *-tēh-*; O. om. *tan*. ⁸ B. om. ⁹ G. M. O. *-ti 'ti*; G. M. add *tatra*. ¹⁰ G. M. *saṁhitāsāmh-*. ¹¹ G. M. *paramvni*; O. *uktam*. ¹² O. om. ¹³ O. *tatra*. ¹⁴ G. M. *-rasya*. ¹⁵ W. O. om. *taḥ*; B. *gunam*. ¹⁶ W. O. *evam*; M. exchanges the places of *eva* and *iti*. ¹⁷ O. *-ti 'ti*. ¹⁸ O. om. *sūtra*. ¹⁹ O. *-namā-trapar-*. ²⁰ G. M. *-ta*; O. puts after *dvitvam*, and adds *ity*. ²¹ G. M. *nishidhyate*; O. *viśidhyate*. ²² W. B. O. *nu*. ²³ W. B. *tatr-*. ²⁴ G. M. *yuktah*. ²⁵ W. *-dipavāca-ksh-*; G. M. *-na*. ²⁶ O. *abhiḥkṣi-*. ²⁷ W. B. *apavādap-*. ²⁸ G. M. *nā 'sti vārodha iti*. ²⁹ O. *paramam*. ³⁰ W. om. ³¹ O. ins. *svapūrv-*. ³² B. *tu*; O. om. ³³ O. *parāv*. ³⁴ W. *-me*; G. M. *-māu*. ³⁵ B. G. M. ins. *'pi*. ³⁶ G. M. ins. *katham*. ³⁷ W. B. *-mān*. ³⁸ O. om. ³⁹ W. om. ⁴⁰ O. *-ra*. ⁴¹ W. *sarvasya*. ⁴² G. M. *vakshyate*. ⁴³ G. M. *katham*. ⁴⁴ O. ins. *ity*. ⁴⁵ O. *-janayor*. ⁴⁶ G. M. O. *uttarasv-*. ⁴⁷ G. M. *tad*. ⁴⁸ G. M. *-raṁ*.

absence of *niyama*. The examples here furnished, which ought to give us the clue to the commentator's meaning, seem to leave us wholly in the dark, since not one of them falls under either of the rules in question: the first, second, and fourth are by rule 23, below, exempt from duplication; the third is a case under rule 8; and the combination *ñh* is (see under rule 15) treated as a simple *h*. Next, the Çikshā is quoted, to the effect that "in some cases, also, duplication of the first consonant of a group after a vowel is prescribed; not, however, of a second mute, nor of a fourth, under any circumstances;" and, by those versed in the subject, the statement is explained [in conformity with what follows]: "in some cases, there is duplication of a consonant between two vowels, in accordance with rule; so there also is to be understood prefixion of the preceding mute, by those skilled in alphabetic sounds" (in the known Çikshā, it may be remarked, no such verses as these are to be found). And the final conclusion is, that the different term in *vyañjanottarayoh* is intended to signify an absence of *niyama* of this sort. That is to say, perhaps, the real independence of the two rules is intimated by the choice of a different term in expressing the common factor which they contain.

रेफपूर्वयोश्च नित्यम् ॥ ६ ॥

6. As also, in all cases, when they follow *r*.

This, it is pointed out, has the value of an exception under rule 4. The dual number of *rephapūrvayoh* shows that the pair, "second and fourth mutes," spoken of just above, is intended. "Also" (*ca*) implies the increment by prefixion of the next preceding mute. And the meaning is, that second and fourth mutes, with the limitations prescribed, as preceded by *r*, take always their respective predecessors as increment. Thus, *ārddhvo* (i. e. *ārddhvo*) *bhava* (i.2.14²), and *ardhyavān* (i. e. *ardhy-*) *prānah* (vi.5.2²: only G. M. have *prānah*). *Nityam*, 'in all cases,' implies that the increment is made after *r* when the mute to be increased is followed by a vowel also (not alone when it is *vyañjanottara*, as specified in rule 5). Thus, in *artheta* (i. e. *arth-*) *sthā 'pām* (i.8.11: only B. has *apām*), *mārkhān* (i. e. *mārkkhān*) *tajjaghanyām* (vii.1.6⁴), and *goargham* (i. e. *goarygham*) *eva* (vi.1.10¹).

लकारपूर्वे च ॥ ७ ॥

6. *rephāt param ca* (xiv.4) *ity asyā 'pavādukam etat': dat vacanena dvitīyacaturthāu grhyete: savīṣeshanayo² rephapūrvayor anayor³ nityam pūrvāgamo bhavati: āgamānvādecaṣa cakārah. yathā⁴: ārdh-----: ardhy----- nityam it⁵ kim: svaraparatve 'pi bhavaty⁶ etad iti: arthe-----: mārkhām-----: go-----*

¹ W. *avadat*. ² W. B. *navi*; G. M. O. *-shapānu*. ³ O. *tayor*. ⁴ O. *syāt*. ⁵ in G. M. only. ⁶ G. M. *-ty*.

7. And when *l* precedes.

The *ca*, 'and,' here brings down from rule 5 only the fourth mute [the last of the two there mentioned] and the increment. The second mute is not also included, because (see note to rule 2) no second mute occurs after *l* in the Sanhitā. The examples are *pragalbho* (i. e. *-galbbho*) '*śya jāyate* (ii.5.5³: only G. M. have *jāyate*) and *namo mudhyamāya cā 'pagalbhāya* (i. e. *-galbbh-*) *ca* (iv.5.6¹)—but, in place of the latter, G. M. give *apagalbho jāyate* (ii.5.5³: O. reads *agagalhya* simply, which doubtless means the first word of this).

As was remarked above (under rule 3), the laying down of the present precept without any limitation appears to confirm the commentator's interpretation of rules 2 and 3, as teaching the accepted doctrine of the *śākhā*. It would, to be sure, be not impossible to understand *lbbh* for *lbh* as required here, without any reference to the other groups—*lk*, *ly* etc.—in which the duplication after *l* depends upon the earlier rules; but that seems quite unlikely.

उपसर्गपाथर्षाज्यातिधामपरमभूतेपूर्वेषु ह्रस्विभुजेषु

च ॥ ८ ॥

8. Also the preceding mute is inserted before *ch*, *khi*, and *bhuja*, when these follow either a preposition, *pātha eshaḥ*, *ati*, *āti*, *dhāma*, *parama*, or *bhūte*.

The examples after a preposition (in which situation alone the increment of *khi* and *bhuja* is made) are first given by the commentator: they are *ā echrṇatti* (v.1.7⁴: the preceding word, *anācchrṇam*, might well have been included, as an additional instance; my MS. has simple *ch* in both cases); *nama ākkhidate ca prakkhidate ca* (iv.5.9²: G. M. omit the first word, G. M. O. the last two); *ayakṣmayā paribbhujā* (iv.5.1⁴), with *vibhu ca me prabhu ca me* (iv.7.4¹⁻²: O. stops at the first *me*) as counter-example, to show the necessity of saying *bhuja*, instead of *bhu* simply, in the rule; and *yā ca vicchandāḥ* (v.2.11¹). Then follow counter-examples: first, to show that *kh* is increased only when followed by *i*, *nikhātum manushyānām* (vi.3.4⁶) and *datso adhi khāduti* (vi.2.11⁴: only G. M. have *datso*); next, to show that the increment takes place only after a preposition, *sachandā yā* (v.2.11¹). The examples after the remaining words, as particularly specified in the rule, are *priyam apy etu pāthah : esha echāgah* (iv.6.8¹: only O. has *priyam*), with *ṛtubhir vā esha chandobhik* (vii.5.15²), to prove the need of quoting *pāthah* along with *esha* in the rule; *aticchan-*

kāraḥ caturthāgamayoṛ' ākarshakah : caturthasparṣe² lakārapūrve sati pūrvāgamō bhavati. prag- : namo- : lakārah pūrvō yasmād asū³ lakārapūrvah : tasmin.

¹ G. M. -gam. ² G. M. -the sp- ³ G. M. O. sa.

dasam upa dadhāti (v.3.8³), *savitra āticchandāsāya* (vii.5.14), *dhāmacchad iva khalu vāi* (ii.4.10²: B. O. omit *vāi*), *paramacchado vare* (iv.6.2¹), and *yad bhātecchadāñ sāmāni* (vii.5.9⁴).

Further examples of the increment of *ch*, falling under this rule, are *ācchad* and *pracchad* (at iv.3.12^{2,3}) and *ācchettā* (i.1.2¹): if there are others, I have omitted to note them. The usage in the manuscripts, of our commentary and of the Sanhitā, is quite irregular, varying between *ch* simply, *ech*, and *chch*, without much regard to whether the case is one to which this rule applies or not. I have collected the cases in which my manuscript of the Sanhitā has *chch*: they are *dhāmacchad* (ii.4.10²; but *dhāmachad* in the same division), *prachchach chandah* (iv.3.12³), and *āyachchad-bhyah* (iv.5.3²); and, in the combination of separate words (besides the case just quoted), *ācchach chandah* (iv.3.12²), *kakuch chundah* (iii.1.6³), and *yach chreshthah* (iii.4.8¹). In every one of these instances, the Calcutta edition, so far as it yet reaches, reads correctly *ech*.

I have found no other cases of the increment of *khi* under the rule; but my manuscript has (without authority) *ulakkkhidat* (ii.1.1^{4,5}¹), *sam akkkhidat* (vi.6.11¹), and *akkkhidrah* (iii.5.8), while (along with the MSS. of the comment) it reads *kkkh* instead of *kkh* in the example (iv.5.9²) cited above. The edition reads *kkh* at ii.1.1^{4,5}¹, remarking at the latter place that its manuscript authorities have *kkkh*. Of course, the doubled aspirate is to be rejected, here as elsewhere, in obedience to sound phonetic theory as well as to the concordant authority of the Prāṭicākhyas.

अधोषाट्स्मणः परः प्रथमो अभिनिधान स्पर्शपरा-
त्तस्य सस्थानः ॥ १ ॥

9. After a surd spirant followed by a mute is inserted a first mute of the same position with the latter, as *abhinidhāna*.

The surd spirants are (see i.9,12,13) five, namely *χ* (*jihvāmāliya*), *ç*, *sh*, *s*, and *φ* (*upadhmāniya*). The rule is to be paralleled with those in the Vāj. Pr. (iv.99,100), which direct that a mute be doubled after a spirant, and after *jihvāmāliya* and *upadhmāniya* (which in that treatise are not reckoned as spirants); also with

8. *upasargapūrveshu pātha..... evampūrveshu ca' satsu cha khi bhūje 'ty eteshu pūrvāgamo bhavati². cakāra āgamānvādeṣakāh. yathā³: ā..... nama.....: ayak.....: je 'ti kim: vibhu.....: yā.....: 'khī 'ti kim: nikh.....: datsv.....: upasarga⁵ iti kim: sa.....⁴ etāny upasargapūrvāni. anyāny ⁶ ucyante: priyam.....: pātha iti kim: ṛtabhir.....: ati.....: savittra.....: dhāma.....: parama.....: yad.....*

¹ G. M. om. ² O. *syāt*. ³ G. M. O. om. ⁴ O. om. ⁵ G. M. -*rgapūrva*. ⁶ G. M. O. ins. *apy*.

that in the Rik Pr. (vi.2) which allows, but does not require, duplication of a mute after the spirants (namely *ç*, *sh*, *s*, *h*, *z*, *φ*, *ñ*). The Ath. Pr. (unless such a precept is lost by the *lacuna* occurring in the treatment of this subject: see note to Ath. Pr. iii. 28) and Pāṇini have nothing similar. Our rule, however, is quite alone so far as the treatment of a nasal after a spirant is concerned, making an insertion of a surd non-aspirate, instead of a nasal: and, as will be seen, the next rule quotes an opinion which would bring the Tāittirīya usage more nearly into accordance with that of the Rik and Vājasaneyi Sanhitās; but the commentator pronounces that opinion unapproved.

The examples quoted are as follows: *yah kāmāyeta* (i. e. *yax kām-*: ii.1.2³ et al.); *açmann* (i. e. *açpman*, or, after all rules are applied, *açppman*) *úrjam* (iv.6.1¹: O. omits the example and puts here, instead of below, that for *φ*); *grishme* (i. e. *grishpme* or *grishshpme*) *madhyandine* (ii.1.2⁵); *ayasmayan* (i. e. *ayaspman* or *ayassppmayam*) *vi çrtā bandham* (iv.2.5³: only W. has *bandham*); *yah pāpmanā* (i. e. *yap ppā-*: ii.3.13²): O. adds to this last *tasmīn* (vii.1.5¹ et al.: to be treated like *ayasmayan*, above), and, after *madhyandine*, *prā'çnāti* (*prāççtñāti*: I have overlooked this citation in searching out the references). As counter-examples, we have first *çarady aparāhne* (ii.1.2⁵: but O. substitutes *brahmavādino vadanti*, i.7.1⁴ et al.), to show that the sonant spirant, *h*, does not require a like insertion (the case is one of *nāsikya*, xxi. 14); then *rukman upa dadhāti* (v.2.7^{1,2}: the case is one for *yama*, xxi.12), to show that a mute receives the increment only after a spirant; and lastly *ishvā ca çareṇāçed* (v.7.3¹), to show that a mute only is increased after a spirant. For the second of these counter-examples, O. substitutes two of the same character, namely *yam apnavānah* (i.5.5¹) and *sa pratnavat* (ii.2.12¹ et al.); for the last, it gives (in a passage which has strayed out of place, and got inserted near the end of the comment to rule 10) *agnaye svāhā* (i.2.2¹ et al.).

In all these combinations, *ç* and *φ* are exempt from duplication by xiv.15, but the sibilants are doubled, except as some authorities (xiv.17,18) would leave them unchanged.

9. *sparçaparād aghoshād ūshmaṇaḥ parāḥ¹ prathamā² āgamas³ tasya sparçasya sasthanāḥ⁴ samānasthāno bhiniḍhāno bhavati. abhinidhiyata⁵ ity abhinidhānaḥ: āropanīya ity arthaḥ: "vedāntare tasyā⁶ 'bhāvād atrā 'ropanīyatvam. yathā⁷: yah-----: "açm-----: grish-----: ayasm-----: yah----- aghoshād iti kim: çarady----- ūshmaṇa iti kim: rukmam-----" sparçaparād iti kim: ishvā-----.*

sūtram idam eve 'śtām: na tatparādāyam¹⁰.

¹ G. M. om. ² B. O. *pratham*. ³ G. M. *-mo bhavati*. ⁴ B. om. ⁵ W. O. *-dhāyata*; B. *-niyata*. ⁶ G. M. *vedāntarasyā*; O. *-reṇa tad a*. ⁷ G. M. O. om. ⁸ O. om. ⁹ O. *yam apnavānah: sa pratnavat*, and om. all that follows (but see various readings to next rule). ¹⁰ G. M. *tu par-*.

The commentator illustrates with groups of two consonants only (of which the Sanhitā presents twenty-three that would come under the action of the rule); the question arises, then, whether in groups of three or more consonants (of which there are over fifty)—where the mute is followed by another consonant (as *χkl, gny, shky, stm, stry, qpr*), or where the spirant stands second (as *rcm, kshn, rshny, tsk, tsphy*), or where each is the case (as *tstr, tstry, ntstr*), or where there are two spirants followed by mutes in the same group (as *χkshn*)—the rule is to be relentlessly applied. It can admit of little doubt that the sequence of another consonant would not affect the case; whether a preceding consonant would do so is more doubtful. Such resultant groups as *nthstr, thsphy, kkhshthy*, and *χkkh-shthn*, have a tolerably frightful appearance; but whether they would stagger the heroic soul of a Hindu *śākhin*, is another matter.

To the inserted mute is applied the name *abhinidhāna*, which the commentator explains by *abhinidhiyate*, 'it is set down against;' giving as its synonym *dropaṇīya*, (I presume, simply) 'to be inserted;' and adding the remark, "owing to the absence of this in any other Veda, there is here insertibility" (?). He takes no notice of the doctrine of *abhinidhāna* as a peculiar and imperfect utterance of certain letters in certain situations, which plays so formidable a part in the phonetic systems of the Rik and Ath. Prātiśākhya (see especially the note to Ath. Pr. i.43): we, however, bearing that doctrine in mind, may conjecture with plausibility that the word here not merely signifies an insertion, but designates also a peculiar quality of the inserted letter.

अथपि प्लक्षिः ॥ १० ॥

10. According to Plākshi, when the following mute is surd.

That is to say, not when it is a nasal: Plākshi would ratify *χkk, χkkh, shth, shthh*, and so on, but would make no insertion in *gm, shn*, and their like. This, as was remarked under the last rule, would correspond more nearly with the teachings of the Rik and Vāj. Prātiśākhya. The commentator illustrates with *nishkevalyam* (iv.4.2²), *yah kāmāyeta* (ii.1.2³ et al.), *paçcāt prācin* (v.3.7³: B. reads *prāci*, which is found in the same division; W. has *prāncam*, which does not occur in the Sanhitā after *paçcāt*), *nish tapāmi* (i.1.10¹), *doshāvastah* (i.2.14⁴ et al.), *yah pāpmanā* (ii.3.

10. ¹ *aghosha eva sparçe² pure³ saty aghoshād āshmanah⁴ prathamādgamo⁵ bhavati*: 'plākshēh pakshah⁵. yathā⁶: nish-----: 'yah-----: paçc-----: nish-----: 'aksh-----: dosh-----: yah-----: āsp-----: ⁸ *aghosha eve 'ti kim: kūçmāñ-----⁹*

¹ O. ins. *plākshēh gākhino mate*. ² W. B. G. M. -*ça*; O. -*çe* 'pi. ³ O. *prathamō 'ūhinidhāno*. ⁴ G. M. ins. *parah*. ⁵ O. om. ⁶ G. M. O. om.; W. puts out of place, before *aksh*. ⁷ G. M. om. ⁸ O. substitutes *suçandra*-----: *spaçcaparād itī kim*. ⁹ *agn-----: sūtram idam eve 'stahi na tu paratrayani*. 95. *aghosha eva sparçapare prathamā yaç chandasām: naç cid ati: syātram: brhspatisūrapate*. ⁸ O. adds *abhinidhānanīyamo nā 'sti*.

13²), and *āspātram juhūr devānām* (ii.5.9³: G. M. have only the first word). All these are examples quite needless to be given, as they are read by Plākshi precisely as prescribed by the preceding rule. Counter-examples, exhibiting his discordant view, are *kāgmān chakabhāh* (v.7.23: W. G. M. have *kāgmān* only, and B. reads *kāshmāndān*, which I have not found in the Sanhitā, although *kāgmānda* occurs in the Tāitt. Āranyaka, at ii.7,8) and *akshnayā vyāghārayati* (v.2.7⁵ et al.: given only by W. B., and introduced out of place, between *nish tūpāmi* and *doshāvastah*, above).

O. follows an independent course in the interpretation and illustration of this rule. It calls the insertion an *abhinidhāna* (though adding at the end "there is no obligation of *abhinidhāna*") and, for the examples *yah kāmāyeta* to *āspātram*, it substitutes *succandra dasma vīcāte havyavāt* (iv.4.4⁶: the MS. omits *dasma*), *yac chandasām* (the thing nearest to this that I have found in the text is *prajāpatiḥ chandasām*, iii.3.7¹), *naḥ cid ati* (this I have overlooked in searching out the references), *syātram* (doubtless meant for *āspātram*), and *brhaspatisūrapate* (probably *brhaspatisutasya te*, i.4.27).

The present precept was pronounced unapproved in the comment to rule 9.

उत्तमपरात्तु प्लक्षायणस्य ॥ ११ ॥

11. But according to Plākshāyana, on the contrary, when the following mute is a nasal.

This can only mean to teach the precise opposite of the preceding rule; or, that there is no insertion when a surd mute follows the spirant, but only when a nasal follows. And it is first so explained by the commentator, who gives as examples *akshnayā vyāghārayati* (v.2.7⁵ et al.), *aḥnāti* (i.6.7³ et al.), and *tīrthe snāti*

11. 'plākshāyanasya tu paksha uttamaparād aghoshād ūshmanah paraḥ' prathamāgamo bhavati. yathā²: akshn-----: aḥnāti: tīrthe----- uttamaparād iti kim: nish-----: 'yah k-----': 'yah p-----': pūcāt. tuḥabdah plāksheh paksham prakshipati⁶.

kecid evam ūcuh: aghoshatvam ūshmanas tuḥabdo nivartayati 'ti⁸. tatrā 'yam sūtrārthaḥ: uttamaparād tu' ghoshavata⁹ ūshmanah paraḥ prathamāgamo bhavati. aḥnām-----: śarady-----: brahm-----: ghoshavata⁹ iti kim: aḥmā-----: grīsh-----: aya-----.

(¹) G. M. om. (²) G. M. om. (³) B. om. (⁴) G. M. om. (⁵) W. *apakshiyati*; B. *-kshiyati*. (⁶) G. M. om. *iti*. (⁷) in W. only. (⁸) G. M. *ghoshād*. (⁹) G. M. *agh-*.

O. substitutes for the whole comment *aghoshaprakṛtān tuḥabde nirayati: plākshāyanasya cākhīno mate aghoshād ūshmanah uttamaparaparād: sasthanaparathamāgamo bhavati: aksh-----: grī-----: aḥnāti: aya-----*.

(vi.1.1²); and, as counter-examples, *nishkevalyam* (iv.4.2²), *yah kāmāyeta* (ii.1.2³ et al.: B. omits), *yah pāpmanā* (ii.3.13²: G. M. omit), and *paṣcāt* (v.2.9⁴ et al.). Plākshāyaṇa would read the first class as rule 9 requires, but would leave the mute without increment in the second class.

Then a second and wholly different interpretation is set forth as taught by certain authorities: namely, that *tu*, 'but,' in the rule, instead of negating Plākshi's opinion, reverses the quality of the spirant as prescribed in rule 9, changing it from surd to sonant—that is to say, admitting the increment only after *h*. The examples given are *ahnām ketuh* (ii.4.14¹), *ṣarady aparāhne* (ii.1.2⁵: only W. has *ṣarady*), and *brahmarāḍino vadanti* (i.7.1⁴ et al.: W. B. omit *vadanti*); the counter-examples, illustrating omission of the increment after a surd spirant, are *aṣmā ca me* (iv.7.5¹), *grīshmo hemantaḥ* (v.7.2⁴), and *ayasmayam vi cṛta* (iv.2.5³: W. B. omit *cṛta*). This, which is in itself forced and inadmissible, would also be equivalent to limiting the insertion to the little class of cases in which a later rule (xxi.14) requires the interposition of a *nāsikya*.

In the exposition of this rule, O. goes its own peculiar way, and takes no notice of the second interpretation which the other manuscripts report. It furnishes no counter-examples, and its examples agree only in part with those already given: they are (corrected) *akṣṇayā vyāghārayati*, *grīshme madhyandine* (ii.1.2⁵), *aṣṇāti* (or *snāti*), and *ayasmayam vi cṛta*.

The rule was pronounced unapproved by the commentator under rule 9.

प्रथम ऊष्मपरो द्वितीयम् ॥ १२ ॥

12. A first mute followed by a spirant is changed into its corresponding aspirate.

Literally, becomes a second mute—of course, of its own series. The examples given are as follows: *visrpo virapṣinn* (i. e. *viraph-ṣin*; or, by xiv.1, *virapṣṣin*) *ulādāya* (i.1.9³: only O. has the first word, and it omits the last; W. reads *vāratrivadāya*, which is evidently merely a corruption); *tat shodāṣy* (i. e. -tth sh-) *abhavat* (vi.6.11¹: only G. M. have *abhavat*); *pratyauṣṇ somah* (i.8.21: i. e. *pratyauṣṇ s-* by v.32; then *pratyauṣṇh s-*); and *tat* (i. e. *tatth*)

12. *ūshmaparah prathama sparṣah¹ savargiyam dvitīyam āpadyate. vis-....: tat-....: praty-....: tat-....* ²*prathama iti kim: ³tāh-....² ūshmapara iti kim³: vāk-....* ⁴*arvāg-.... ity atra prathamapūrho hakāraṣ caturtham tasya sa-sthānam* (v.38) *iti hakārasya caturthāpattir viśeshavihitatvāt: tatas trītiyaṅ svaraghoshavatparas* (viii.3) *trītiyatvam.*

idam eva sūtram iṣṭam⁴.

ūshmā paro yasmād asāv⁵ ūshmaparah.

¹ O. *ātmana*. ² O. om. ³ W. B. om. ⁴ in O. only. ⁵ G. M. *sa*.

savītuḥ (i.5.6⁴ et al.). As counter-examples, we have *tāh* (i. e. *tās*, ix.2) *sañrohaḥ* (v.3.6³: omitted by O.; dropped out in W. B.) and *vāk ta ā pyāyatām* (i.3.9¹: only O. has the last two words), in which no aspiration takes place.

A possible difficulty in the application of this rule is noticed and removed by O. alone. Such a case as *arvāk : hi : enam : parāḥ* (vi.3.3¹) might seem to fall under its action, the spirant *h* following a surd mute. But it is pointed out that, in virtue of v.38, *h* becomes a fourth mute by special prescription; and hence that rule viii.3 alone applies to the preceding surd, changing it to a sonant.

The place of introduction of this precept and the following—coming in, as they do, right in the midst of the rules respecting duplication, with which they stand in no relation—is quite surprising and objectionable. The commentator, however, passes the matter without notice.

I have not noted any case in which my manuscript of the Sanhitā attempts the aspiration of a mute before a sibilant, as here required. The manuscripts of the commentary, however, which almost never heed the rules for duplication, even in illustrating those rules themselves, often (as we have repeatedly had occasion to notice) observe this one in their citations, although they yet more often neglect it (thus, in the examples here given, G. M. O. aspirate the mutes, and W. B. leave them unchanged). Being taught in company with the duplication, as part of the *varṇa-krama*, it has no claim to be taken account of in the construction of an ordinary Tāittiriya text. Respecting the teachings of the other Prātiçākhyas upon the subject, see the note to Ath. Pr. ii.6.

बाडभीकारस्योसस्थानपरः ॥ १३ ॥

13. According to Bādabhīkāra, when the following spirant is not of the same position with it.

Rule ii.44 teaches the accordance of the several (surd) spirants, in their order, with the series of mutes, in point of position—more literally, of place of production.

T. calls the individual here referred to Bāḍavīkāra, and W. O. have in the rule *vādabhīkāra*, but in the comment *bādabh-*; the rest have uniformly *b* as initial letter, which I have therefore adopted, as being decidedly better supported than *v*. Weber gives the two forms *vādabh-* (V. Pr. p. 250) and *vātabh-* (ib., p. 78).

13. *bādabhīkārasya* ¹ *mata ātmano* ² *'sasthānoshamaparah pra-*
thamam savargīyam ³ *dvitīyam āpadyate. 'samānam sthānam*
yasyā ⁴ *'sau sasthānaḥ: na sasthāno 'sasthānaḥ: sa paro yasmāt*
sa tatho 'ktaḥ. yathā ⁵ *: vis-....: tat-....* ⁶ *asasthāna iti kim:*
tat-.... ⁷

ne 'dam sūtram ishtam.

¹ O. ins. *śakṣino*. ² G. M. O. om. (and begin the next word as-). ³ O. om. ⁴ O. om. ⁵ B. om. ⁶ O. ins. *idam(?)sthāno yam sakārah*.

The commentary (except in O.) is at the pains to repeat a couple of the examples of aspiration already given, namely *visrpo virap-
cin* (i.1.9³: W. omits *visrpo*) and *tat shodaṣi* (vi.6.11¹): and it adds, in illustration of the peculiar view of the quoted authority, *tat savituh* (i.5.6⁴ et al.), where the dental mute, being followed by the dental sibilant, remains unchanged.

This rule is pronounced unapproved.

अथ न ॥ १४ ॥

14. Now for exceptions.

A heading, introducing the detail of exceptions to the rules as already given, and continuing in force through rule 28.

अवसाने र्विसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलियोपध्मानीयाः ॥ १५ ॥

15. A consonant before a pause is not doubled; nor *r*, *visarjanīya*, *jihvāmūliya*, or *upadhmānīya*.

As example of a consonant before a pause, is given *ārka* (iv.7.4¹ et al.: W. has instead so *rkaḥ* [v.4.3³], but it is not an illustration of the rule, and is evidently here only a corrupted reading of *ārka*), of which the *k* would otherwise be doubled by xiv.4. Of course, it is only a final after *r* that would fall under the rules of duplication before a pause. The text affords, I believe, no instance of a consonant occurring in this position in *samhitā*, but such words as *ārka* and *amārt* (vii.1.1² et al.) need to have their reading in the other forms of text determined by a rule like this. The commentator quotes *ārka ca* (i. e. *ārkk ca*) *me sūrtā ca me* (iv.7.4¹: B. omits the last two words, G. M. O. the last three), as showing that the *k* is doubled when in *sandhi* with a following letter. To illustrate the exemption from duplication of the other letters specified, are given *nā* ²*rtim ā rehati* (ii.2.4⁷), *manah ksheme* (v.2.1⁷), *yah* (i. e. *yax*) *kāmayeta* (ii.1.2³ et al.), and *yah* (i. e. *yax*) *pāpmanā* (ii.3.13²). According to the approved usage of this *gākhā* (see ix. 2,3), *visarjanīya* comes within the ken of this rule only when it

14. *athe* ¹*ty ayam adhikārah*: ¹ *uktasya dvitvavidher* ² *yathā-sambhavaṁ nishedho* ³ *dhikriyata* ⁴ *ity* ⁴ *etad adhikṛtaṁ* ⁴ *vedita-vyam ita* ⁵ *uttaraṁ yad vakshyāmaḥ*.

¹ G. M. ins. *atha*. ² W. G. M. *-dhe*; O. *vidh*-. ³ W. *-kṛta*. ⁴ B. G. M. om. ⁵ B. no *varṇah*.

15. *padāvāsane* ¹ *vartamāno varṇo* ² *repho visarjanīyo jihvāmūliya upadhmānīya* ³ *ce* ³ *ty ete varṇā dvitvaṁ nā* ⁴ *padyanṭe*. *ārka*: *rephāt paraṁ ca* (xiv.4) *iti prāptih*. *avāsānavacanau* ⁵ *virāmābhiprāyam*: *tasmān na saṁdhāne nishedhaḥ*: *yatkā*: *ārka ca*..... *nā*.....: *man*.....: *yah*.....: *yah*.....: *svara-pārvam* (xiv.1) *ity anendi* ⁶ *śhām prāptih*.

precedes *ksh*, since elsewhere it can stand only *in pausā*. *Jihvā-mūliya* occurs (by the conversion of final *h* according to ix.2) in the groups *zk*, *zkl*, *zkr*, *zksh*, *zkshn*, *zkshv*, and *zkh*; *upadhāndīya*, in like manner, in *qp*, *qpy*, *qpr*, *qpl*, and *qph*: the combinations of *r* have been enumerated above (under rule 4).

The other Prātiçākhyas have rules equivalent with this, into the variety of expression of which we do not need to enter.

It is to be accounted as a reprehensible omission on the part of our treatise, that it gives no direction as to the treatment of a group beginning with *anusvāra*. The Vāj. Prāt. (iv.107) expressly exempts *anusvāra* from duplication; and, in the Rik Prāt., in the fundamental rule (vi.1), *anusvāra* is ruled out of account in the estimation of consonant groups, it being taught that a consonant is doubled after it in the same manner as after a vowel. There is no good reason to doubt that the same is to be understood as the doctrine of the present work, and that it would have *anusvāra*, so far as duplication is concerned, deemed and taken as merely an affection of the vowel to which it is attached. That this is not explicitly stated, stands in connection with the equivocal position of the Tātt. Prāt. in reference to the nature of *anusvāra* (see p. 68): according to the view taken at the beginning of the next chapter (xv.1), rules respecting it are no more required than in the Ath. Prāt., where they are equally wanting.

The commentator notices that some would read the rule now under discussion as two, cutting off *avasāne* from the rest; and for the reason that otherwise, as the rule stands, it seems natural to understand that “*r*, *h*, *z*, and *q*, when standing before a pause,” are not doubled; as a similar construction was made in rule 10 of the fifth chapter. But he denies the validity of the objection, since duplication of *r* and the rest before a pause is not in the remotest

‘avasāna iti: ‘caturnān varuṇānām’ prthag eva sūtram ‘kecid ācuh:’ ekikarane’ doshadarçanāt: asūn’ doshaḥ: avasāne var-tamānā repcharisārjanīyādāya’ ity anrayasampādānam¹²: ana-graha āçîr dhāḥ suvar (v.10) itivād iti cet¹³: nāi ‘sha do-shaḥ: ravisārjanīyādānām¹⁴ padīvasāne¹⁵ dr̥itvaprāptir¹⁶ dūrot-sārīte¹⁷ ‘ti ne ‘yam atra gaṅkā ‘stī¹⁸: avasāneprthakkarane¹⁹ saty²⁰ avasāne¹⁶ kiṁ vā bhavati ‘ti sākāṅkshatīyā²¹ vacanam anartha-kanī²² syāt: ekikarane tu ravisārjanīyetivarnasādhacaryā²³ avasāne vartamāno varṇa iti²⁴ labhyate: tasmād ekikaraṇam eva ramanīyam.

¹ W. B. yad-. ² W. B. combine, as in rule. ³ O. om. ca. ⁴ G. M. -dyaen. ⁵ G. M. -āna iti v-. ⁶ O. om. ⁷ G. M. kecid id vñ sūtram prthag eva ‘cuh: avasāna iti ca: ravisārjanīyājihvāmūliyopadhānīyā iti ca: kṛthān prthakkaranam. ⁸ W. caturnavān; B. om. varuṇānām. ⁹ W. corrupt. ¹⁰ G. M. O. ko ‘sūn. ¹¹ G. M. O. ravi; B. -nīyā. ¹² G. M. anayavasāmbhāvanam; O. asya dr̥itvān samp-. ¹³ O. om. ¹⁴ O. avasānevyatirikasthale vis-. ¹⁵ B. om. ¹⁶ W. repchapraprāptir. ¹⁷ W. tutsā; O. dūrotot-. ¹⁸ G. M. kiṁ cit; O. kiṁ ca. ¹⁹ G. M. O. prth-. ²⁰ W. sti; G. M. nāsti. ²¹ G. M. -kshā tūhā; O. -kshayā. ²² B. arth-. ²³ W. savis; B. vis; O. om. varṇa. ²⁴ O. om.

manner suggested by the rules (literally, 'is expelled to a distance'), and consequently cannot be suspected of being taught here. If, on the other hand, *avasāne*, 'before a pause,' were set by itself, the inquiry would be "what under the sun is it that happens before a pause?" and the expression would appear meaningless. When, however, it is combined with the names of letters that follow, we naturally infer from the association that 'a letter in *pausā*' is intended. Hence, the inclusion of the two precepts in one rule is alone to be approved.

This defense of the unity of the rule is evidently of the most trifling and futile character, and the objectors are in the right—not, indeed, as the separation into two rules is absolutely necessary, but as it is decidedly preferable, and more in accordance with the general usage of the treatise elsewhere.

उष्मा स्वरपरः ॥ १६ ॥

16. Nor a spirant, when followed by a vowel.

It is only, of course, after *r* (xiv.4) that a spirant can be liable to duplication before a vowel, so that the combinations to which the rule applies are *rg*, *rsh*, *rs*, and *rh*. All the other treatises excepting the Vāj. Prāt. have the same rule (R. Pr. vi.2; A. Pr. iii.32; Pān. viii.4.49).

The commentator's examples are *dargapūrnāmāsāu* (ii.2.5⁴ et al.), *varshābhyah* (vii.4.13: I presume; my MS. of the Sanhitā has *varshyābhyah* twice instead of *varshyābhyah* and *varshābhyah*: O. gives instead *savarshām*, iv.4.4¹), *barsam nahyati* (ii.5.7¹⁻²), and *barhishā* (i.7.4¹ et al.: G. M. have instead *barhisho* 'ham, also i.7.4¹). To illustrate the limitation to a spirant, he gives *ebhir no arkāih* (i. e. *arkkāih*; iv.4.4⁷: O. omits); to show that a vowel must follow, *pārçve* (i. e. *pārççve*; vii.3.10³), *varshyābhyah svāhā* (i. e. *varshshy-*; vii.4.13: G. M. omit *svāhā*), *barsvebhih* (i. e. *barssv-*; v.7.11), and *agnir hy asya* (i. e. *hhy*; v.1.5⁵)—but O. has a different series, namely *dārçyam yajñam* (iii.2.2³), *varshye-bhih* (the MS. has *varshebhih*; I have not succeeded in finding either word in the Sanhitā), and *agner hy etat purisham* (vi.2.8⁶).

The combinations in which the spirant after *r* is doubled, being followed by another consonant, are *rgm*, *rgy*, *rgv*, *rsht*, *rshn*, *rshm*, *rshy*, *rsv*, and *rhy*. To complete the *sandhi*, either with or without duplication, the rules for insertion of *svarabhakti* (xxi.15,16) have to be further applied.

16. *svarapara ūshmā doiteam nā* "padyate. *svarah paro yasmād asāu svaraparah. yathā*: *darg*----: *varsh*----: *barsam*----: *barh*----. "rephāt param ca (xiv.4) iti prāptih. *ūshme* 'ti kim: *ebhir*----² *svarapara iti kim*: "pārçve: *varsh*----: *barsvebhih*: *agnir*----³

¹ G. M. O. om. ² O. om. ³ O. *dā*----: *varshebhih*: *agner*-----

प्रथमपरश्च प्लक्षिप्लक्षायणयोः ॥ १७ ॥

17. Or, according to Plākshi and Plākshāyana, when followed by a first mute.

That is to say, these two *śākhināu* would leave a spirant free from duplication before an unaspirated surd mute, contrary to the first rule of the chapter. The groups which would be thus affected are *çc* and *çey*, *çp*, *shk* and *shky* and *shkr*, *sh̥t* and its further combinations (*sh̥ty*, *sh̥tr*, *sh̥tv*), *shp*, *sk*, *st* and its further combinations (*stm*, *sty*, *str* and *stry*, *stv*), and *sp*. One hardly sees why combinations with a second mute (namely *çch* and *çchy*, *shkh*, *sh̥th* and *sh̥thy*, *sth* and *sthn*, *sph* and *sphy*) should not be subject to the same rule—but then, one must not expect to see the reason of anything whatever, general rule or particular exception, in this doctrine of duplications. It may be made a question whether the single case, *rsh̥t*, falling under rule 4 is not also here aimed at; if the pair of kinsmen did not overlook it, it is doubtless included with the rest.

The examples (which are lost in W.) are *suçandra dasma* (iv. 4.4⁶: O. omits *dasma*) and *ashtāu krtvāḥ* (vi.4.5¹); a counter-example, with a last mute after the spirant, is *tasmād evān vidu-shā* (vi.4.9²: O. omits *vidu-shā*); but O. has, with B., omitted to point out that this is a counter-example, and gives further, as such, *ishvā ca vajrena* (v.7.3¹).

The commentator then goes on to say that although the word *ca*, 'or,' in the rule brings down by implication a spirant pure and simple (without exclusion of any sound belonging to that class), yet the real application is only to *ç*, *sh*, *s*, and *h*, since otherwise the mention of *ç* and *ç* in rule 15 would be without meaning, their exception being assured by the present precept. The interpretation is doubtless true, but the reason given for it is only acceptable on the supposition that what is here put forward as the view of two individual authorities is in fact the accepted doctrine of the Prāticākhyā; in any other case, there is no inconsistency or interference between rules 15 and 17, and the commentator should rather have said that, as the pair of dissidents doubtless accepted

17. *plākshiḥ plākshāyanayoḥ pakṣhe*¹ *prathamapara āśmā div-tvaṁ nā* *padyate. cakāra āśmānam anvādiçati. suçc-----*
ashtāu----- *prathamapara iti kim*:³ *tasmād-----*² *pratha-*
*maḥ paro yasmād asāu prathamaparāḥ.*⁴

*cakāro 'tra' yady apy*⁵ *āśmamātrākārshakas' tathā 'pi' ça-*
*shasaheshv eva sampratyaçāḥ: anyathā*⁶ *'vasāne ruvisarja-*
nīya (xiv.15) *iti*¹⁰ *sūtre jīhvāmālīyopadhmānīyayor grahaṇam*
*vyartham: anenāi*¹¹ *'va nishedhasiddheḥ*¹².

¹ O. *mate*. ⁽²⁾ W. om. ³ B. O. om. ⁴ O. ins. *prathamapara iti kim: ishvā-----*
⁵ G. M. O. om. ⁶ W. om. ⁷ G. M. *āśmāk-*. ⁸ W. O. *hā*. ⁹ G. M. om. ¹⁰ W. O.
om. ¹¹ O. ins. *shāi*. ¹² W. O. *-shedhe s-*.

rule 15, it was not necessary to regard the present statement of their views as having any reference to χ and ϕ . That the rule is accepted in the *śākhā* represented by the commentator may be inferred also from the fact that (under rule 22) he pronounces the five that follow unapproved, but says nothing of this.

उष्माघोषो हारीतस्य ॥ १८ ॥

18. According to Hārīta, a surd spirant is not doubled.

There is unusual variety and inaccuracy of reading among the different manuscripts of the commentary of this rule, and O. goes off upon a course of its own: yet the aim of all is the same, and not difficult to discover. The word *ūshmā* (which was present or implied in the two preceding rules, and therefore might naturally enough come down into this by continued implication) is here expressly repeated, for the purpose of breaking connection with what goes before. If *aghosha*, 'surd,' only were specified, and *ūshmā*, 'spirant,' implied, the latter would have to be implied along with the attributes attached to it above, namely "followed by a vowel," or "followed by a first mute," and to such a spirant the further qualification of "surd" would be given; while the meaning intended is that Hārīta would forbid the duplication of a surd spirant altogether, in any situation.

O. alone gives as first example *dārçyam yajñam* (iii.2.2³); all have *vāçyo manushyānam* (vii.1.1⁵); to which W. B. add *pushyati prajāyā pagubhiḥ* (ii.4.6²) and *vāçrānurasya rūpam* (v.2.3² et al.), which O. omits, while G. M. substitute the single passage *asyā'parūpam* (iii.5.7³). As counter-example, showing the limitation to a surd spirant, W. B. give *tiroahniyā mā* (vii.3.13; B. omits *mā*); but G. M. give instead *mahyam imān* (iii.1.9⁶), and O. *sapta jihvāḥ sapta* (i.5.3²).

18. ¹ *hārītasya* ² *mate* ³ *'ghosha ūshmā dritvanī nā'* ⁴ *'padyate.*
⁵ *'dārç-----' vāçyo-----: 'pushy-----: vāçç-----' aghosha*
iti kim: 'tiro----- ūshmagrahanam' pūrvasūtrānapekshār-
tham⁶: atra yady apy ūshmagrahanam na kriyata ūshme 'ty etat
svaraparātvena ⁹ sambaddham¹⁰: tasmād ihā 'pi tatsambandha-
syāi 'vā¹¹ 'ghoshavattvarīçeshah¹² ¹³ syāt: atas tannivṛttyartham
ūshmagrahanam¹⁴ atra kṛtam: atah sarvāvastha ūshmā 'tra
dvitvanishedhabhāk¹⁵. ⁶

¹ O. begins *ūshmagrahanam pūrvasūtrānapekshātham*; *pūrvasūtre svaraparātvena prathamaparātrena ca sambandha iti aghosmagrahanam tasyāi 'va viçeshanām syāt: atas tannivṛttyeshu punar ūshmagrahanam hāri-etc.* ² O. ins. *çākhino.* ³ O. *sarvāvasthā eva ūshmā 'ghosho nyo na dvivarnam ā.* ⁴ in O. only. ⁵ O. om.; G. M. *asyā-----* ⁶ O. simply *sapta-----* ⁷ W. *ūshmayāg-*; G. M. *-māg-*. ⁸ W. B. *pūrvatrān-*. ⁹ G. M. ins. *ca.* ¹⁰ W. *-bandham*; B. *-bandhak.* ¹¹ W. B. *va.* ¹² W. *-vāve vi-*; B. *-vāve 'ti vi-*; G. M. *'ghoshatvaviçeshanam.* ¹³ W. B. ins. *na.* ¹⁴ G. M. *ūshme 'ti gr-*. ¹⁵ W. *n shedhāt;* B. *nī-hedhāya,* and adds, out of place, the first part of the comment to the next rule (to *rephaparo*, excl.).

Rules 18-22 are pronounced unapproved under rule 22.

रेफपरश्च ककारः ॥ ११ ॥

19. Nor *h*, when followed by *r*.

The word *ca* in the rule is declared to continue the implication of "according to Hārīta." This individual having in the former rule limited his denial of duplication to a surd spirant, and so left the sonant spirant *h* (? the MSS. say "a surd spirant") liable to be always doubled, it is now taught that *h* with the distinctive mark of a following *r* remains single. The example given, alike in all MSS., is *duduhre ahrayah* (i.5.5¹); counter-examples are *juhve* (i. o. *juhve*) *hy agnis tvā hwayati* (i.1.12: G. M. end with *agnih*; W. B. omit altogether, along with the introductory explanation to the next citation), to show that *h* would be doubled by Hārīta before any other letter than *r*; and *gukrañ* (i. e. *gukkrañ*) *te anyat* (iv.1.11²: O. omits), to show that any other letter than *h* would be doubled before *r*.

O., though using two of the citations given by the other MSS., has a wholly independent exposition of this rule.

टवर्गश्च तवर्गपरः ॥ २० ॥

20. Nor a lingual mute, when followed by a dental.

That is to say, in the opinion of Hārīta. Thus, in *vashat te vishno* (ii.2.12⁴: O. has *vishat te rikshane*, but it is doubtless only a corrupt reading) and *vid dravinam* (i.8.13¹ et al.), Hārīta would leave the groups *tt* and *ddr* untouched, while the rules of the treatise would require *ttt* and *dddr*. The other groups in which he would teach the simpler combination are *ttr*, *dd*, *ddhr*, and *rtt*; and *ts*, *tsv* and *rts* would fall indirectly under the same exception, since, by v.33, *t* (converted to *th* by xiv.12) must be inserted between *t* and *s*: *ts*, then, would in Hārīta's hands become *tths*; in those of the regular adherents of this school, *ttths*. Counter-examples, of obvious application, are *rāk te* (i. e. *rākk te*; i.3.9¹: wanting in B. O.), *tat te* (i.3.9¹ et al.: found in W. only, and of no

19. 'pārvam āshma' ghosha ity ukte' 'ghoshoshmāñ nityam dyōtve prāpte' 'viśiṣṭa idānīm' rephaparo hakāraḥ cakārākṣhṭa-hārītamātē dvitvañ nā 'padyate. yathā: dud-.... rephapara iti kim: 'juhve-.... hakāra iti kim: gukrañ-.... rephaparo yasmād asū rephaparah.

(¹) G. M. a. (²) W. viśeṣṭādinām; B. viśiṣṭādivadanam; G. M. viśeṣṭi id. W. -re. (³) G. M. om. (⁴) W. B. om.

O. substitutos caṣabdo hārītasya 'nvādeṣakah: hārītasya ṣākhino mātē rephaparo hakāro dvitvañ nā 'padyate. dud-.... rephapara iti kim: juhve-....

20. cakāro¹ hārītānvādeṣakah²: 'tavargas tavargaparo na dvitvañ 'padyate. yathā: 'vashat-....³ vid-.... 'tavargah paro

account, since exempt from duplication by xiv.23), *śatkapāḍam niḥ* (i. e. *śatṭk-*; i.8.5¹: wanting in O.), and *vid vāi marutaḥ* (i.e. *vidd vāi*; vi.6.5³).

ततवर्गौ यवकारपरौ ॥ २१ ॥

21. Nor *l* nor a dental mute, when followed by *y* or *v*.

Hārīta is this time implied "by vicinage" merely, there being no word in the rule to which his memory can be directly fastened. Examples of *l* before *y* and *v* are *kalyāṇī* (vii.1.6⁶) and *bāilvo yāpo bhavati* (ii.1.8¹: G. M. omit *bhavati*); of a dental mute in like situation, *kanye 'va tumā* (iii.1.11⁸) and *ishe tvā* (i.1.1 et al.). The accepted usage of the school requires *lly*, *lv*, *my*, *tv*, while Hārīta would leave the groups as in the ordinary text.

Combinations of a dental mute with a following *y* or *v* are quite numerous (I have noted about twenty in the Sanhitā).

परश्च ॥ २२ ॥

22. Nor the following.

This rule completely puzzles the native comment, which has nothing of any value to say about it. Two explanations are suggested, evidently on the barest conjecture only, and it would be hard to say which of them is the more senseless. In the first place, it is said that *paraḥ*, being singular, implies the sound *v* (as being the one last mentioned in the preceding rule); it, namely, of the two affecting causes (*y* and *v*) specified in rule 21, does not suffer duplication: examples are *vibhūdārve* (iii.5.8 et al.) and *ā grāvnaḥ* (vi.3.2³: W. B. omit *ā*); and a counter-example, showing the limitation to *v*, is *kalpān juhōti* (v.4.8⁵). And the intent of the rule is to remove a restriction imposed in rule 3 of this chapter—that is to say, to allow the duplication of *l* before a mute, which is there forbidden. In the second place, *paraḥ* is said to be equivalent to *dvitīya*, 'second,' and to signify that, when the

yasmād asdu tavargaparaḥ. tavarga' iti kim: "vāk-----: 'tat -----" evampara' iti kim: "śat-----: "vid-----.

¹ O. *caṣabdo*. ² O. *-tasyā 'nv-*. ³ O. ins. *hārītasya śākhino mate*. ⁴ G. M. O. om. ⁵ G. M. om. ⁶ O. *tavargapara*. ⁷ W. *-gapara*. ⁸ B. om. ⁹ G. M. om. ¹⁰ O. om.

21. *hārītaḥ sāmīnidhyāl labhyate: tanmate latavargāu na khalu yavakāraparāu dvitvam āpnutaḥ. 'yathā: lakāraḥ: ' kalyāṇī: bāilvo-----: 'tavarge 'pi: kanye-----: ishe----- yavakārāu' parāu yābhyām tū tathoktāu'.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. om. ³ W. B. *-ra*. ⁴ G. M. *yavakāraparāu*.

My collation of O. gives nothing whatever upon rules 21 and 22 and their comment, and I do not know whether there is a *lacuna* in the MS., or whether the collator has overlooked the passage.

duplication has been once performed, it is not done over again, as otherwise the process would go on *ad infinitum*. And if it be objected that rule 23 sufficiently forbids this repeated duplication, and that this one would therefore be an unnecessary repetition, the answer is made that that is no fault, since the matter in hand is a division of opinions—that is to say, doubtless, that here Hārīta's view only is concerned, and so there is no necessary connection between the two rules.

Fortunately, the commentator is able to add that the present precept, along with its four predecessors, is to be ruled out of account as unapproved, so that what it means is of very little consequence.

सवर्णसवर्गियपरः ॥ २३ ॥

23. A letter followed by one homogeneous with itself, or one of the same mute-series, is not duplicated.

By *savarṇa*, 'of like color or sound,' we are told, is signified identity of form, not merely correspondence as regards place and organ of production. The difference is, that the latter description would apply to the spirants, in their relation to the series of mutes (ii.44,45), and it is not the usage of this school to exempt the spirants (except *ṣ* and *ṣ*, rule 15) from duplication, even before a mute with which they are akin. The Ath. Pr. (iii.30) does so exempt them. The epithet *savarṇa*, then, applies only to an identical letter and to the nasal semivowels into which (by v.26,28) *n* and *m* are converted before *y*, *l*, and *v*.

The cited examples of the application of the rule to homogeneous sounds are *atvakkāya* (vii.5.12²), *attā haviṁshi* (ii.6.12²), *pippakāte śaravyāyāi* (v.5.19: only O. has the last word), *saṁyattāh*

22. *cakāro hārītākarśhakāḥ*¹: *para ity ekavacanena*² *vakāro*³ *grhyate: pūrcasātrasthanimittayoh* ⁴ *so 'pi* ⁵ *na dvitvam āpad-yate. yathā: vi-----: ā----- vakāra iti kim: kalpān----- sparśa*⁶ *evāi 'keshām ācāryāṇām* (xiv.3) *ity 'atrā 'radhā-rānanirākaraṇāyā 'yam*⁷ *ārambhah. athavā*⁸: *tuddvīte*⁹ *krte pa-ro dvitīyaparyāyo*¹⁰ ¹¹ *dvitvavidhīr nā 'sti*¹¹: *anavasthāprasaṅgāt. nanu savarṇasavargīyapara* (xiv.23) *iti parasūtrenā*¹² *'pi punardvītanishedhah*: ¹³ ¹⁴ *pūnaruktyam mā bhād iti*¹⁴: *matabhedān nāi 'sha*¹⁵ *doṣha iti brūmah.*

*hārītamataḍ*¹⁶ *āśmā 'ghoṣha* (xiv.18) *ityādisātrapauṇca-kam*¹⁷ *anīṣṭam.*

¹ G. M. -*tamatāk*. ² W. *eva v*. ³ W. *sav*-, and puts after *grhyate*. ⁴ G. M. ins. *parah*. ⁵ G. M. ins. *hārītamate*. ⁶ G. M. -*ṣapara*. ⁷ G. M. *evandhā... -pāyāyā 'yam*. ⁸ W. B. *yathā*. ⁹ G. M. om. *tad*. ¹⁰ G. M. -*āyena*. ¹¹ G. M. -*dhin na prāp-noti*. ¹² W. om. *para*. ¹³ G. M. ins. *tasmāt*. ¹⁴ W. -*ktyo mā bhavati*; G. M. -*kyam āvāhati*. ¹⁵ W. *va*. ¹⁶ G. M. -*mate*. ¹⁷ G. M. *ityādi paraṣ ce 'tyantani sū*. O. wanting (see above).

(i.5.1¹ et al.: wanting in W. B.), *yal lohītam* (ii.1.7²), and *tvaṁ vā-tāir aruṇāh* (i.3.14¹: only O. has *aruṇāh*). Those which illustrate absence of duplication of a mute before another of the same series are *aṅkāu nyaṅkāu* (i.7.7²), *prāṇcam upa* (v.2.7³: O. omits *upa*), *kāṇḍāt-kāṇḍāt* (iv.2.9² et al.), *taṁ te duṣṣakṣāh* (iii.2.10²), and *ambha stha* (i.5.6¹ et al.). Then the commentator quotes from some unnamed authority a verse prescribing that “when a nasal precedes, a *k* or *g* is inserted before *t* or *dh* respectively,” and claims that, in virtue of it, there fall under the rule also such cases as *pāṅkto yajñah pāṅktāh* (i.5.2¹ et al.: G. M. O. omit the last word) and *tān brāyād yuṅgdhcam iti* (iii.4.8²: O. omits the first two words). From this we should draw the inference that, in forms like those here quoted, the omission of the non-nasal mute (specially prescribed by the Ath. Pr., at ii.20) is the regular and proper reading of the *çākṣā*, its presence, when found, being regarded as an irregular insertion, or a process forming part of the *vārṇakrama*—which is just the opposite of the etymologically correct view. I have not collected all the passages illustrating the point, but the omission is certainly the prevailing, though not exclusive, reading in my manuscript of the Sanhitā, as also in the Calcutta edition. That the verse quoted is from some treatise dealing specifically with the Tāitirīya text may be inferred (not too confidently) from its making no mention of *th* as requiring the insertion of *k*; it being the fact that no example of *th* in such a situation is to be found in the Sanhitā.

Finally, as counter-examples, where the two mutes are of different classes, we receive (except in O.) *vāṇ na āsan* (v.5.9²: G. M. end with *me*), *śaṇ māsaḥ* (vi.5.3⁴), *vidathāni manmahe* (iv.7.15³), and *dāmnā pāu* “*mbhan*” (ii.4.13: W. B. have *dāmnā* only): here the combinations are to be made *śām*, *nam*, *mm*, and *mmn*. The illustrations are quite one-sided, both for and against the rule, being only groups containing a nasal.

This rule furnishes the most important of all the prescribed

23. *savarṇaparaḥ savargīyaparaḥ ca deivam nā* “*padyate: savarṇatvam nāma sārūpyam*” *ucyate: na tulyasthānakaranatā-mātram: savargīyaḥ samānavargasambandhī. yathā: atvak-kāya: attā----- pipp----- saṁyattāḥ²: yal----- tvaṁ----- savarṇaparāṇy evamādini: savargīyaparāṇy³ api⁴ vadā-maḥ: aṅkāu----- prāṇcam----- kāṇḍāt----- taṁ----- ambha-----*

anunāsikapāras⁵ tu kakāro madhya⁶ āgamaḥ:

gakāraḥ ca takāre⁷ ca dhakāra ca⁸ yathākramam.

itivacanād idam apy udāharanam: pāṅkto----- tān-----⁹ evampara iti kim: vāṇ----- śaṇ----- vīda----- dāmnā

¹ B. -*pyatvam*. ² W. B. om. ³ W. *savarṇap*. ⁴ W. *eva*. ⁵ W. *anuvārap*. ⁶ W. -*dhymā*. ⁷ O. -*raḥ*. ⁸ W. om.; G. M. *yak*. ⁹ O. om.

restrictions to the sphere of duplication, as there are somewhat over a hundred consonant groups to which it applies.

नानुत्तम उत्तमपरः ॥ २४ ॥

24. Unless, indeed, it be a non-nasal followed by a nasal.

This is a precept of counter-exception, contravening in part the exceptions established by the foregoing rule. Examples are *yācñā* (i.5.7⁴: the only example of this combination which the text affords), *yajñe-yajñe* (iii.1.11²: but O. has *yajñena*, vi.5.3¹ et al.), *ātñārah* (v.6.5³: also the sole instance), *sa pratnavat* (ii.2.12¹ et al.: in O. only), and *pāpmānam* (i.4.41 et al.): a counter-example is *tam mā devāh* (iii.3.2²: wanting in O.).

The cases here denied exemption from duplication are those in which, according to xxi.12, *yama* is introduced between the two mutes. According to the Vāj. Prāt. (iv.111), *yama* suspends duplication.

अथैकेषामाचार्याणाम् ॥ २५ ॥

25. Now for the views of certain teachers.

A simple heading for the rules that follow, in force as far as rule 28 inclusive—or, according to the commentator's interpretation of rule 28, through 27 only.

लकारो दृशवकारपरः ॥ २६ ॥

26. A *l* is not doubled when followed by *h*, *ç*, or *v*.

The commentator's examples are *malhā ā 'labhanta* (ii.1.2⁴: but B. O. have *-bheta*, which is found in the same division, and G. M. read *-bhate*, which is doubtless a corruption of the same), *gatavalço vi roha* (i.3.5 and vi.3.3³: O. omits *vi roha*), and *tato bilvaḥ* (ii.1.8²: O. substitutes *bāilvo yūpaḥ*, ii.1.8¹); his counter-examples (omitted in O.) are *kalmāshī* (v.1.1⁴) and *kalyānī* (vii.1.6⁶).

This rule, we are told, determines the usage of the school so far as the combinations *lh* and *lç* are concerned, but not in the case of

24. *nakāro 'yam pratiprasavārthaḥ*: 'uttamaparo nuttamo divitvam āpadyate. *yathā*¹: *yācñā*: *yaj*-----: *ātñārah*: 'sa-----' *pāpmānam*. 'anuttama uttamapara iti kim: *tam*-----' *uttamah paro yasmād asāv*² *uttamaparah. savarṇasavargīyapara*³ (xiv.23) *iti pratishedhaprāptāv ayam ārambhaḥ*.

¹ O. *pravārtha*. ² G. M. om. ³ O. om. ⁴ in O. only. ⁵ O. om.; B. om. *anut-*
tama; W. om. *uttama*. ⁶ G. M. om. *para*.

25. *athe 'ty ayam adhikārah*: *ekeshām*¹ *mate*² *kriyata*³ *ity etad adhikṛtam veditavyam ita uttaram yad vakshyāmaḥ*.

¹ G. M. ins. *deśyānam*. ² G. M. *matam*; O. *maçitam*. ³ G. M. O. *adhikri-*

lv. But O. has an inserted passage, so corrupted as to be hardly intelligible, which quotes a verse (easily made such by a little emendation) from some authority unspecified, making a distinction between *lv* as occurring in a circumflexed syllable or otherwise—that is to say, between *bilvāh* and *bāilvāh*.

All the groups here treated of are quite rare, *lc* occurring, I believe, only in *valṣa* (vii.3.19) and its compounds, and *lh* only in *malha*; *lv* is sometimes found also as the result of *sandhi* (as at i.5.9⁶: ii.5.1⁶).

The commentator adds, finally, that the next rule also is not approved.

स्पर्श स्पर्शपरः ॥ २७ ॥

27. Nor a mute that is followed by a mute.

This is a view of certain authorities merely, and unapproved. The examples are *vāg devī* (i.7.10²), *apām ojmānam* (iv.6.6⁶), *ātñārah* (v.6.5³), *sa prānavat* (ii.2.12¹ et al.), and *yam apnavānāh* (i.5.5¹): O. has only the first two of them.

पदान्तश्च व्यञ्जनपरः प्राकृतः ॥ २८ ॥

28. Nor an original final that is followed by a consonant.

The natural meaning of this rule would appear to be simply that, in the opinion of some authorities, a final mute which is not the product of euphonic alteration is exempted from duplication before any initial consonant whatever (not before a mute only, as in the preceding rule). The commentator, however, manages to extract from it a very different value: namely, that *n* final is not liable to duplication before a semivowel or spirant (i. e. *h*); and he regards

26. ¹ *ekeshām* ² *mate haṣavakāraparo lakāro* ³ *dvitvaṁ nā* ⁴ *padhyate. malhā----* ⁵ *ṣata----* ⁶ *tato----* ⁷ *evampara iti kim: kalmāshī: kalyāñi. hakāraḥ ca ṣakāraḥ ca vakāraḥ ca haṣavakārāh: te⁰ pure yasmāt sa tathoktaḥ.*

atra⁷ haṣapare kāryam ishtam⁸ na tu vakārapare: ⁹ nā ¹⁰pi parāsūtram⁹ ishtam.

¹ G. M. ins. *sa.* ² G. M. O. ins. *ācāryānām.* ³ G. M. *lavakāro.* ⁴ O. om. ⁵ W. om. ⁶ O. *ete.* ⁷ G. M. O. om. ⁸ O. ins. *lakārasya haṣavakārapara iti sūtre sthitaḥ kim kārānam nanu vakāra iti prayojanam asti: lakāravakārasya saṁyoga svarito yadā: tadā saṁyukta eva syād asaṁyuktus tadanyathā: iti vacanām asti tasmāt kāraṇāt: yadā lakāravakārapara iti: tato bilvāh.* ⁹ O. *sūtram.*

27. *ekeshām* ¹ *mate sparṣapara sparṣo* ² *dvitvaṁ nā* ³ *padhyate³.* *vāg----* *apām----* *ātñārah: sa----* *yam-----* ⁴ *sparṣaḥ paro yasmād asāu sparṣaparah.*

¹ O. ins. *ācāryānām.* ² O. puts next after *mate.* ³ O. *na dvitvaṁ āpnoti.* ⁴ O. om.

this as the accepted doctrine of the school, and as determining the reading in this *śākhā*. How this strange result is arrived at, we have to follow through his lengthy exposition closely enough to discover.

In the first place, *vyañjanapara*, 'followed by a consonant,' is declared to mean 'followed by any other consonant than a mute,' because otherwise, as we have read 'followed by a mute' in the preceding rule, the treatise would be guilty of a needless repetition so far as sequence by a mute is concerned. To this the natural answer would be that the two rules do not come into collision, since they do not occupy the same ground: the former relates to any mute in any situation, the latter only to an unaltered mute at the end of a word; and if the one is declared to have a single pronunciation before a mute only, the other before any consonant whatever, what objection can possibly be taken? Moreover, we are stating here the views of certain authorities, of whom one set might hold rule 27, and the other rule 28: and even if they partly covered one another, there would be nothing wrong about it. Once more, *sparṣapara* is claimed to be implied here merely for the purpose of denying it, the commentator's conclusion being that there is duplication of *n* before a mute, though not before a semi-vowel; and that is certainly a very remarkable kind of *anuṛtti* which should work thus by contraries. Of the last two considerations, the commentator takes no notice (although he has once appealed to the former of them in a somewhat similar case above, under rule 22): the first he states and replies to. It may be objected, he says, that there is a difference of affecting cause laid down in consequence of the difference of the affected letter; the latter is here qualified as final and as original; and the former as being any consonant whatever. Nevertheless, he claims, there would be meaninglessness of the qualification of the affecting cause,

28. *vyañjanapara iti sparṣavyatirikṭavyañjanapara ity arthaḥ: anyathā sparṣānām api grahaṇe pūrvasūtre 'pi sparṣa' ity ukta-
tvāt pāṇinuruktyam syāt. nānu nimittaviśeṣhān² nimittaviśeṣho³
'sti: padāntatvam prākṛtatvam ca nimittino⁴ viśeṣhā⁵ nimittasya
tu sarvavyañjanātmakatvam⁶: iti cet: tathā 'pi sparṣabhāge' ni-
mittaviśeṣhasya⁷ vādyarthīyam⁸: sparṣapara ity⁹ atra sāmānyenā
'pi¹⁰ nimittaviśeṣhasya¹¹ vigatatvāt¹²: tasmād¹³ antasthādāya evā
'tra vyañjanaśabdano 'cyante. 'cakāro yady api sparṣamātrā-
karshakas tathā 'pi pāriṣeṣhyān¹⁴ 'nakārasya¹⁵ 'nukarṣaṇam¹⁶:
tathā hi: antasthādīvyañjanaparatve 'nyasparṣānām¹⁷ avikṛtā-
nām padānte sthitiṃ nā¹⁸ 'sti: samrād ity atra¹⁹ 'sti 'ti cet: māi
'vam: na sañ sām itī²⁰ rāpara (xiii.4) ity atra vādyarthīyāt²¹:
itiśabdo makārasya dvitvasadbhāvam bodhayati²² 'ty²³ adhyayanā-
murodhād upapāditaḥ: tasmān nāi 'sha nishedhaviśayaḥ. 'nā²⁴
'pi brahmaṇvantah: nyanā.... ityādiviśayaḥ.²⁵ kutah: iha*

so far as mutes were concerned: the reason he gives is of course a mere quibble, and the point of it is so fine that I am not confident of seeing it rightly: it seems to be, that there is an absence of such qualification in the implied term *sparṇapara*. At any rate, the comfortable conclusion is, that only the semivowels etc. are intended by the term "consonant" as employed in the rule. The next step is, to declare that *ca*, 'nor,' although it strictly brings forward 'a mute,' without qualification, yet really amounts, on the principle of exclusion, to an implication of *n* only. Namely, thus: no other consonant remains unchanged at the end of a word before a semivowel or spirant. It may be objected that *m* also does so before *r* (by xiii.4) in such words as *saṃrāj*: but this is of no account; for, if admitted as a reproach to the interpretation now under treatment, it would convict of superfluosity a part of rule xiii.4: namely, the *iti*, which was shown, in accordance with the received reading of the *gākhā*, to teach the duplication of the *m*. We see now why that atrociously forced and groundless construction of the meaning of rule xiii.4 was made; it was needed to bolster up in advance the forced and groundless construction to be put upon the present precept. As the *m*, then, constitutes no ground of exception, so neither do the nasals *n* and *ṇ* in such cases as *brahmaṇvantaḥ* (vi.4.10¹) and *nyān raṃbibhiḥ* (ii.4.10²). For why? the qualification *prākṛta*, 'original,' in the rule involves [as belonging to the letter to which it is applied] the quality of being alterable, since it would otherwise be meaningless; and there is no case to be found where either *n* or *ṇ* is altered before a semivowel or spirant. If, then, the term *prākṛta* is to be allowed its proper force, the implication of any other mute than *n* must be excluded. Here is another most arbitrary act of construction—as if *prākṛta* meant necessarily '(an alterable mute) when it retains its original form,' instead of simply '(a mute) that retains its original form.'

prākṛta iti viśeṣaṇaṃ vikṛtasadbhāvaṃ²¹ kalpayati: ²²anyathā svasya²³ vāiyarthyaḥ: tac ca vikṛtatvaṃ nakārasya²⁴ 'nakārasya²⁵ vā 'ntasthādiparatve²⁶ sati kvacid api padānte na dr̥ṣyate: tasmāt prākṛta iti²⁷ prayogasāphalyāya²⁷ nakārasyaḥ²⁷ vā 'nukarṣaṇaṃ yuktam iti pāriṣeṣyam.

kim ca: māhisheya 'pi nakārasyaḥ²⁸ vā 'nukarṣaṇaṃ siddhavatkr̥tyo²⁸ 'ktam: ²⁹tatre 'yaṃ sūtrayojanā²⁹: ekeshāṃ³⁰ mate padāntaḥ prākṛto nakāro 'ntasthādīvyāñjanaparo³¹ na dvitvam āpadyate. yathā: mitro-----: om-----: etān-----: padānta iti kim: anyā-----: anv-----: antasthādipara iti kim: tān-----: imān-----: prākṛta iti kim: tān-----: ³²vāish-----³² nanu katham atra³³ vikṛtatvaṃ:

rephād rvarnāt³⁴ pūrvaḥ ca tavargāc³⁵ ca paraḥ ca naḥ³⁶: tavargasthāna³⁷ ity āhur atasthāno³⁸ 'nya³⁹ ucyate.

iti vacanād asti sthānabhede⁴⁰ kṛtān⁴¹ vikṛtatvaṃ⁴² iti brāhmaḥ.

The authority of Māhisheya (see note to the introductory verses, p. 7) is further appealed to as making the same restriction of implication. His explanation is that, in the view of some teachers, a final unaltered *n* followed by a semivowel or spirant is not doubled. Examples are *mitro janān yātayati* (iii.4.11⁵: only G. M. have *mitro*), *omanvatī te* (ii.6.9⁵; p. *oman-vatī*), and *etān homān* (i.5.4⁴); in all which we are to understand that the *n* remains single. On the other hand, there is duplication in *anyā* (i. e. *amnyā*) *yanti* (ii.5.12²) and *anv* (i. e. *annv*) *aha māsāh* (i.7.13¹), where the *n* is not final; in *tān* (i. e. *tānn*) *kalpayati* (v.3.1²) and *imān* (i. e. *imānn*) *bhadrān* (i.6.3¹), where the *n* is followed by a mute; and also in *tān rakṣadhvam* (i.2.7) and *vāishnavān rakṣohanaḥ* (i.3.2²), where, it is asserted, the *n* does not maintain its original form. Since, however, there is no rule in the Prātiśākhya for altering a *n* in this last pair of cases, the commentator quotes (from the same authority, we may conjecture, which has been recently twice appealed to; under rules 23 and 26) a prescription to the effect that *n* when preceding a *r* or an *r*-vowel, or when following a lingual (the MSS. say, a dental) mute, is uttered in the lingual position: thus, he says, in virtue of its change of position, the *n* is phonetically altered. Finally, he makes an alleged citation from the Çikshā (not found in the version known to us), which teaches that a final *n* preceding *r* exhibits a peculiarity, and is liable to duplication. Such a modification of the utterance of *n* forms no part of the phonetic system of any of the Prātiśākhyas.

Thus is brought to an end the tedious subject of duplication, the physical foundation of which is of the obscurest, although the pains with which the Hindu *çākḥināḥ* have elaborated it, and the earnestness with which they assert their discordant views respecting it, prove that it had for them a real, or what seemed like a real, value.

çikshā cāi 'vaṇi vakshyati :

⁴³ *rephāt pārvo*⁴³ *nakāro yuḥ padānte*⁴⁴ *yatra*⁴⁵ *dr̥çyate :*

*viçesham tatra jānīyād deitvam ity*⁴⁶ *abhidhīyate.*

⁴⁷ *vyañjanam asmāt* ⁴⁸ *param iti*⁴⁸ *vyañjanaparāḥ : prakṛtiḥ*⁴⁹ *svabhāvaḥ : tatsambandhi prakṛtaḥ.*

¹ O. -*çapara*. ² G. M. -*ttavaçān*; O. -*ttanimittav*-. ³ G. M. -*viçishṭho* 'py artho; O. *nāmīttikaviçesho* 'py a. ⁴ G. M. -*tto*-. ⁵ G. M. O. -*shah*-. ⁶ G. M. -*kam*-. ⁷ G. M. -*çavibh*-. ⁸ G. M. -*çishṭe* 'sya. ⁹ O. -*rthye*-. ¹⁰ O. *avyañjanasāmānye*; G. M. om. *apī*-. ¹¹ G. M. -*syā*; O. -*sha*-. ¹² G. M. 'pi g-; O. *pug*-. ¹³ O. om. ¹⁴ W. B. *cakāra sparçaksharapāriç*; G. M. *cakārasthānīsparçakkarshakāḥ pariçeshyan*-. ¹⁵ B. *takāra-karshunām*-. ¹⁶ G. M. O. *saty any*-. ¹⁷ G. M. ins. *tu*-. ¹⁸ G. M. om. ¹⁹ W. om. *iti*-. ²⁰ W. om. ²¹ W. -*ive*-. ²² G. M. om. ²³ B. *svarasya*-. ²⁴ W. B. *nak*-. ²⁵ W. *dak*;- B. om. ²⁶ O. -*divyañjanop*-. ²⁷ W. -*sakul*-. ²⁸ O. -*ddhev*-. ²⁹ O. om.; B. G. M. *tatrāi 'vaṇi s*;- G. M. -*tre yo*-. ³⁰ O. ins. *acāryānām*-. ³¹ W. -*sthāvry*-. ³² O. om. ³³ W. a. ³⁴ W. O. *av*;- B. *v*;- G. M. *rav*-. ³⁵ all the MSS. *tuv*-. ³⁶ G. M. *na*-. ³⁷ W. B. O. *tav*-. ³⁸ W. O. *ota sth*;- G. M. *asthāne*-. ³⁹ G. M. om. ⁴⁰ O. -*da*;- G. M. -*dāt*-. ⁴¹ G. M. om. ⁴² O. ins. *astī*-. ⁴³ all but O. *rephap*-. ⁴⁴ W. G. -*to*-. ⁴⁵ G. M. *yadi*-. ⁴⁶ B. om. ⁴⁷ O. ins. *cakāro kanasya sparçakkarshakāḥ*-. ⁴⁸ W. *paro*-. ⁴⁹ G. M. O. -*tir iti*-.

उदात्तात्परोऽनुदात्तः स्वरितम् ॥ २९ ॥

29. A grave following an acute becomes circumflex.

The following rule shows that the substantive here to be understood is *svarah*, 'vowel.' All the other Prāticākhyas, in their corresponding rules (R. Pr. iii.9, V. Pr. iv.134, A. Pr. iii.67), state the principle as applying to an *aksharam*, 'syllable.' In his explanation and illustration, however, the commentator is not careful to bear this in mind. He states the sphere of the rule to be all the three kinds of enclitic circumflex, the *prātihata* (xx.3), *pādavṛtta* (xx.6), and *tāirovyañjana* (xx.7), although these in part include cases to which only the next rule attributes the circumflexed quality. And his examples are *sá idhánāh* (iv.4.4⁵), *áthā 'bravít* (iii.2.11²), *vásvy asi* (i.2.5¹ et al.), *prāṅgam* (iv.4.2¹), and *táyā devátayā* (iv.2.9² et al.); of which only the first and fourth show the circumflex vowel following the acute without an intervening consonant (rule 30). Nor are all the examples unexceptionable in other respects: for though the *i* of *idhánāh* and the *a* of *asi* are really *anudatta*, 'grave,' in the *pādu*-text, and so show an actual conversion into circumflex, the other exhibited cases of enclitic circumflex are circumflexed in the *pādu*-text as well, and undergo no alteration in consequence of their change to *samhitā*. It is at this that the commentator aims, when he adds that, "there being grave quality in the condition of separation of letters, then, when these are combined together, circumflex quality appears in accordance with the present precept." That is to say, it is the natural unaccented quality of the syllable that is here implied in *anudatta*, not its being technically grave, and marked as such. This understanding is also needed in order to make good rule 31, where we are not taught that the enclitically circumflexed final of *átha*, for example, becomes grave before an acute or circumflex (as in *átha tvám*, *átha kvà*), but that the unaccented final *a*, which was made circumflex by rules 29 and 30 after *á*, is exempted from the change when so followed, and remains unaccented.

The enclitic circumflex is written in the recorded Tāittirīya text in the same manner as in the Rik and Atharvan; namely, by the perpendicular stroke above the syllable, the same that is used for the independent circumflex. The method is so familiar to all students of the Veda that it does not need to be illustrated here. Certain specialties of Tāittirīya usage will come up for notice under later rules (xix.3, xxi.10,11).

29. *prātihatapādavṛttatāirovyañjanavishayam¹ etat: udattāt paro 'nudattāh svaritam āpadyate. yathā: sa----: athā----: vasvy----: pra----: tayā----. varnavibhāgāvasthāyām anudattatve saty² eva punas tatsamhitāyām³ eva³ tallakshanasvaritavm¹ praṅgam ityādāu vijñeyam.*

¹ O. om. *pādavṛtta*, and ins. *prāvṛtta* before *-vish-*. ⁽²⁾ W. *evā 'dhasat sam-*.
³ G. M. O. om. ⁴ G. M. O. *etallakshanaś sv-*.

For an exposition of the place and value of the enclitic circumflex in the Hindu accentual system, see the note to Ath. Pr. iii.65. It may doubtless admit of question whether the Hindu phonetists, in noting the syllable naturally grave as being otherwise than grave when immediately preceded by an acute, would not have apprehended it better, and described it more truly, as a middle tone between acute and grave, rather than a combination (i.40) of acute and grave. Arguments drawn from the analogies of the Greek and Latin accentual systems (see F. Misteli, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xvii., 1868; also Prof. J. Hadley, in the *Proceedings of the Am. Oriental Society* for Oct. 1869 [*Journal*, vol. ix., pp. lxii.-lxiii.]) may press upon us this latter view as the more plausible. But that any one having access to the sources of knowledge upon the subject should dispute the substantial identity in physical character of the Greek circumflex and the Sanskrit independent *svarita*, and should set down the latter as a "middle tone," in the face of all authority and of all sound phonetic theory, savors of inexcusable carelessness or prejudice.

व्यञ्जनान्तरहितो ऽपि ॥ ३० ॥

30. Even when consonants intervene.

For the necessity of this explicit statement, see the note on the preceding rule. The commentator, having already given under the latter several cases in which the affected and the affecting vowel were separated by one or more consonants, has nothing that is new to offer; but he quotes, nevertheless, *tād agne aurnó bhavāmi* (iii. 3.8²: B. O. omit *bhavāmi*) and *yás tvā hrđá'* (i.4.46¹): in the first case, *ag-* and *bha-* are circumflexed; in the second, *tvā*.

नोदात्तस्वरितपरः ॥ ३१ ॥

31. Not, however, when an acute or circumflex follows.

That is to say, the syllable naturally unaccented or grave—but which, coming next after an acute, would usually take, by rule 29, the tone of transition from higher to lower pitch—retains its low or grave tone if immediately followed by an acute, or by a (*nitya* or independent, of course) circumflex, of which the first element is acute: the pitch of voice is governed by the following tone in preference to the preceding, and sinks at once, without perceptible movement of transfer, to the level of *anudātta*, as a vantage-ground from which to rise to the immediately succeeding high point.

In this rule, as well as that to which it constitutes an exception,

30. *vyañjanāntarhito* 'py *udāttāt paro 'nudāttah svaritam*² *āpadyate. yathā*³: *tad*....: *yas*.... 'ity *ādi*'. *antarhito vya-*
vahita ity arthah.

¹ O. *ant*. ² B. *-tatvam*. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ O. om.

all authorities are agreed (see note to Ath. Pr. iii.70); although we should not less naturally expect the double attraction, of a high tone on either hand, to exercise at least as much assimilating effect upon the pitch of an intermediate syllable as a preceding high tone alone exerts.

The commentato 's examples are *sá imān lokām* (i.5.9⁴: but G. M. add *ajayan*, which doubtless means *tá imān lokām ajayan*, vii.1.5³), *tásmāt tá ādya annadhā'nāt* (vii.1.1⁵: only O. has the first word and the last), *kīrṇā mānyamānah* (i.4.46¹), and *tasyāi vy'rdham āndām ajāyata* (vi.5.6¹: only G. M. have the last two words): the vowels between acute and acute, or between acute and circumflex, in these examples, are *anudatta*, and written, as such, with the horizontal stroke beneath.

The three rules here given only apply, in strictness, to a single unaccented syllable following an acute; where there is more than one such, the rules for *pracaya* (xxi.10,11) come into force.

नाग्रवश्यायनस्य ॥ ३२ ॥

32. Not so, according to Āgniveçyâyana.

The significance of this rule (which is declared unapproved, in the comment to its successor) is more clearly stated by O., in an independent exposition, than by the other four versions of the comment. It is meant to exhibit an opinion contravening the doctrine laid down by its predecessor, and allowing the circumflex accent to stand, even when the following syllable has, or begins with, the high tone. No examples are given, except by O., which has *vódhavrē* (i.6.2¹ et al.) and *tasya kvā svargāh* (ii.6.5⁵).

G. M. read, in rule and comment, Āgnivāçyâyana.

सर्वी नेत्येके सर्वी नेत्येके ॥ ३३ ॥

33. Some say not, in all cases.

31. *udāttasvaritapara*¹ *udāttāt paro 'nudātto na*² *svaritam āpadyate*³. *yathā*⁴: *sa*.....: *tas*.....: *kīr*.....: *tasyāi*.....
udāttas ca svaritas ca 'dāttasvaritāu: *tāu parāu yasmāt sa tatho 'ktaḥ*.

¹ W. -*paro nān*; B. *svaritaparo vā*; G. M. *udāttapara svaritaparo vā*; O. do., except *vā*. ² G. M. O. put after *svaritam*. ³ B. *āpnoti*; O. *prāpnoti*. ⁴ G. M. om.

32. *pārvasūtrapratiprasavārtho*¹ *'yañi nakārah*: *udāttāt paro 'nudāttah svaritam*² *āgniveçyāyanasya*³ *mata udāttaparo*⁴ *vā*⁵ *svaritaparo vā* ⁶ *nā* ⁷ *'padyata iti na*. *pārvoktāny evo 'dāhara-ndni*.

¹ B. -*trasya prati*-. ² G. M. om. ³ G. M. -*yana*-. ⁴ W. B. G. M. -*ttāt pa*-. ⁵ B. *'nudatta*; G. M. om. ⁶ B. G. M. ins. *svaritam*. ⁷ B. om.

O. substitutes *āgniveçyāyanasya cākhino mate udāttarapara svaritaparo vā udāttāt paro 'nudatta svaritam āpadyate na pratishedhah*. *yathā*: *vo*.....: *tas*.....

According to the majority of MSS. of the comment, the denial of these skeptical people is not limited to the enclitic *svārīta*, but extends to the whole accent, in all its seven forms (xx.1-8). Thus, namely; in the *brāhmaṇa* of the Vājasaneyins (that is to say, the Ṣatapatha-Brāhmaṇa) there are only two accents, the acute and the grave. But O. has once more a version of its own, stating that the authorities here referred to would not, like Āgñivegyāyana, annul rule 31 simply, but would also deny the rules in general for the enclitic circumflex, as in *sá idhánāh* (iv.4.4¹) and *prapā'* (? MS. *prathā*) *asi* (ii.5.12⁴). We cannot well hesitate to prefer the latter interpretation; there has been no question here of the independent circumflex, and a denial of its existence would be altogether out of place and impertinent. Nor is the reference to the Ṣatapatha-Brāhmaṇa one at all likely to have been intended by the Prātiçākhyā. And it is not true, except so far as the mode of designating the accents is concerned, that that treatise has no circumflex accent: it writes, to be sure, only the *anudatta* sign, so that, if the value of this were the same as in the other usual systems of designation, all its syllables would be either grave or acute: and on this foundation, later Hindu systematists have declared them such, and painfully elaborated an exposition of them (see Weber's Ind. Studien, x. 397 ff.).

Rules 32 and 33 are, naturally enough, declared unapproved; but to us it is both interesting and important to find that there were Hindu phonetists in the ancient time who did not admit such an element of utterance as the enclitic circumflex.

CHAPTER XV.

CONTENTS: 1-3, nasalization of vowels, or insertion of *anusvāra*, in cases of the loss or alteration of *n* or *m*; 4-5, the same, in the cases detailed in the next chapter; 6-8, the same, in the case of certain finals; 9, utterance in monotone.

33. *na kevalam udāttāt paraḥ: kim tu sarva eva saptavidha-svarīto nā'stī 'ty eke çākhino manyante. tathā hi: vājasaneyi-brāhmaṇe' drāv eva svarāu: udāttaç cā 'nudāttaç ca.*

ne 'dam sūtradvayanī² iṣṭam.

O. substitutes *eke çākhino manyante na kevalam udāttaḥ udāttaḥ svarīta paraḥ: prati-shidhyati kim tarhi udāttaç pūrvakaç ca: sa.....: prathā..... ne 'dam* etc.

*iti tribhāshyaratne prātiçākhyavivarane
caturdaço³ 'dhyāyah.*

¹ W. *vājanepibrā-*; B. *-nehibr-*; G. M. *-neyabr-*. ² W. *-tram*. ³ G. M. O. *dvitiye praçne dvitiyo*.

नकारस्य रेफोष्मयकारभावाद्युक्ते च मलोपाच्च पूर्वस्वरो अनुनासिकः ॥ १ ॥

1. In case of the conversion of *n* into *r*, a spirant, or *y*—also when the *y* is omitted—or in case of the omission of *m*, the preceding vowel becomes nasal.

That this Prāticākhya takes no distinct and consistent ground upon the question whether the so-called *anusvāra* consists in a nasalization of the vowel or in a nasal consonantal element following the vowel, has been already pointed out (note to ii.30); as also, that the present rule is the one where the former view is most unequivocally taken. As the school to which the commentator belongs has adopted the other view, he declares (under rule 2) that the doctrine here laid down is unapproved.

The “conversion of *n* into *r* or a spirant” is, of course, the retention of a historical final *s* after *n* unchanged before *t* (vi.14), or changed to *ç* before *c* (v.20), or to *r* before a vowel (ix.20 etc.); its “conversion into *y*,” with the (invariably) consequent “loss of the *y*” (ix.20 etc., x.19), goes back to the same cause. The commentator’s illustrative examples are *agnīr apsuśuduh* (v.6.1²), *sa triṇr ekādugān iha* (iii.2.11³; found in O. only), *karnāṅ ca kar-nāṅ ca* (i.8.9³), *triṇs tredn* (ii.5.10¹), and *mahāñ indrah* (i.4.20 et al.); of which the last is by part of the MSS., rather needlessly, quoted twice, once for the conversion of the *n* into *y* (for which it should be written *mahāñy indrah*), and again for the loss of the *y*. For the loss of *m* (by xiii.2), the examples are *pratyushtāñ rakshañ* (i.1.2¹ et al.) and *sañçitam me* (iv.1.10³ et al.).

The commentator explains *anunāsika* by *sānunāsika*, as if the word were properly a noun, and needed reduction to adjective form: in this treatise, however, it is always and only an adjective, meaning ‘nasal’ (see note to ii.30).

नैकेषाम् ॥ २ ॥

2. Some deny this.

1. ‘*nakārasya rephabhāvād āshmbabhāvād yakārabhāvād cakā-rākṛṣṭayakāre lupte ca*’ sati ‘*makāralōpād ca*’ pūrvasvaro ‘*nunāsiko*’ bhavati: *sānunāsiko bhavati* ‘*ty arthaḥ*. ‘*yathā*: *rephabhāvāt*: *agn*-----: ‘*sa*-----’ ‘*atho*’ ‘*shmbabhāvāt*:’ *kar*-----: *triṇs*-----: ‘*yakārabhāvād yathā*:’ *mahāñ*-----: ‘*yakāre lupte yathā*:’ *mahāñ*-----’ ‘*atha makāralōpāt*:’¹⁰ *praty*-----: *sañ*-----: ‘*ity ādī*’¹¹. *makārasya lōpo makāralōpāḥ*’¹²: *tasmāt*.

(¹) wanting in B. (²) O. om. (³) W. om. (⁴) O. om. (⁵) in O. only. (⁶) O. om.; G. M. om. *ātha*. (⁷) O. om.; G. M. om. *yathā*. (⁸) W. O. om. (⁹) G. M. om. (¹⁰) O. om.; G. M. om. *ātha*. (¹¹) O. om. (¹²) B. *malō*.

This is a mere introduction to the next rule, which informs us what the doctrine is which these dissidents hold instead. The commentator pronounces it the approved doctrine for this *śākhā*.

ततस्वनुस्वारः ॥ ३ ॥

3. And claim that, on the contrary, *anusvāra* is inserted after the vowel.

The *anusvāra* here prescribed is called by the commentator an *āgama*, 'increment.' Its insertion is the alternative view to the nasalization of the vowel, and, as is pointed out, is held where that nasalization is denied—of which denial, the *tu*, 'on the contrary,' is the sign in the rule. There is one example given: *sa trīṇr ekā-daśāṇ iha* (iii.2.11³: W. B. omit *sa*).

The approval of this rule is, of course, involved in that of its predecessor; and the usage of the recorded Tāittirīya text corresponds.

स्वादिषु चैकपद उष्मपरः ॥ ४ ॥

4. *Anusvāra* is also inserted in the case of *sra* etc., in a single word, before a spirant.

"Also" (*ca*) in the rule, we are told, brings down the implication of the above specified increment. The *śrādayas*, '*sra* etc.,' are the whole detail, given in the next chapter, of the occurrence of *anusvāra* in the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā otherwise than as the result of the rules of combination, implied in rules 1–3 of this chapter. The precept, then, is introductory to the detail referred to, and also lays down some general limitations affecting it. The commentator quotes a single case, *ṣoṣṣā moda ive 'ti* (iii.2.9⁵: it falls under xvi.2); and then gives counter examples, establishing the restrictions made: *tāsāṁ trīṇi ca* (ii.5.8³) shows that the insertion is made only under the circumstances defined in chapter xvi.; *tam mā saṅ srja varcasā* (i.4.45³ et al.: only G. M. have *varcasā*) and *prastaram ā hi sīdu* (ii.6.12⁶: found in O. only) show that it is to

2. *ekeshām mate pūrvasūtrokteshu* ¹ *sānundsikyam* ² *na* ³ *bhavati. uktāny evo 'dāharanāni.*

idam 'evā 'śṭani' na tu pūrvam.

¹ O. ins. *sīdāneshu.* ² G. M. *nā 'nu.* ³ W. G. M. O. om. ⁴ O. *eva sūtram ish.*

3. *tata iti sarvanāmnā parāmṛṣṭāt* ¹ *svarāt* ² *paro 'nusvāra* ³ *āgamo bhavati. yathā: sa..... parāmṛṣṭasvarasyā* ⁴ *'nundsikaṁ* ⁵ *gunam tuṣabdo nivartayati* ⁶ *'ti: tasmād anunāsikapratishedhapakṣha* ⁷ *evā 'yam anusvārāgamah syāt.*

¹ G. M. *-śta.* ² G. M. *-ra.* ³ B. G. M. *-svār.* ⁴ G. M. om. ⁵ O. *-śtāt svarā.* ⁶ G. M. *-ka.* ⁷ O. *-vāray.* ⁸ G. M. O. om. *iti.* ⁹ W. B. *-dhāt p;* G. M. *-dhah vak-shyamāna.*

be made only in a single word—that is to say, if I understand the meaning, that if *mā sām* and *hī sīdu* were single words, they would fall respectively under rules 8 and 13 of the next chapter, and have the increment—; and *māyā māyīnām* (iii.1.11⁷) shows that a spirant must follow (*māyīnām* otherwise falling under xvi.8). To the specification *ekapade*, 'in a single word,' the commentator adds in his paraphrase the explanation *akhaṇḍapade*, 'in an undivided word;' and then, in his illustration, he treats this as a restriction or limitation, and establishes it by an example, *trishāhasro vāi* (v.6.8³; p. *tri-sāhasrah*); rule xvi.25 would otherwise require the increment after *tri*.

नान्तविकारात्पूर्वः ॥ ५ ॥

The illustrative example is *bahis te astu bāl iti* (iii.3.10²; G. M. omit the last two words): we have in it a *s* following *hi* in a single undivided word; and hence, by xvi.13, should have to read *bahīs*, but for this restriction. The alteration is from *h* to *s*, according to ix.2. As counter-example is given *mā hīnsir dvīpādam* (iv.2.10¹; G. M. O. omit the last word), a case falling under the rule already referred to.

अप्रग्रहाः समानाक्षराण्यनुनासिकान्येकेषाम् ॥ ६ ॥

6. According to some authorities, the simple vowels, except the *pragrahas*, are nasalized.

This and the remaining rules of the chapter have the aspect of an intrusion, as they interrupt the natural connection of what precedes and what follows, and merely give the view of certain authorities on points which the Prātīcākhyas in general leave untouched. They are brought in here as having to do with nasalized vowels, which are the subject of this chapter and its successor.

With the nasalization thus taught is to be compared that noticed in the Rik Prāt. (at i.16, r. 63, lxiv), which teaches that the first

4. 'āgamānvādeṣakaṣ cakārah: srādishv ekapade 'khaṇḍapada'² āshmaparo¹ 'nusvārāgamo bhavati. yathā³: goṇsā----- srādishv iti kim: tāsām----- ekapadu iti kim: tam-----: 'prast-----' akhaṇḍaviṣeṣaṇena⁵ kim: trish----- āshmapara iti kim: māyā-----.

(¹) wanting in B. ² O. *pada*. ³ G. M. O. om. ⁴ in O. only. ⁵ O. -*sheṇa*.

5. na khalu padāntavikārāt¹ pūrvasminni anusvārāgamo bhavati. yathā²: bahis-----: hipujigā (xvi.13) iti prāptih. antavikārād³ ki kim: mā----- antasya vikāro 'ntavikārah: tasmād antavikārāt.³

¹ W. *vik*. ² G. M. O. om. ³ G. M. om.

eight vowels (namely *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *r*, *ṛ*) are by [some?] teachers declared nasal when they are not *pragrhya*, and stand as finals before a pause. This is different, first, in including *r* and *ṛ* (which are not *samānāksharāṇi* according to our treatise: compare i.2; but the difference amounts to nothing, as the vowels in question never occur *avasāne*, but only *avagrahe*); and secondly, in limiting the nasalization to finals, before a pause. But it is perfectly evident that our rule also applies to finals only, and, as we shall see, the commentator resorts to great violence to bring in the implication of “final” in rule 8, below. Again, the specification “in *samhitā* also,” in rule 8, and the interpretation of *padam* in rule 7 as signifying *padakāle*, ‘in *pada*-text,’ sufficiently prove that the present precept does not apply in *samhitā*—that is, that *avasāne*, ‘in *pausā*,’ is implied here. And the absence of statement or *anuvṛtti* of these two essential implications is strong additional evidence that the rules are interpolated.

By most of the MSS., only one example is given, namely *kulāyini vasumati* (iv.3.4¹), which, if our understanding, as above explained, is correct, is to be read, in *pada*-text, *kulāyiniṃ : vasumatim*. O. adds *aminanta evāṇi* (iii.1.11⁵), one of the cases of suspended combination falling under x.13, and (by R. Pr. ii.31,32) in the Rig-Veda requiring nasalization of the uncombined final: its citation seems to indicate that O. would not limit the operation of the rule to the *pada*-text. To show that the nasalization does not take place in uncombinable vowels, or *pragrahas*, are quoted, in *pada*-form, *amī iti* (iii.3.7¹ et al.) and *tunū iti* (ii.2.7⁵: omitted in O.). To illustrate the limitation to simple vowels, we find in most MSS. *so evāi ’shāi ’tasya* (ii.2.9⁷); but O. gives instead *agnaye ’nikavate* (i.8.4¹ et al.), *vishnav e ’hī ’dam* (ii.4.12³), and *vāyav ishtaye* (ii.2.12⁸).

The commentator, as he has done repeatedly before (under i.49, ii.7, v.2), notices the apposition in the rule of *apragrahāḥ* and *samānāksharāṇi*, two words of different gender. He signifies, further, under the next rule, that both that and this are unapproved.

पदं च सुतः शाङ्खायनकाण्डमायनयोः ॥ ७ ॥

7. As is also, according to Çāṅkhāyana and Kāṇḍamāyana, a protracted *pada*.

By *pada* is here signified, according to the commentator, a word

6. ¹ *yāni samānāksharāṇy apragrahasamjñāni tāny ’ekeshām mate bhavanti* ² *anunāsikāni*. ⁴ *kul-..... apragrahā iti kim : ’amī iti : ’tunū iti.* *samānāksharāṇi ’ti kim : “so..... pragrahāksharacabdayor niyataliṅgatayā’ parasparānvayo ghaṭate. na pragrahā apragrahāḥ.*

¹ O. ins. *ekeshām ācāryānām mate*. ⁽²⁾ O. om. ³ O. *-kagunāni patashānte*. ⁴ O. ins. *am-.....* ⁽⁵⁾ O. om. ⁽⁶⁾ O. *agn-..... : vish-..... : vāy-.....* ⁷ W. *niyamal-*.

in the *pada*-text; and the interpretation, as was remarked above, is fully supported by the specification of *samhitā* in the next rule.

As examples of nasalized protracted vowels, are given *tvīs ity abravīt* (ii.4.12⁶) and *astu hīs ity abravīt* (vii.1.6¹), both in *samhitā*-form, although it is again expressly pointed out that the nasalization is not made in *samhitā*: the two worthies referred to would read *tvīñs*: and *hīñs*. It is added that *ca*, 'also,' in this rule effects its connection with what is prescribed in the preceding one—or, as O., in more customary phrase, expresses it, brings forward by implication the preceding rule.

Some, we are further informed, restrict the application of the precept to words which contain a single vowel protracted, and would not regard it as authorizing nasalization in *na chinattis iti* (i.7.2^{1,4}) or *na vicityās iti* (vi.1.9¹: G. M. omit *iti*).

The rule is declared to be of no binding force.

अकारस्तु संहितायामपि ॥ ८ ॥

8. An *a*, however, is nasalized in *samhitā* also.

The commentator's explanation is that nasality and protraction are here implied (from the preceding rule) by vicinage; and that *tu*, 'however,' is intended to annul the implication that only the opinion of the two authorities specified in rule 7 is reported. And though the comprehensive statement "an *a*" is made in the rule, nevertheless, in virtue of rule i.58, "continued implication is of that which is last (or final)," the "also" (*api*) really brings down only a final *a* as suffering a prescribed effect by the attribution of nasal quality. The sense, then, is that a protracted final *a* is nasalized, both in *samhitā* and elsewhere. Examples are *suclo-kāñs sumuṅgalāñs* (i.8.16²), *upahūtāñs* (ii.6.7³), *yaṣo mamāñs* (vii.4.20); these are, in fact, all the cases of protraction of simple final *a* which the text contains; and the edition (so far as it goes) and my MS. nasalize the *ā*, as required by the interpretation of the rule here given. The cases are much more numerous in which a final *a* exhibits *ās* as the ultimate result of protraction, the *h* being lost before a following vowel or sonant consonant: namely, at i.5.9⁶: v.5.1^{3,32} twice: vi.1.9¹ twice; 3.8¹; 4.3⁴; 6.2³; and in one place, vi.5.8⁴, the same final *ās* comes from a protracted *e*: the question might possibly arise whether these do not also fall under

7. *yat*¹ *phutavat padam*² ³*tac ca*³ *padakāle* ⁴*śāṅkhāyanakāṇḍa-*
*māyanayor mate*⁴ *munāsikam bhavati. yathā*⁵: *tvīs*.....: *astu*
..... *padam iti kim*: *samhitāyām mā bhūt. cakāraḥ*⁶ *pūrvast-*
*troktavidheyasamuccayam*⁷ *karoti*⁸. *apara dhuḥ*: *phutāikasva-*
ram padam iti: *anyam mā bhūt*⁹: *na*.....: *na*.....
ne *daṁ sūtradvayam*¹⁰ *iṣṭam*.

¹ W. *yatra*. ² O. om. ³ W. *tatra*. ⁴ O. puts after *bhavati*. ⁵ G. M. om. ⁶ G. M. O. *caṭṭadh*. ⁷ O. *-vidhi*m. ⁸ O. *anvādīṭi*. ⁹ O. *phutevarṇapadam iti* *na mā bhūt*. ¹⁰ W. *sūtram*.

the rule, but it would have to be answered in the negative (see the counter-examples below); and the text reads accordingly. The manuscripts of the commentary give as found "in another *śākhā*," one example, read *brahmāṣṇ* in W. B. (O. is wanting), and *yadghrā* in G. M.: I do not quite know what to make of this, as there seems to be no call for quoting from another text examples of what is capable of being fully illustrated from the received Veda of the school; *brahmāṣṇ* is found at i.8.16¹ twice, ² twice, but would be a counter-example to this rule, its *a* not being final; it is, in fact, of the same character with the first of the counter-examples given. These are *satyarājāṣṇ* (i.8.16²), *agnāṣ ity āha* (vi.5.8⁴: W. has dropped out *agnāṣ*), and *vicityaḥ somāṣ na vicityāṣ iti* (vi.1.9¹: O. has only this).

Finally, the commentator remarks that Āṅkhāyana and Kāṇḍamāyana also accept this principle. He may well say this, for the natural interpretation of the rule is to make it represent simply the view of those authorities; and the action of the comment, in cutting it loose from its predecessors, and declaring it alone to express the approved doctrine of the treatise, is in a high degree forced and arbitrary. It was noticed under i.58 what an unjustifiable act of violent interpretation was there committed, by way of preparation for this one. The implication of "final" is not needed in rule 8 any more than in rules 6 and 7, and is clearly enough made in them all; whence it comes, it would be the business of those who put the passage in to tell, if they could.

The Ath. Prāt. gives (at i.105) an enumeration of the protracted vowels occurring in the text to which it relates. This our treatise omits to do, and it may be well to repair the omission in this place. A final *a* is protracted to *āṣ* at i.8.16² twice: ii.6.7³: vii.4.20: —*ah* to *āṣh* at i.4.27: v.5.1³; and to *āṣ* (the *h* being lost) at i.5.9⁶: v.5.1³, 3² twice: vi.1.9¹ twice; 3.8¹; 4.3⁴; 6.2³: —*an* to *āṣn* at i.8.16¹ twice, 16² thrice: ii.6.5⁶: —*am* to *āṣm* at vi.1.4⁵; 5.9¹: vii.1.7⁴; 5.7¹ twice: —*i* to *īṣ* at i.7.2^{1,4}: ii.4.12⁶: vi.5.9¹: vii.1.6^{1,7,4}: —*ih* to *īṣh* or *īṣr* at i.5.9⁶: vi.3.10¹: —*in* to *īṣn* at vii.4.20 twice: —*uh* to *ūṣr* at vi.3.8¹: —*e* to *āṣi* at i.4.27: vi.1.4⁵; and

8. *sāmnidhyād anunāśikapluṭāu' grhyete: tuṣabdaḥ prakṛtācāryamatānivartakāḥ: ata' eva' saṁhitāyām asāṁhitāyān' cā' kāraḥ padāntaḥ pluto 'nunāśiko bhavati: yady apy akāra iti' sāmānyeno 'ktaḥ: tathā 'py anvādeṣo 'ntyasya* (i.58) *iti vacanād apīṣabdo 'nunāśikadharmatayā nimittinam padāntam evā' kāram anvādicati. yathā': suṣṭ-----: upa-----: 'yaṣo-----: brahmāṣṇ' ity anyasyān'¹⁰ śākhāyām'. apīṣabdaḥ kimarthaḥ: ¹¹'saty-----: agn-----: ¹¹'vicityaḥ-----: śāṅkhāyanakāṇḍamāyanayor apy ayaṁ vidhir ¹²'akāre plute sammatāḥ¹².*

¹ G. M. -*pluta*. ² O. *pūrvacārya*-. ³ W. *eta*; M. *tata*. ⁴ O. om. ⁵ W. O. om. ⁶ O. om. ⁷ B. O. om. ⁸ O. om. ⁹ G. M. *yadghrā*. ¹⁰ G. M. *asya*. ¹¹ O. om. ¹² G. M. -*raphūṣa sammatān*.

to *ā* (see i.4) at vi.5.8⁴:—*āu* to *āzv* at vi.6.2³. The protracted syllable has always the acute accent.

सर्वमेकयमं पूर्वेषां सर्वमेकयमं पूर्वेषाम् ॥ १ ॥

9. According to the former ones, all is of one pitch.

The comment is completely at a loss as to how this rule is to be understood, and gives three more or less discordant interpretations of it, the first of which we are probably to regard as the preferred one, if there be a preference. "All" means 'every kind of articulate sound;' "of one pitch" is equivalent to *ekagruti*, *yama* denoting the tone of an acute syllable; "the former ones" are 'the sacrificers;' the meaning is, then, that in the sacrificial usage of the sacrificers everything is uttered in acute monotone. O. has an exposition of its own, which is in great part too corrupt to be read without considerable emendation, and which conducts to the same conclusion: it quotes, *apropos* of *pūrve*, a *pada* of a *tristubh* verse from some sacred text, "the former ones spoke those words to the former ones."

The second interpretation differs from the first only in declaring *pūrve*, 'the former ones,' to designate certain *śākhinah*, or 'holders of a Vedic text.'

The third is of quite another character; it makes *yama* to be equivalent to *svara* in the sense of 'vowel,' and explains 'every monosyllable is nasalized'—the intent being to annul the restriction to simple vowels only (as made in rule 6). Who the *pūrve* are, is not told us this time.

The commentator consoles himself at the end by declaring the rule not approved. We may fairly extend the same condemnation

9. 'sarvaṁ² varṇajātam³ ekayamam ekagruti⁴ 'ti pūrveshām⁵ matam. yamo nāma svara⁶ udātta ity arthaḥ: pūrve nāma yājñikāḥ⁷: teshāṁ yajñakarmāṇi sarvaṁ⁸ ekagruti⁹ bhavati.¹

anye manyante¹⁰: pūrve nāma keci śākhinah: teshāṁ sarvaṁ¹¹ ekagruti¹² 'ti¹³.

athā¹⁴ 'pare kathayanti¹⁵: sarvaṁ ekasvaraṁ anuśāsikam bhavati¹⁶ 'ti¹⁷: samānākṣaramātrāpekṣhām adhikṣheptum¹⁸.

ne 'daṁ sūtram iṣṭam.

iti tribhāṣhyaratne prātiśākhyaivivarane
pañcadaśa¹⁹ 'dhyāyaḥ.

(1) O. substitutes *sarvaṁ iti lakṣyaṁ lakṣaṇavishayaṁ grhṇāti*: *ekayam ekagrutiḥ*: *yamaḥ* *grutisvara* ity *athāntarā pūrveshā pūrvaḥ nāma yājñikā pūrve pūrvebhyo vaca etad ucir iti darṣanāt*: *yājñikāṇāṁ yajñakarmāṇi sarvaṁ ekagrutir bhavati*.
² W. B. *sarva*. ³ B. *varṇam ajātam*; G. M. *-tayamam*. ⁴ W. *sarv*. ⁵ G. M. put after *udātta*. ⁶ W. *-āyāḥ*. ⁷ W. puts after *bhavati*. ⁸ B. *-tir*. ⁹ O. *āhuḥ*. ¹⁰ O. om. (11) W. *-grutāni*; O. *-grutir bhavati*. ¹² G. M. om. *atha*. ¹³ O. *vyācakṣhale*. ¹⁴ O. om. *iti*. ¹⁵ O. *sarvaṁ iti samānākṣharāṇāṁ apekṣhā grahaṇayuddsa sarvaṁ tathā vidhiyate*; W. *-ramātrāpekṣhām apikṣiptam*; B. *-kṣham adh*.; G. M. *-mātrāpakṣham ākṣheptum*. ¹⁶ G. M. O. *dvitīyapraçne tritīya*.

to his treatment of it, and conjecture that, if he could only have told us what it meant, we might have found in it something to approve. We are tempted to seek in it some statement as to the accent of the protracted syllable, or *pada*; and, if it were allowed to amend *pūrveshām* to *ekeshām*, we might translate, 'some hold that the whole word in which protraction occurs is to be uttered in the same tone'—only then, to be sure, we should look for a statement of the usage actually followed in the text.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTENTS: 1–31, detail of the cases of occurrence, in the Sanhitā, of *ṛ* in the interior of a word, before a spirant.

अथ सकारपराः ॥ १ ॥

1. Now for cases in which *s* follows.

A simple heading, of force through a considerable part of the chapter (i. e. through rule 13). The essential item of the precept laid down was given above, in xv.4, which directed that in all the cases to be specified in this chapter is to be assumed the presence of *anusvāra* following a vowel and followed by a spirant. Words in which that spirant is *s* form by far the most numerous class, and until rule 14 they alone are treated.

The Rik Pr. is the only one of the other treatises which offers anything at all analogous with this enumeration; it (at xiii.7–10) gives rules for the occurrence of *anusvāra* after long vowels only.

सशोऽपाश पदादयः स्वरपरे ॥ २ ॥

2. *Sra*, *ṣo*, *ha*, *pā*, and *ṣa*, at the beginning of a *pada*, take *anusvāra* before a *s* that is followed by a vowel.

The commentator cites examples, as follows. For *sra*, *visraṇṣa-yed amehenā 'dhvaryuḥ* (vi.2.9⁴, 10⁷: G. M. O. have only the first word); we have other cases at ii.5.7²: v.1.6¹: vii.3.10³, all from the same root, *sras*. For *ṣo*, *ṣoṇṣā moda iva 'ti* (iii.2.9⁵: G. M. omit the last word, O. the last two); I have noted no other case: as counter-example, to show that only *o* after *ṣ* takes the increment, is given *ācāsānā sūmanasam* (i.1.10¹: O. alone has the latter

1. *athe 'ty ayam adhikārah: ita uttare grahaṇaviṣeshāḥ' sakāraparā² ity etad adhikṛtam veditavyam. sakārah paro 'yebhyas te sakāraparāḥ³.*

¹ B. *shah*. ² B. *para*. ³ G. M. *yasmāt sa tathoktah* (and *paraḥ* in the rule).

word). For *ha*, *haṅsaḥ* *çucishad* (i.8.15²: iv.2.1⁵); various other cases of *haṅsa* are found in the text, and *haṅsi*: that *hā* is not treated in the same way is shown by *prajā mā mā hāsīt* (v.6.8¹: O. omits). For *pā*, *pāṅsura irāvati* (i.2.13²); other cases are *pāṅsūn* and *pāṅsavyāya*, at ii.6.10² and iv.5.9¹ respectively: that *pa* would not have been correct is shown by *āhatam gabhe pasah* (vii.4.19³: O. omits *āhatam*); *pāsi*, which would seem to fall under the rule, is excepted by rule 17, below. For *ça*, *yad āsinaḥ çāṅsati tasmāt* (iii.2.9⁷: W. B. G. M. omit *tasmāt*, thus allowing the citation to be found also at iii.2.9⁶); cases of this combination, all of them coming from the root *çāṅs*, are not infrequent in the Sanhitā. As general counter-examples, we have, to establish the necessity of the restriction "at the beginning of a *pada*," *agnir ukthena vāhasā* (i.5.11¹), *somam pipāset* (ii.1.10¹), and *dahā* "çasah" (i.2.14⁶: O. omits); while *tasmāt sa visrasyah* (vi.2.9⁴, 10⁷: only O. has the first two words), *hastayoh* (iv.1.5³ et al.: G. M. O. omit), and *kaviçastāh* (ii.6.12⁶: all the MSS. have *-çastah*, which I have not found in the text, but probably by my own fault) do the same service for the specification "when a vowel follows."

The commentator goes on to say that some authorities accept *hi* as a part of this rule: which is not to be approved, since "at the beginning of a word" is here implied, and so *ahiṅsāyāi* (v.2.8⁷) would be left without the increment. And if it be pleaded that *hiṅsiḥ parama* (iv.2.10¹⁻² et al.) should be an example here, the reply is made, that the *anusvāra* is assured to it by rule 13, below, where there is no restriction to the beginning of a word; and that to repeat here the specification of *hi* would be useless. The only criticism to be offered upon this is that the objection has too little reason to be really worthy of notice.

2. *sra*: *ço*: *ha*: *pā*: *ça*: *ity ete grahaṇaviçeshālī*¹ *padādayaḥ sakdraparās tasmint sakāre svarapare saty anusvārāgamam*² *bha-jante*³. *yathā*⁴: *vi*-----: *çoṅsā*-----: *okāreṇa kim*: *āçā*-----: *haṅsaḥ*-----: *'hrasva iti kim*: *prajā*-----⁵ *pāṅsura*-----: *dir-ghena*⁶ *kim*: *āh*-----: *yad*-----: *padādaya iti kim*: *agnir*-----: *somam*-----: *'dahā*-----⁷. *svrapara iti*⁸ *kim*: *tasmāt*-----: *'has*-----⁹ *kav*-----.

*kecid atra sūtre 'higrahaṇam*¹⁰ *aṅgikurvate*¹¹: *tad anupapan-nam*: *padādaya iti niyamāt*: *ahiṅsāyā ity atra 'nusvārābhā-vaprasaṅgāt*¹². *nanu hiṅsiḥ*.... *ity etad atro 'dāharaṇam iti cet*: *māi 'vam*: *'hipujigā* (xvi.13) *ity atra niyamābhāvāt pa-dādāv apadādāu ca* *higrahaṇasya kāryasiddheḥ punar atra gra-haṇaṇi vyartham*.¹³

svaraḥ paro yasmād asū svaraparaḥ: *tasmin*.

¹ G. M. -*naparāḥ* *viç*. ² O. -*ma*. ³ O. *syāt*. ⁴ G. M. O. om. ⁽⁵⁾ O. om.; G. M. *hrasvena kim* etc. ⁽⁶⁾ O. -*ghe*. ⁽⁷⁾ O. om. ⁽⁸⁾ G. M. O. om. ⁽⁹⁾ W. om. ⁽¹⁰⁾ G. M. *him*. ⁽¹¹⁾ G. M. *aṅgim*. ⁽¹²⁾ G. M. -*rabhā*; O. -*rābodhapra*. ⁽¹³⁾ B. om.

विकृते ऽपि ॥ ३ ॥

3. Even when the vowel is altered.

That is to say, even when the vowel that is by the last rule required to follow the *s* has undergone euphonic alteration, so as to become a consonant. A single example is cited, *apahañsy agne* (iv.7.13¹; p. *apa-hañsi*); if the text contains any others, they have escaped my notice.

रापूर्वश्च ॥ ४ ॥

4. As also, when they are preceded by *rā*.

This rule is made for the purpose of establishing a single additional case under the general rule given above (xvi.2), namely, the word *nārāṇasibhyaḥ* (vii.5.11²); the case being one, as the comment points out, where the *ṣa* is not at the beginning of a *pada*. The *ca*, 'also,' brings down only *ṣa*; and we are assured that this is the reason why *ṣa* was mentioned last in rule 2, even at the cost of a violation of the natural order of the vowels. Of this point we need not make much, since the rule contains other and unexplained violations of alphabetic order.

शस्तानतोदत्ते ॥ ५ ॥

5. Also in *ṣaṇstā*, except when it is accented on the final syllable.

Here is another single case, falling under rule 2 by the suspension of one of the restrictions laid down in that rule—namely, that the *s* be followed by a vowel. The passage is *utā ṣaṇstā sūviprah* (iv.6.8²; O. omits *sūviprah*). The restriction as to accent

3. *apiṣabdaḥ svarānvādeṣakah¹: sakārāt pare tasmint svare vikṛtam āpanne 'pi vyañjanatām upagate 'pi syād' anusvāravīdhiḥ². yathā: apa-----*

¹ B. *sakārān-*. ² W. and O.(?) *svārad*. ³ *lacuna* in O., from (*anuvāra-*) *vidhiḥ* to *svara* under the next rule.

4. *'caṣabdaḥ srādishu' ṣakāram anvādiṣati²: etadartham eva svaravyātyaye³ 'pi ṣakāragrahaṇam tatrā 'nte kṛtam. rā: ity evampūrvāḥ ṣakārah sakāraparo 'nusvārāgamam bhajate. yathā: nār----- apadādīyartho⁴ 'yam ārambhaḥ.*

¹ W. *ṣabdayādishu*; B. *sacāṣabdayādishu*. ² W. B. ins. *caṣakārah*. ³ G. M. *vyak-taye*; O. begins again with *vyatīyaye*. ⁴ G. M. O. om. ⁵ W. O. *apadārtho*.

5. *ṣaṇstā: ity etasmin¹ grahaṇe 'nantodātte² sakārapare bhavaty³ anusvārāgamah. uta----- anantodātta⁴ iti kim: aṣv----- sraṣoka (xvi.2) iti prāptau satyām⁵ sakārasya⁶ svaraparavā-*

is intended to exclude *āṣvasya viçastā*⁷ (iv.6.9³: O. adds *dva yam*-).

अशंसन् ॥ ६ ॥

6. Also in *açaṇsan*.

Yet another case belonging with those disposed of by rule 2, but requiring special treatment because the *ça* in it does not stand "at the beginning of a *pada*." The passage is *abhi vy açaṇsan* (vi.6.11⁵).

O., in an added paragraph, brings forward the objection that, in virtue of rule i.52 (which makes the citation of any word include also the same word with *a* prefixed), *açaṇsan* has its *ñ* already assured by rule 2; but refutes it by pointing out that the principle appealed to has to do only with a *pada* or word, not with a mere fragment of one, like *ça* (compare rule 10, below). It adds that "another reading is *çaṇsān*."

न, शसनं विशसनेन ॥ ७ ॥

7. But not in *çasanam* and *viçasanena*.

These are exceptions, the only ones the Sanhitā affords, under rule 2. The passages are *çasanam vājy arvā* (iv.6.7⁵: O. ends with *vājī*) and *çuno viçasanena* (v.7.23).

T. and O. have the simple *pada çasanena*, instead of *viçasanena* (p. *vi-çasanena*) in the rule, and O. reads the same in its comment. This is doubtless an emendation, and makes a reading more strictly in accordance with the approved usage of the treatise. The comment has (especially in the fourth chapter) explained away many a like inaccuracy by the allegation of a phrase "in another *çākhā*;" and we might expect to find added here *vi 'ti kim: āçaṇsanene 'ti çākhāntare*.

*bhāve 'pi nā 'yam vidhir nishidhyatām ' iti grahaṇam*⁸. *anta' udātto yasya tad antodāttam*: ¹⁰*nā 'ntodāttam*¹⁰ *anantodāttam*: *tasmin*.¹¹

¹ O. *asmin*. ² W. B. O. *antod*-. ³ O. *syād*. ⁴ W. *antod*-. ⁵ G. M. om. ⁶ W. B. *çak*-. ⁷ G. M. ins. *eva*. ⁸ B. *padagr*-. ⁹ W. O. *ante*. ¹⁰ O. om. ¹¹ O. adds *apadādyartha* . . . *ity anentanāi* (which belongs at the end of the comment on rule 6).

6. *açaṇsann ity asmin grahaṇe syād anusvārāgamah. abhi*
----- *'apadādyartha 'yam ārambhah*¹.

¹ O. puts at end of comment on rule 5, and adds, partly there and partly here (a little amended), *kimartham idam. sraçohapāça* (xvi.2) *ity anenāi 'va tatsiddhau: upy akārādi* (i.52) *'ti vacanāt: māt 'vam: apy akārādi 'ti vacanam padasya padāvayavah çaçābdah: çāṇsann iti pāthāntaram*.

7. *çasanam: viçasanena: 'ity etayor grahaṇayor² anusvārāgamō na syāt. ças*----- *çuno*----- *sraçoha* (xvi.2) *iti prāptih*.

¹ O. *ças*-, as also (with T.) in the rule itself. ² O. om.

मा पदादिरनुदात्तः ॥ ८ ॥

8. *Mā* takes *anuvāra* when beginning a *pada* and unaccented.

All the implications of rule 2 are here cut off (as is distinctly enough intimated by the express repetition of one of them, *padādi*), and hence it is to be understood that the increment takes place before a *s* whether this be or be not followed by a vowel. The examples are *āhar māṁsēna* (v.7.20) and *māṁspācanyāḥ* (iv.6.9¹). The restriction to the beginning of a *pada* is established by quoting *sīlikamadhyamāsaḥ* (iv.6.7⁴); that as to the accent, by *mā sam dikshitāḥ syāt* (v.6.7³: only O. has *syāt*).

So far as I have discovered, this rule applies only to forms and combinations of *māṁsa*, which are not infrequent in the Sanhitā. The four following rules give it certain extensions and limitations.

पुमीपूर्वश्च नित्यम् ॥ ९ ॥

9. As also when preceded by *pu* or *mī*, under all circumstances.

The closing specification of the rule amounts to a removal of the restriction as to accent, imposed in rule 8—that as to initial position being virtually removed by the prescribed prefixion of *pu* or *mī*. The examples quoted are *ut pumāṁsaṁ haranti* (vi.5.10³: O. omits *haranti*, and B. runs the two citations together, having dropped out a part of each) and *mīmāṁsante kārye* (vi.2.6⁴). We have *pumāṁsam* again at iv.6.6⁵, and other forms of *mīmāṁs* at vi.2.6⁴ and vii.5.7¹: I have noted no other words as falling under the rule.

सकायपरश्च ॥ १० ॥

10. And when followed by *sakāya*.

The *ca*, 'and,' we are told, here brings down *mā*; and G. M. add that the intent of the rule is to establish an exception under

8. *mā*: *ity evaṁ*¹ *varṇaḥ padādir anudāttaḥ sakāraparo 'anuvārāgamam bhajate. atra nīyamābhāvāt sakārasya svārāpara-
tvābhāve 'pi nīmittatvam bhavaty eva. yathā*²: *āhar-----: māṁs-
----- padādir iti kim: sili----- anudātta iti kim: māsaṁ
-----*

¹ G. M. O. *ayaṁ*. ² O. om.

9. *caṣabdo me 'ti jñāpayati: pu: mā: ity evampūrvo me 'ti*¹ *varṇaḥ sakāraparo nityam anuvārāgamam bhajate. ut-----
mīm----- anudāttatvanivartako*² *nityaṣabduḥ.*

¹ G. M. O. ins. *ayaṁ*. ² O. *-nīyamavyavar-*.

rule 8—that is to say, to bring under that rule a word which would otherwise be excluded in virtue of the requisition “when beginning a *pada*.” The case is similar to that about which O. raises a question under rule 6. The passage is *amāṇsakāya svāhā* (vii.5.12²).

नावग्रहपूर्वः ॥ ११ ॥

11. But not when preceded by a former member of a compound.

Or, ‘by a pause of division (between the two members of a compound),’ taking *avagraha* in its more original sense. W. B. O. define the rule as establishing exceptions under rule 8; G. M., which have taken in this notification (less correctly) as part of the preceding comment, say simply that *mā* is to be understood as implied here by vicinage. The examples given are *pūrnāmāse vāi* (ii.5.5⁴: O. omits *vāi*) and *ardhamāse devāḥ* (ii.5.6⁶ twice). The words would satisfy all the conditions of rule 8, the separated element *-māse* or *-māse* being itself (by i.48) a *pada*. Since *māṇsa* nowhere appears as the latter member of a compound, this rule exempts from the increment of *anusvāra* all the cases in which forms of *mās* or *māsa* are found in such a situation; others are the subject of the next following precept.

मासिमासुमासोमासामिति च ॥ १२ ॥

12. Nor in *māsi*, *māsu*, *māsah*, or *māsām*.

These are words which, without special exception, would fall under rule 8. The examples for the last three are *dagāsu masāḥ tīshthan* (vii.5.2²), *śān māso dakshinena* (vi.5.3⁴: only O. has the last word), and *māsām prātishthityāi* (vii.5.1⁶): we have *māsah* also at vii.5.7¹, and *māsām* at v.7.18. The first, *māsi*, raises a difficulty. Some, the commentator says, cite in illustration of it *prathamē māsi prsthāni* (vii.5.3¹: O. omits the last word); but this is wrong; for the exemption of *māsi* in that passage is assured by rule 17, below: we are to assume, then, the occurrence in another text of some word of more than two syllables beginning

10. *caṣabdo me 'ti jñāpayati: me 'ty evaṁ¹ varṇah sakāyaparo² 'nusuvarāgamam³ bhajate. am-.....⁴*

¹ B. G. M. O. *ayam*. ² W. B. *sakārap*. ³ G. M. *nityam anu*-. ⁴ G. M. add *mā padādir anudātta* (xvi.8) *ity asyā 'yam apavādah*.

11. *'mā padādir anudātta* (xvi.8) *ity asyā 'yam apavādah: 'avagrahapūrvo me 'ty evaṁ² varṇo nā³ 'nusuvarāgamam bhajate. yathā: pūrṇ-.....: ardha-..... avagrahaḥ pūrvo yasmād⁴ asāv avagrahapūrvaḥ⁵*

(¹) G. M. have this as part of the comment on the preceding rule, and substitute here *sānnidhyān mā nī labhyate*. ² B. G. M. O. *ayam*. ³ B. om. *na*. ⁴ G. M. O. om. (⁵) G. M. *sa tathoktah*; W. om. *asāv*.

with *māsi*. This interpretation is, of course, forced and false: *māsi* is included with the rest here because it is an example of the same class with them; and the makers of the treatise, when they put it in, either overlooked or neglected the fact that it falls technically under rule 14, and so also under rule 17, establishing exceptions to 14. We have also *masi-māsi*, more than once, at vii.5.1⁶.

हिपुत्रिगात्रिधाहसिनेऽतस्मदाताःसीत्कनीयाज्याया-
द्राधीयार्धीयाश्रेयाहसीयावसीयामूयाःसोज्जिवाजग्न्रिवा-
जिगिवाजीगिवातस्थिवादाश्चादीदिवापपिवापीपिवावि-
दाविविशिवाशुश्रुवाससृवा ॥ १३ ॥

13. The following words have *anusvāra* before *s*: *hi*, *pu*, *jigā*, *jighā*, *chaṁsine*, *ataṁsayat*, *ātāṁsīt*, *kanīyā*, *jyāyā*, *drāghīyā*, *ra-ghīyā*, *creyā*, *hrasīyā*, *vasīyā*, *bhūyāṁsah*, *jakshivā*, *jaghnivā*, *jigivā*, *jīgivā*, *tasthivā*, *dācā*, *dādivā*, *papivā*, *pīpivā*, *vidvā*, *vivivā*, *cuṣruvā*, *sasrū*.

The commentator's examples are as follows: *hiṁsīh paramē vyoman* (iv.2.10^{2,3}: O. omits *vyoman*, and G. M. substitute *mā hiṁsīs tanuvā*, iv.2.3¹ et al.) and *cinute hiṁsīyāi* (v.2.8⁷: O. omits *cinute*); respecting this first specification, see further below;—*tena puṁsvatīh* (ii.5.8⁵) and *puṁsah putrān* (iv.6.9⁴): I have only noted farther two cases of *puṁsah*, at ii.6.5⁵ and vi.5.8²;—*lokam ajigāṁsan* (v.5.5⁴: vi.5.8²: O. omits *lokam*): elsewhere only at iii.2.2³;—*vashtāram ajigāṁsan* (vi.5.8⁴): the text presents fourteen other cases of *jigāṁs*;—*brāhmaṇāchaṁsine* (i.8.18): the only case: a counter-example (but O. omits all the counter-examples), *pra yuchasy ubhe nī pāsi* (i.4.22), shows the necessity of including in the citation the *ne* of *chaṁsine*;—*gabhe mushtīm ataṁsayat* (vii.4.19⁴), with a counter-example, *atasaṁ na gushkam* (i.2.14²), to explain the citation of the whole word *ataṁsayat*;—*anvātāṁsīt trayi* (iv.7.13⁵: O. omits *trayi*), with *anu vrātāsas tuva* (iv.6.7³), to prove the need of the final *it*;—*kanīyāṁso devāh* (v.3.11¹): the text offers half-a-dozen cases of this comparative, and about the same number of the next;—*jyāyāṁso bhrāturaḥ*

12. 'cakāro nishedhākarshakah': *māsi*..... *ity eteshu graha-
neshu na syād anusvārāgamah. eshām api mā padādīr* (xvi.8)
iti prāptih. kecid atra prath.... *ity udāharanti*?: *tad asādhu*:
*na pade dvisvare nityam*³ (xvi.17) *ity anenāi 'va nishedha-
siddheh*?: *tasmād anyacākhāyām*⁵ *bahusvaram aparam*⁶ *udāhara-
ṇam avadhāraṇīyam. daṣasu*....: *shaṇ*....: *māsām*....

(¹) O. om. (²) W. -*raṇam*. (³) W. O. *n*; G. M. om. (⁴) W. -*dham siddhah*; B. -*dhaḥ siddhah*. (⁵) G. M. *onyasyām* *ṣ*. (⁶) B. G. M. *param*; O. om.

(ii.6.6¹ et al.);—*drāghīyāṅsāu bhavatah* (v.2.5¹): the only case;—*atho raghīyāṅsah* (vii.4.9): also the only case;—*pra gre-yāṅsam* (ii.4.1⁴: but O. substitutes the only other case, *greyāṅsam pāpīyān*, v.1.2³);—*atha hrasīyāṅsam ākramanam* (vi.6.4²: but G. M. O. omit the last word, thus allowing the citation to include also the only other case, found in the same division);—*vasīyāṅsam bhāgadheyena* (v.4.10⁵): there are two or three further cases;—*bhāyāṅso 'nyebhyah* (vii.1.1⁵), with *annādo bhāyāṅsam* (i.6.2³ et al.) as counter-example, proving that the final *h* had to be cited with the rest of the word: there are seven other cases of *bhāyāṅs* in the text;—*jakshivāṅsah papivāṅsah* (i.4.44²: O. omits the last word): the only case;—*vṛtram jaghnivāṅsam mrdho 'bhī* (ii.5.3¹: W. B. omit the first word, O. the first and last; G. M. have only the first two, which are read also at ii.5.4⁵): I have noted the word besides only at ii.1.10² three times, with the negative prefix;—*vājam jigivāṅsah* (i.7.8⁴): the only case;—for *jigivā* is found only a case “in another *śākhā*,” namely *jigivāṅsasya* (so W. G. M., though the word is not grammatically admissible; O. has *jigivāṅsananyāma* [i. e. -āṅsah syāma?]; B. is corrupt, running the previous citation and this together into *vājam jigivāṅsam iti śākhāntare*);—*dyumnā tasthivāṅso janānām* (i.2.14⁴: O. alone has the last word): there is one other case, at iv.2.2²;—*dācvāṅso dācvah sūtam* (i.4.16: O. alone has *sūtam*): another case at ii.2.12⁸;—*gucayo dūdivāṅsam* (ii.5.12²): another case at i.2.14⁴;—*papivāṅsac ca rigre* (i.4.44²): the only case;—*pāpivāṅsah sarasvatah* (iii.1.11²: O. has -*tas trayah*, probably corrupt for -*ta stanam*, as the text reads): the only case;—*vidvāṅso vāi purā hotārah* (ii.5.11¹⁻²: only O. has the last two words) and *avidvāṅsac cakrma* (iv.7.15⁶: O. begins *vishtāvid*, by mutilation of the preceding word in the passage): the Sanhitā has over thirty cases of *vidvāṅs*;—*pravivigivāṅsam imahe* (iv.7.15¹);—*yac chugruvāṅsah* (ii.5.9² twice): there is another case at v.3.4¹;—and, finally, *vājaṅ sarvāṅsah* (i.7.8⁴).

After the second example (*ahīṅsāyāi*), G. M. insert the remark that it is brought under the present rule by the principle of “prefixion of *a*” (i.52). This is wrong, being inconsistent with the

13. 'hī.....¹ ity evampūrvah sakāraparo 'nusrāgamo² bhavati³. yathā⁴: hīṅsih.....: cin.....: ⁵ tena.....: puṅsah.....: lokam.....: tvasht.....: brāhm.....: ⁶ na iti kim: pra.....: ⁷ gabhe.....: 'yad iti kim: atasam.....: ⁸ anv.....: 'id iti kim: anu.....: ⁹ kan.....: jyāy.....: drāgh.....: atho.....: pra.....: atha.....: vasi.....: bhāy.....: ¹⁰ visargena kim: ann.....: ¹¹ jaksh.....: vṛtram.....: vājam.....: jigivāṅsasye 'ti śākhāntare: dyum.....: ¹² dācv.....: gucayo.....: papiv.....: pāpiv.....: ¹³ vidv.....: avid.....: pravi.....: yac.....: vājaṅ.....: ¹⁴ dācvvivigivācvchugruve¹⁵ 'ty atra srādishu cāi 'kapada (xv.4) iti prāptyā śakāraparo 'nusrāgamaḥ kim

exposition given under rule 2 (see note on that rule) of the reason why *hi* was not there included: *hi* here is meant not as initial only, but wherever found in a word. Since, however, it is only in this one word that *hiṅs-* occurs otherwise than as initial, it would seem better to have disposed of the single case as of those which form the subject of rules 6 and 10, and to put *hi* into 2, where it would look much more at home than here at the head of a troop of perfect participles and comparatives. And why *pu* was not put into rule 2 without any ceremony, I cannot see at all; unless I have overlooked some case or cases of its occurrence, *puṅs* is invariably initial.

The commentator raises the question why rule xv.4 does not require us to insert an *anusvāra* before the *ç* of *dāçvā*, *vivīçivā*, and *çuçruvā*, since these too are *srādayah*; and he makes answer that it is because the restriction conveyed in xvi.1 is still in force. But in that case, he goes on to say, is there not a nasal increment before the *s* of *hrasīyā*, *vasīyā*, *tasthivā*, and *sasvā*? The answer to this objection is twofold. First, the competency of the citation is pleaded—that is to say, the words being read in the rule itself without nasal, that is to be understood as their authoritative form (compare under rule 19, where this plea leads to a further discussion). Secondly, the words in question being found associated with *ātāṅsīt*, *kanīyā*, *ñyāyā*, and so on, all of which show the *anusvāra* to follow a long vowel, we are to infer that in the others also it does not follow a short vowel. The first of these answers is not such as is wont to be pleaded in this treatise, and the second is evidently very weak: I should almost prefer to assume that the difficulty was not remarked by the authors of the treatise, and that the commentators who have discovered it have been forced to make the best excuse they could for it.

A more serious objection to the rule, it seems to me, is that it mixes together cases of two different classes—those in which (*chaṅsine* etc.) the nasal appears in the word itself as cited, and those in which it is to be added before a following *s*. Of this, however, the comment takes no notice.

*na syāt. atha sakāraparā*¹³ (xvi.1) *ity ūshmaviçeshasya*¹⁴ *sakārasyā 'nuvṛttir*¹⁵ *iti vadāmah. tarhi hrasīyāvasīyātasthivāsa-*
*srve 'ty atrā*¹⁶ *sakārapara evā 'gamah*¹⁷ *kiṁ na syāt. uccārana-*
*sāmarthyād eve 'ty prathamah*¹⁸ *parihārah. atha vā: atāṅsītka-*
nīyāñyāyāye 'tyādishu sarvatra dīrghānantaram evā 'nusvārasthā-
*nam*¹⁹ *iti sāhacaryād*²⁰ *atrā 'pi na syād anusvārasya hrasvānan-*
*taram*²¹ *sthānam ity*²² *aparāh parihārah.*

(1) B. om. (2) O. -man. (3) G. M. syāt; O. bhajate. (4) O. om. (5) G. M. ins. a py akārādī (i.52) prāptih. (6) O. om. (7) O. om. (8) O. om. (9) O. om. (10) G. M. om. (11) G. M. ins. nanu. (12) O. vidvāviviçivāsugrushāsarve. (13) W. om. parā; G. M. -para. (14) G. M. -śanasya. (15) G. M. O. -ter. (16) W. makārasyā 'gamah; O. ... evā 'nusvārāg-. (17) G. M. -ma. (18) W. -svārah. (19) G. M. O. tatsāh-. (20) W. G. M. hrasvānt-. (21) W. ity 'ty.

आकारिकारोकाराः सिषिपराः पदान्तयोः ॥ १४ ॥

14. The vowels *ā*, *i*, and *ū* have *anusvāra*, when they are followed by *si* or *shi* final.

This rule, of course, applies to the nominative, accusative, and vocative plural of neuters in *as*, *is*, and *us*. The illustrative examples are *vayāṅsi pakvagandhena* (v.7.23), *tamāṅsi gāhatām ajushtā* (i.8.22⁵: only O. has *ajushtā*), *daṣa havīṅshi* (vii.5.14²), *jyotiṅshi kurute* (v.4.1⁴: O. omits), *agna āyāṅshi* (i.3.14⁷ et al.), and *avabhṛthayajūṅshi juhōti* (vi.6.3¹: G. M. omit *juhōti*). To show that the *si* or *shi* must be final, are quoted *tasmād vāsishtho brahmā* (iii.5.2¹: only G. M. have *brahmā*), and *manīṣhino mānasā* (iv.6.2⁵: O. omits *manasā*). To show that the preceding vowel must be long, we have *yathā 'nasi yukta ādhiyate* (v.4.10²: only G. M. have the last word), *jyotis tvā jyotishi* (i.1.10³), and *āyushi durone* (i.2.14³); and, finally, to show that no other vowel than *i* after the *s* or *sh* calls out the increment, *prajāsv eva prajātsu* (vi.4.1³), *oshadhishu* (iii.5.5² et al.), and *tanūshu buddham* (i.8.22⁵).

The last six counter-examples are omitted in O., which adds at the end the obvious remark that, as *si* and *shi* are here indicated as occasions of the preceding *anusvāra*, that value no longer belongs to *s* merely—that is to say, the force of the heading given in rule 1 is henceforth at an end.

विकृते ऽपि ॥ १५ ॥

15. Even when the *i* is altered

That the *i* of the ending *si* or *shi* is here aimed at is in the nature of the case obvious enough, but not at all distinctly intimated by the terms of the rule. The commentator quotes in illustration *chandāṅsy upa dadhāti* (v.3.8^{1,2}), *havīṅshy ā sādāyet* (i.6.10³), and *tapāṅshy agne juhvā* (i.2.14¹: G. M. omit *juhvā*).

14. *sishiparā ākārekārokārās tayoh sishyoh padāntayoh sator anusvārāgamam bhajante*¹. *yathā*²: *vay*-----: *tam*-----: *daṣa*-----: ³*jyot*-----: ⁴*agna*-----: *avabh*----- *padāntayor*⁵ *iti kim: tasmād*-----: *manī*----- ⁶*ākārekārokārā iti dīrghena*⁷ *kim: yathā*-----: *jyotis*-----: *āyushi*-----: *sishī 'ty'*⁸ *atre 'kāreṇa kim: praj*-----: *osh*-----: *tan*-----⁹

¹ MSS. *jate*. ² O. om. ³ O. om. ⁴ O. *-ta*. ⁵ G. M. *dīrghāh*; O. om., with all that follows. ⁶ W. B. *ity*. ⁷ O. adds *sishiparanimittayor nideṣāt sakārasya paranimittatva bhāti*.

15. *apiṣubdānvādishte*¹ *sishyor ikāre vikṛte 'pi yakāram āpanne 'pi bhavaty anusvārāgamah. yathā*²: *chand*-----: *hav*-----: *tap*-----

¹ W. B. O. *-bdonv*; G. M. *-bdenā 'nv*-. ² G. M. O. om.

अनाकारो रुस्वः सांकृत्यस्य ॥ १६ ॥

16. According to Sâṅkr̥tya, the vowel, except *ā*, is short.

That is to say, the two vowels *i* and *u*, to which alone reference has been made above, become short in the cases here referred to: for example, in *haviṅshi bhavanti* (v.5.1⁷ et al.: O. omits *bhavanti*) and *samiṣṭayajūṅshi juhoti* (vi.6.2¹: G. M. O. omit *juhoti*), where Sâṅkr̥tya would read *haviṅshi* and *yajūṅshi*, while in *vayāṅsi* (v.7.23 et al.: O. omits) he would admit the long vowel.

A curious case of dissent upon a point in grammar which we have not been accustomed to regard as open to any difference of opinion. The rule is, naturally enough, pronounced unapproved.

G. M. add *ca* to the rule, after *sâṅkr̥tyasya*.

न पदे द्विस्वरे नित्यम् ॥ १७ ॥

17. Not, under any circumstances, in a dissyllabic word.

This is a rule prescribing exceptions under rule 14; the addition *nityam*, 'under any circumstances,' confirms its application to words ending in *si* or *shi* after *ā*, *i*, or *u* which would otherwise fall under any other rule prescribing the increment.

Examples under rule 14 alone are first quoted, namely *stuto yāsi vacāṅ anu* (i.8.5¹: G. M. O. end with *yāsi*) and *yāsi dātah* (iii.5.5³: G. M. have dropped out *yāsi*). Then, as a case also under rule 2, we have *vidhatah pāsi nu tmanā* (i.3.14¹); and, as one under rule 8, *prathame māsi prsthāni* (vii.5.3¹: G. M. omit the last word), which has been already made the subject of discussion under rule 12, above. The force of the *nityam* does not go so far as to prohibit an *anusvāra* in every dissyllabic word before *si*, what-

16. *ākārād anyo 'nākārah: ikāra ūkāraḥ ce 'ty arthah: tayoṛ eva prakṛtatvāt. sâṅkr̥tyasya mata ikāra ūkāraḥ ca hrasvam āpadyate. yathā¹: hav----- sām----- 'anākāra iti kim: vayāṅsi.²*

ne 'dam sâtram iṣṭam.

¹ O. om. ⁽²⁾ O. om.

17. *dviṣvare¹ pade vartamānā² ākārekārokārāḥ³ padāntasishiparā⁴ nā⁵ 'nusvārāgamam⁶ bhajante. yathā⁷: stuto----- 'yāsi----- nityaḥ padāḥ prāptyantarapratishedhārthah: vidhatah-----⁸ 'sraḥ oha¹⁰ (xvi.2) iti prāptih: prathame----- mā padādir¹¹ (xvi.8) iti prāptih. dvau svarāu yasmin¹² vidyete tad dviṣvaram: tasmin.⁹*

¹ O. *dvitvasv*. ² G. M. *-na*. ³ G. M. *ākārah ikārah*; O. *ākāraūkārah*. ⁴ G. M. *-ntas sishiparo*; O. *-ntā si*. ⁵ B. om.; G. M. *nityan nā*. ⁶ B. ins. *na*; O. ins. *nityam*. ⁷ G. M. O. om. ⁽⁸⁾ W. om. ⁽⁹⁾ B. om. ¹⁰ O. *-hapāḥ padādaya*. ¹¹ O. *dir yās*. ¹² G. M. ins. *pade*.

ever vowel precedes, or it would include *hañsi* also, and possibly other cases.

स्त्रीषिनिगासिनिधास्यजासियजासिददासिद्धासिवर्तया-
सि च ॥ १८ ॥

18. Nor in *rjishi*, *jigāsi*, *jighāsi*, *ajāsi*, *yajāsi*, *dadāsi*, *dadhāsi*, and *vartayāsi*.

These are verbal forms which need to be excepted under rule 14, and which, as containing more than two syllables, are not reached by rule 17. The passages in which they occur are quoted by the commentary, as follows: *tena rjishi sarvāni* (iii.2.2¹: only O. has *sarvāni*), *achā jigāsi* (iv.2.4²), *ā team ajāsi gurbhadham* (vii.4.19¹), *haviṣhā yajāsy agne brhat* (iii.5.11² et al.: O. omits the last two words), *yābhir dadāsi dāgushe* (iii.3.11⁵: G. M. omit *dāgushe*), *dadhāsi dāgushe kave* (iv.2.7²), and *agvam ā vartayāsi nah* (vii.4.20). *Yajāsi* I have noted in two or three other passages; if the rest occur elsewhere, I have overlooked them. This leaves unaccounted for *jighāsi*, which is declared to occur "in another text," in the passage *prathame jighāsi*.

दस्सनाभ्योदस्सोभिद्स्संवृषदस्सोदस्सुकादस्सद्वाभ्यां परः

॥ १९ ॥

19. In *dañsanābhyah*, *dañsobhih*, *dañsam*, *vṛshadañcah*, *dañcukā*, and *dañshtrābhyām*, *anuscāra* is taken in the latter place.

The commentator's citations are *vāciṣvānarasya dañsanābhyah* (i.5.11¹); *sajoshāv agvinā dañsobhih* (v.6.4¹), to which is added as counter-example, proving the need of the *-bhih*, *yushmāko* "ti *riçādasah* (iv.3.13³: O. has only the last word, and G. M. begin

18. ¹ *cakāro nishedhākarshakah: rjishiṣprabhṛtishu² grahaṇe-
shu³ nā 'nuscārāgamah syāt: ākārekārokārā (xvi.14) iti prāp-
tiḥ. bahusvaratvād⁴ eshu⁵ pārvasūtranishedo⁶ na sīdhyāti 'ty
atrā⁷ 'yam ārambhaḥ. yathā⁸: tena-----: achā-----: jighāsi⁹
'ti çākhāntare: ¹⁰prathame jighāsi 'ti¹⁰: ā-----: haviṣhā
-----: yābhir-----: dadhāsi-----: agvam-----.*

¹ O. ins. an enumeration of the words in the rule. ² G. M. -rti. ³ O. om. ⁴ G. M. -rādī. ⁵ B. *esha*; G. M. om. ⁶ G. M. -tre ni-; W. B. -dhān. ⁷ O. om. *atrā*. ⁸ G. M. O. om. ⁹ G. M. -dhāsi. ⁽¹⁰⁾ O. om.; W. *prathame* — — — (as being illegible in the MS. from which the copy was made); B. -ghāsiati.

19. ¹ *dañsanābhyah ityādishu² grahaṇeshu para evā 'nuscārā-
gamo bhavati³. yathā⁴: vāciṣv-----: saj-----: bhir iti kim:
yushm-----: ⁵purud-----: vṛsh-----: paçūn-----: dañsh-
-----: dañse 'ty etāvatai 'vā 'lam: kim akhilapadapāthena⁶. kur-*

with *ūti*); *purudaṁsaṁ sanim* (iv.2.4³); *vṛshadañṇas te dhātuh* (v.5.12): there is another case at v.5.21; *paṇḍin dañṇukāḥ syur yad vishācinam* (v.2.9⁶: O. omits the first word, and it alone has the last two); and *dañṣtrābhyām malimlān* (iv.1.10²): there is another case at v.7.11. To the objection that the citation in the rule of *dañsa* simply might have saved the rehearsal of whole words [in a part of the cases given], the commentator replies by quoting *kurvato me mo 'pa dasat* (i.6.3³ et al.) as an example of cases which need to be excluded. The addition of *paraḥ*, 'in the latter place,' is because *vṛshadañṇaḥ* contains two places at which, by xv.4, the *anuvāra* would otherwise require to be inserted.

This last point, however, does not pass (except in O.) without farther question and discussion. The objection is raised that the mere citation of *vṛshadañṇa* without *anuvāra* before the former sibilant is enough to settle its reading, according to the same principle that was appealed to under rule 13, for *hrasiyā*, *vasiyā*, and so on. This is undeniable; and the only real answer to be made is that there was no harm in adding *para* here, to make the matter sure, while it could not have been employed in rule 13 without occasioning a great deal of additional trouble. The commentator, however, prefers to have recourse to a plea of exceptionally puerile character. In xv.4 (the rule here in force), he says, the spirants in general are implied, but in xvi.1 (in force at rule 13) a special spirant, *s*; and it is an acknowledged principle that, as between a generality and a specification, the specification is the more powerful. That being the case, the putting down of that

vato . . . ityādāu mā bhūd iti. 'para iti kim: vṛshadañṇa ity atra' sthānadvaye 'pi srādiṣhu cāi 'kapada (xv.4) iti prāptāu satyām pūrvatra' mā bhūd iti. nana grahaṇasāmāthyād evā 'nuscārak'¹⁰ pūrvatra na bhucati: yathā hrasīyānusīyā (xvi. 13) ityādāu grahaṇasāmāthyād¹¹ upapādita. nāi 'sha doṣaḥ: srādiṣhu cāi 'kapada (xv.4) ity atra "śmasāmānyam uktam: atha sakāraparā (xvi.1) ity atra tu tadviṣeṣa uktā: sāmānyaviṣeṣayor viṣeṣa balaṁ iti nyāyaḥ: tathā sati¹² balavad-bādhanam¹³ eva bhūṣhanam¹⁴ na tu¹⁴ durbalabādhanam¹⁵ iti¹² tatrāi 'va grahaṇasāmāthyam¹⁶ samarthanīyam: na tv atra¹⁷ durbalasthāne: tathā 'pi¹⁸:¹⁹ adhikāḥ²⁰ puruṣo virodhinam²¹ adhikam eva bādhatē bhūṣhanatvāt: na tu kadācid alpabalam²²: iti²³ paraṣabdaprayoga²⁴ upapadyate.⁷

¹ O. prefixes a separate rehearsal of the words in the rule. ² G. M. -di. ³ G. M. syāt. ⁴ in W. only. ⁵ O. ins. *ity atra 'py akārādi* (i.52) *iti rucanīd anuscārā-gamah syāt: tan mā bhūd iti.* ⁶ G. M. -thanena. ⁷ O. om. ⁸ W. ava. ⁹ W. -va. ¹⁰ B. -rāgamah. ¹¹ W. sāmāthyāgrahaṇam. ¹² W. balavatiyam eva bhūṣhanam: vādhanam eva bhūṣhanam na tu durbalam iti bādhanam. ¹³ G. M. -vatsīdh-; B. -dham. ¹⁴ G. M. om. ¹⁵ G. M. -lasādhanam na sādhanam. ¹⁶ W. -nam eva sāmāthyam; B. -rihya. ¹⁷ B. artha. ¹⁸ G. M. hi. ¹⁹ G. M. ins. *loke.* ²⁰ W. adh.; G. M. -ka. ²¹ W. -dhanam. ²² W. B. *apy alpam.* ²³ B. *iti 'ti.* ²⁴ W. B. *atra ṣabd.*

which is powerful, not of that which is weak, is honorific; hence, the competency of the citation was to be insisted on in the former rule, but not here, in a weak position. Moreover, a superior man puts down, for honor's sake, a mighty opponent, but never a weak one. Therefore, the use of the word *para* here is right and proper!

All the MSS. except B. (and G. M., which have a slight *lacuna*, involving the word) read *dañsan* instead of *dañsam* in the rule.

मन्स्येमन्सतैयन्सद्यन्सन्वन्सतेवन्सगः ॥ २० ॥

20. Also in *mañsyē, mañsatāi, yañsad, yañsan, vañsate, and vañsagah*.

The commentator quotes as follows: *paçān nā 'bhi mañsya iti* (iii.1.9⁶), *anu nāu çāra mañsatāi bhadra indrasya rātayah* (vii.4.15: O. alone has the first two words, B. alone the last one), *çocishā yañsad viçvān ny atrinam* (iv.6.1⁵: G. M. O. omit *çocishā*), *ishavah çarma yañsan* (iv.6.6⁴), *agnir no vañsate rayim* (iv.6.1⁵), and *tigmagrūgo na vañsagah* (ii.6.11⁴). The words here dealt with occur only in the passages quoted, except *yañsat*, which is found also at iv.1.11²; 7.14³. To the objection that it would have been enough to give *mañs, yañs, and vañs* (the MSS. leave it doubtful whether these are the precise forms suggested) in the rule, instead of citing whole words, the commentator replies by giving the counter-examples *uttamasyā 'va dyati* (vi.3.10⁴), *yasya bhūyāñso yajñakratavaḥ* (iii.1.7³), and *adya vasu vasati* (ii.5.3⁷).

उन् वञ्चम् ॥ २१ ॥

21. Also in *vañçam*, after *ut* or *na*.

The passages are *ud vañçam iva yemire* (i.6.12³: W. has dropped out *yemire*, along with all the rest of the comment) and *prācinavañçam karoti* (vi.1.1¹ twice). A counter-example, with a different preceding word, is *brahmavareasy eva bhavati vaçam vā esha carati* (ii.1.7⁷: only O. has the first two words, and it omits the last two).

20. ¹ *mañsya ityādishu*² *syād anusvārāgamah. yathā*³: *paçān* -----: *anu*-----: *çoc*-----: *ishavah*-----: *agnir*-----: *tigm*-----: *'mañs: yañs: vañs:*⁴ *ity etāvatāi 'vā 'lam: kim akhila-padapāthēna: ut*-----: *yasya*-----: *adya*-----: *ityādāu mā bhād iti*.

¹ O. prefixes a separate rehearsal of the words in the rule. ² B. -di. ³ G. M. O. om. ⁴ W. *bhadrayañ*; B. *saṁsūr yañs vañs*; G. M. *mañsa: yañsa: vañsa*; O. *mañse: yañse: vañse*.

21. *ut': na: ity evampārve*² *vañçam ity asmin grāhane syād anusvārāgamah. ud*-----: *'prā*-----: *'evampārva iti*³ *kim: brāhm*-----³.

¹ O. *uñsyatebhraṭ*. ² W. -rvo; B. -rva. ³ W. om. ⁴ O. *unne 'ti*.

अक्रंस्तक्रंस्यतेरंस्यतेभ्रंशते ॥ २२ ॥

22. Also in *akraṇsta*, *kraṇsyate*, *raṇsyate*, and *bhraṇṣate*.

The passages are *dyāni vājy ā 'kraṇsta* (vii.5.19¹), *utkraṇsyate dhā* (vii.1.19²), *uparaṇsyate svāhā* (vii.1.19¹: B. O. omit), and *nā 'smād rāshṭram bhraṇṣate* (v.7.4⁴: O. omits the first two words); *bhraṇṣate* occurs also at i.6.11¹ twice.

G. M. read *utkraṇsyate* for *kraṇsyate* in the rule.

रंक्ष्यै च ॥ २३ ॥

23. And also in *raṇhyāi*.

The only passage is *pāshno raṇhyāi* (i.3.10²). The significance of the *ca*, 'and,' which is here out of its proper place, will be given, we are told, under the next rule.

ऐकार उव्यस्य नितान्तः ॥ २४ ॥

24. The *āi*, according to Ukhya, is excessive.

That is to say, according to the commentator, the *āi* of the word *raṇhyāi*, here brought forward by the *ca*, 'and,' which is read in the preceding rule. *Nitānta*, 'excessive,' is explained as signifying 'uttered with more violent effort.' The whole business is a very queer one—Ukhyā's opinion itself, its introduction here at a place where it is entirely impertinent, and the bit of interpretation whereby it is worked into the connection.

विरित्रि संख्यासु ॥ २५ ॥

25. Also in *vi*, *ri*, and *tri*, in numerals, except in *su*.

22. 'akraṇste 'tyādishu syād anusvārāgamah'. *dyāni*-----: *utkr*-----: 'upa-----: *nā*-----.

(¹) O. substitutes a separate rehearsal of the words in the rule (except the last), and *eteshu grahaṇeshv anusvārāgamo bhavati*. (²) B. O. om.

23. *raṇhyā ity asmin grahane syād anusvārāgamah*. *pāshno*-----: *cakṛasya* 'vyatihāreṇā 'nvaya' uttarasūtre prayojanam ucyate.

(¹) G. M. *vyavahārād anvayād*.

24. *raṇhyā ity asmin¹ grahane pūrvasūtrasthacakṛasamar-pita² āikāro nitānto bhavati 'ty³ ukhyasya⁴ mate⁵*. *nitāntas tivrataraprayatna ity arthah*.

nāi 'tan matum ishtam.

¹ G. M. om. ² B. -*trasya cak*-; O. -*treprayosthacak*-; G. M. -*pīte*. ³ G. M. om. *iti*. ⁴ W. *ukhya*; O. *ukhyasyā 'cāryasya*. ⁵ O. -*tan*.

26. Also in *çinçumārah*, *çinshat*, *sañçvā*, *sañsrā*, *sañsrsh'a*, *sañskṛtya*, *sañskṛta*, *sañçita*, *sañçitā*, *kiñçila*, and *kiñçilā*.

The passages, as quoted, are *sindhoh çinçumāro himavatah* (v. 5.11: only O. has the last word); *kiñ tata uc chiñshatī 'ti yad dhīrañyeshtakāh* (v. 5.5²: only O. has the last two words, and it omits the first two); *ubhayatahsañçvāyi kuryād avadāyā 'bhi* (ii. 6.8⁴: only O. has the last two words, and it leaves off *ubhayatah*); *sañsrāvabhāgā stha* (i.1.13²); *sañsrshṭajit somapāh* (iv.6.4¹: W. B. put this after the next following example; see farther on); *çarīram eva sañskṛtyā 'bhyārohati* (v.6.6³⁻⁴: O. omits the first two words; and all but O. omit the last one, thus making a citation which is also found again in v.6.6⁴); *tan nah sañskṛtam* (i.4.43²); *brahmasañçito hy esha gṛtāhavanah* (ii.5.9²: only O. has the last word); *çarārye brahmasañçitā* (iv.6.4⁴); *kiñçila vanya yā ta ishuh* (v.5.9¹: all but G. M. end with *te*); and *kiñçilaç caturtho ranjah* (v.5.9²: G. M. alone have *vanyah*) and *kiñçilāya ca kshayanāya ca* (iv.5.9¹: O. ends with the first *ca*). The commentary prefaces the last two passages with the remark that the second citation of *kiñçila* is that of a part of a word, including a variety of cases. But this, in the first place, would imply that the reading of the rule at the end was *kiñçilakiñçila*, which is the case only in T.; and, in the second place, even were that the reading, the explanation would be a bad one, and the repeated *kiñçila* should be defined as a theme ending in *a*, and so including the declensional forms of that theme, by i.22: in fact, it was expressly cited under that rule, as an example of its application. If *kiñçilā* is the true reading (as I presume to be the case), then we must suppose that the makers of the rule intended both words as *padāikadeça*'s, the one involving the first two examples quoted, the other the third, and the case being quite parallel with that of *sañçita* and *sañçitā*, just preceding: but the comment has discovered a difficulty, namely, that *kiñçila* is actually a *pada* in the text (v.5.9¹), and therefore cannot be quoted without ceremony as a *padāikadeça* (see under rule 29, where this is more distinctly brought out); and hence its efforts to amend the reading and interpretation—efforts in which it is too intent upon the end to be gained to be mindful of consistency in the means employed. In short, here as in many other places, the Prātiçākhyā is less minutely accurate in its modes of statement than the commentator would fain have it, and he undertakes to make it what it should be by forced interpretation.

26. ¹ *çinçumāra ityādityagrahaneṣhu*² *syād anusvārāgamah. ya-*
*thā*³: *sindhoh*.....: *kiñ*.....: *ubhay*.....: *sañsr*.....: *sañsr*-
.....: *çarī*.....: *tan*.....: *brahm*.....: ⁴ *çar*.....: *kiñç*-
.....: *parakiñçilagrahaṇam*⁵ *padāikadeçatayā bahāpādāndr-*
tham: *kiñçilaç*.....: *kiñçilāya*.....: *nam*⁶ *sañsrshṭe 'ty atra*
shakāraparo 'nusvārāgamah kiñ na syāt. māi 'vam: *atra sūtre*
*sarvatra*⁷ *padādivarṇānantaram*⁸ *evā 'nusvārādarçanāt*: *tatsāha-*

Cases of various character are here intermingled. The first two and the last are indivisible words, of which the *anusvāra* forms an essential part, as of those cited in rules 19 and 20, or 29 and 30. The others come from combinations with the preposition *saṃ*, and are of two classes: *saṅskṛtya* and *saṅskṛta* the *pada*-text does not attempt to analyze, although (see v.6,7) it divides *saṅskurute* and *saṃskurvatu*, ejecting the intrusive sibilant: those remaining are compounds with *saṃ* which enter into further composition, so that their compound character does not appear in the *pada*-text. And one or two cases of this last class seem to have been overlooked by the makers of the treatise: they are *svādushaṅsadaḥ* (iv.6.6³; p. *svādu-saṅsadaḥ*) and *striṣaṅsādām* (ii.5.1⁵; p. *stri-saṅsādām*). The former of them, indeed, is noticed in G. M., which introduce *saṅsadaḥ* into the rule, after *saṅskṛta*, and quote the compound in the comment—seeming to betray their consciousness that the word is not a part of the ordinary reading of the rule by saying “when *saṅsadaḥ* is read, the instance is *svādushaṅsadaḥ*.”

There are further varieties of reading in the rule: G. M. have *giṅshati*; W. B. put *saṅsrṣhta* between *saṅskṛtya* and *saṅskṛta*, and give its example a corresponding place among the examples; T. B. G. M. read *saṅskṛtaṅ*, which is perhaps to be preferred; other differences are mere copyists' errors, and not worth reporting.

So far as I have discovered, *saṅskṛtam* (i.2.9) and *saṅcita* (iv.6.4⁴ a second time) are the only words included in this rule which occur further in the Sanhitā.

The commentator raises the question whether we must not suppose that an *anusvāra* is also to be inserted before the spirant *śh* in *saṅsrṣhta*; but, without this time appealing to the “competency of the citation” to settle the reading, replies that, the word being associated here with others all of which have *anusvāra* only after the first vowel, we must assume the same to be the case with it also; all but O. adding that “there is no reason for inconsistency” in this respect.

सितृद्वहकारपरः ॥ २७ ॥

27. Also after *si*, *tr*, or *dr*, when *h* follows.

The quoted examples are *siṅho vayah* (iv.3.5), *çatatarhāṅs trṅhanti* (i.5.7⁶ et al.), and *drṅhusva mā hvāḥ* (i.1.3 et al.). Of the

*caryād' atrā'pi tathāi'va*¹⁰ *vijñeyam*: “*na vāiparītye kāraṇam asti*”¹¹.

¹ O. prefixes a separate rehearsal of the words cited in the rule. ² G. M. -*dishu* gr.; O. -*dishu*. ³ G. M. O. om. ⁴ G. M. ins. *saṅsada iti pāthe svādushaṅsadaḥ*. ⁵ W. *param ki*. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ W. G. M. *sarva*. ⁸ W. *varṇ*; G. M. -*nāncaram*. ⁹ O. *sāh*. ¹⁰ B. *vā'pt*. ¹¹ O. om.; W. om. *na*.

27. *si*: *tr*: *dr*: *ity evampūrvō hakāraparah'* *syād anusvārā-gamah'*. *yathā*: *siṅho*-----: *çatat*-----: *drṅh*----- *'evam*

noun *siñha*, and of forms from the roots *trñh* and *drñh*, which alone come under the action of the rule, there are other cases in the Sanhitā. Counter-examples are given (excepting in O.): to show that no other syllables take the increment before *h*, *sapatnasāhī svāhā* (i.2.12²: but G. M. substitute *sapatnasāhīñ sam mārjmi*, i.1.10¹) and *anati-dāhāyo 'vāca* (v.2.10³); that *r* takes the increment only when preceded by *t* or *d*, *grhānām asamartyāi* (iii.3.8²); that the increment is taken only before *h*, *sishāsantih* (vii.5.2¹: G. M. read *sishāsah*, but doubtless by a blunder only), *trshvīm anu* (i.2.14¹), and *naktam dr̥ṣe dīpyate* (v.6.4⁴).

मन्दिष्ठस्य च ॥ २८ ॥

28. As also, in *mañhishthasya*.

That is to say, before the *h*, which is brought down from the preceding rule by *ca*, expressly in order to exclude the assumption of *anusvāra* before the *sh* and *s* in the same word. The passage is *mañhishthasya prabhṛtasya* (iv.2.3⁴), and there is no other.

आदिरःकतिरःहोःहोरःहोमुगन्यःहाम्रःहसोःह-
साःशमःशुभिरःशमुवाःश्चःशूअःशवोःशुरःशुमःशू-
नःशुनाःशोरःशायोपाःश्चःशौ ॥ २९ ॥

29. Also, after the first vowel, in *añhatih*, *añhah*, *añhoh*, *añhomuc*, *atyañhāh*, *añhasah*, *añhasā*, *añcam*, *añcubhih*, *añcabhuvā*, *añcu*, *añcū*, *añcavah*, *añcuh*, *añcum*, *añcūn*, *añcunā*, *añcoph*, *añcāya*, *upāñcu*, and *añcāu*.

We have here a detailed list of complete *padas* (or, in one or two instances, more than a whole *pada*), in which *anusvāra* is found. The illustrative examples are as follows. For *añhatih*, *pari dveshaso añhatih* (ii.6.11²): the only case. For *añhah*, *añhomucam vrshabham yajñiyānām* (i.6.12⁴; p. *añhah-mucam*: G. M. O. omit the last word); *añhah* is found four or five times in the Sanhitā as an independent word, and about fifteen times in the

pūrva iti kim: sap-----: anati-----: ṛkārendi 'vā⁵ 'lam: kim takāradakārābhyām: gr̥h-----: evampura iti kim: sish-----: trshvīm-----: naktam-----: hakārah paro yasmād 'asāu hakāraparah.⁶

¹ G. M. -raç ca. ² O. asāu hekāraparah. ³ B. G. M. O. om. ⁴ O. om. ⁵ G. M. om. eva. ⁶ G. M. sa tathoktah.

28. *mañhishthasye 'ty asmin grahane cakārākṛshṭahakāraparo 'nusvārāgamo bhavati'. yathā²: mañh-----: cakārah kimar-thah: atrādi 'va grahane sashakāraparo mā bhūd iti.³*

¹ G. M. O. syāt. ² G. M. O. om. ³ O. om.

compound *añhomuc*—one of the forms of which, as we shall see farther on, has to be made separate account of. For *añhoḥ*, *añhoḥ cid yā* (i.4.22 and ii.1.11⁴): there is no other case. For *añhomuk*, *añhomugbhyām dvikapālāḥ* (vii.5.22: O. omits *dvikapālāḥ*, and W. B. put it in out of place); of all the forms of *añhomuc*, this is the only one in which *añhah* does not form a *pada* (it is divided, of course, *añhomuk-bhyām*), and which therefore is not disposed of by the citation of *añhah*. For *atyañhāḥ*, *ṛtapāc cā 'tyañhāḥ* (i.8.13²⁻³): the word is found again at iv.6.5⁵; it is more than a simple *pada* (p. *ati-añhāḥ*), and the *ati* is included in the citation, we are told, to prevent confusion of *añhāḥ* with *ahāḥ* in such phrases as *śadāḥ bhavanti* (vii.5.1⁴; *śat-ahāḥ*). For *añhasaḥ*, *te no munīcatam añhasaḥ* (iv.7.15⁶: all except B. read *munīcat*, which does not occur before *añhasaḥ*): of this case of *añhas* I have noted about twenty instances. For *añhasā*, the only example is the one quoted, *añhasā vā esha grhītaḥ* (ii.4.2³: O. ends with *vāi*). The commentator next raises the question why whole *padas* should have been cited, when *añha* (as part of a word) would have been sufficient to assure the reading, and replies by quoting *sa rasam aha vasantāya* (vii.2.10¹: O. begins with *aha*), as an example of cases that required to be excluded. For *añṣam*, *pari paśyāmo 'ñṣam ā* (vii.1.6²: O. omits *ā*): the form is found again in the same division. For *añṣubhīḥ*, *śuddhīr aṇṣubhīḥ pavayati* (vi.4.5⁷: O. omits *pavayati*; W. B. put this example off until after that for *añṣu*, which would be, to be sure, a more suitable place for it, if the same order were followed in the rule; but there all authorities agree: see further on). For *añṣubhurā*, *teyā 'ñṣubhurā somam* (vi.4.8²: G. M. O. omit *somam*): the word is found again at vi.4.8³. For *añṣu*, *tenā 'ñṣumat* (iii.2.2¹); and it is pointed out that, by rule i.53 (the comment blunderingly quotes i.52 instead), *anañṣu kurrantaḥ* (iii.2.2¹) is involved with *añṣu* (O. has lost, of this, all but the example *anañṣu ku*). For *añṣā*, *vṛśno hy etāv aṇṣā* (vi.4.5³). For *añṣavah*, *prānā vā aṇṣavah* (vi.4.4⁴). For *añṣuḥ*, *añṣur aṇṣus te* (i.2.11¹ et al.): the word is found in eight other passages. For *añṣum*, *yam ādityā aṇṣum āpyāyayanti* (ii.3.5³ et al.: only W. has the last word): there are five other instances. For *añṣān*, *añṣān apa grhṇāti* (vi.4.4⁴: lost in W.): it occurs further in the

29. ¹ *añhatih*..... *eteshv ādir*² *anuvārāgamo*³ *bhavati*⁴. *yathā*⁵: *pari*.....: *añho*.....: ⁶ *sātre saṁhitāyām otvaridhānād ahar*.... *ityādāu na syād ayaṁ vidhiḥ: kiṁtu yasmin visarjanīyo rephaṁ nā 'padyate tasyāi 'ro 'pādānam*:⁷ *añhoḥ*.....: ⁸ *'nanv ayaṁ*¹⁰ *cāi*¹¹ *'kabandhaḥ: rephaprāptasyā*¹² *'yam vidhiḥ: vihitānusrasyāi 'vā*¹³ *rephanishedhate*¹⁴ *'ti: nā 'yam doshaḥ: siddhasyāi 'vā*¹⁵ *nusvārasya bodhanam*¹⁶ *na tu vidhir iti*¹⁷: *añhom*.....^{18,9} *ṛtap*.....: *atī 'ti kim: śad*.....: *te*.....: *añhasā*.....: ¹⁹ *añhe 'ty*¹⁸ *etāvatā*¹⁹ *siddhe*²⁰ *sakalupadapāthah kim arthah*²¹: *sa rasam*.... *iti*²² *nishedhārthah: pari*.....: ²³ *śad*

same division, and in no other. For *añṣunā*, *añṣunā te añṣuḥ* (i.2. 6: G. M. O. end with *te*). For *añṣoh*, *yo vā añṣor āyatanaṁ veda* (vi.6.10²: O. omits the last two words, and B. has lost the whole example, with most of the preceding one). For *añṣāya*, *añṣāya svāhā bhagāya* (i.8.13³: G. M. omit *bhagāya*). For *upāñṣu*, *upāñṣusavano yad upāñṣusavanam* (vi.4.4¹: O. omits the first two words). The word *upāñṣu*, when not further compounded, is separated in *pada*-text into *upa-añṣu*, and so most of its forms come under the various citations of the cases of *añṣu* already illustrated (thus, it furnishes additional instances, not counted above, to *añṣu*, *añṣuḥ*, *añṣun*, and *añṣoh*, twenty in all); but in its compounds it makes, of course, a single *pada* of itself (thus, *upāñṣu-savanah*), and so has to be cited in the rule as such (we have other combinations, namely, with *pātra*, *yāja*, and *antaryāma*); and, moreover, we have one case, *upāñṣāu*, showing a form of *añṣu* which does not appear independently, and so furnishing the final citation, for which the example is *tam upāñṣāu sam asthāpayan* (vi.4.6¹): there is another in the same division.

The restriction *ādih*, 'after the first vowel,' is intended to guard against any one's imagining that the *s* of *añṣasaḥ* and so on is to be preceded by *anusvāra*.

What has thus been given represents the whole comment as found in O.; the other MSS. make two or three troublesome additions, to which it is necessary to return. The last of them regards the citation of *añṣu* and its inflectional forms (namely, those that contain *añṣu* as a part, or *añṣubhiḥ*, *añṣuḥ*, *añṣum*, *añṣenā*); and, if I understand it aright, it asserts that, if *añṣu* alone were cited, the other forms would not be included, because *añṣu* itself occurs as a *pada* (and would therefore have to be taken as such, and not as a part of a word, *padāikadeṣa*); and if it be proposed to cite it with each value, as was done with *kiñṣila* (in rule 26: see note to that rule), there remains the difficulty that, as a phonetic complex only, it would involve such cases as *paṣum paṣupate te adya* (iii. 1.4¹: W. omits *paṣum*)—where, namely, we have the same elements in combination, only without the *anusvāra*. With regard to *añṣa*, a somewhat similar statement appears to be made: namely, that if *añṣa* simply were quoted, it would be understood as a *pada* (being such in *añṣa-bhuvā*), and hence *añṣam* would

-----²³ *tvayā*-----: ²⁴*blhave 'ti kim: añṣe 'ty etāvātā*²⁵ *grahaṇe tathāvidhapadasadbhāvād añṣam*²⁶ *ity atra na*²⁷ *syāt:*²⁴ *tenā*-----: ²⁸*apy akārādi* (i.52) *iti vacanād anañṣu*----- *ity apy*²⁹ *udāharanam:*²⁸ *vṛshno*-----: *prāṇā*-----: ³⁰*añṣur*-----: ³⁰ *yam*-----: ³¹*añṣūn*-----: ³¹ *añṣunā*-----: *yo*-----: *añṣāya*-----: *upāñṣu*-----: *tam*-----: ³²*añṣv*³³ *ity*³⁴ *etāvati*³⁵ *grhīta itareshām aparigrahaḥ*³⁶ *syāt*³⁷ *tathāvidhapadasadbhāvāt:* *atho 'bhayaṁ grhyate padam ekadeṣaḥ*³⁸ *ca kiñṣilavat: tathā sati padāikadeṣe-shu paṣum*----- *ityādishu prāpnuyād anusvāraḥ*³⁹: *tac cā 'nisk-*

not be included. The comment, however, puts this forward as a reason for including the *bhuvā* of *aṅgabhuvā*, which, according to the interpretation here offered, it would not be; and perhaps my comprehension of the argument is insufficient. I do not see any reason why, if the *pada*-text divides *aṅga-bhuvā*, the *bhuvā* should be given in the rule. Equally unexplainable to me is the special citation of *aṅgubhiḥ*, which, being divided in *pada* into *aṅgu-bhiḥ*, falls under *aṅgu*: we have also in the Sanhitā *aṅgubhyām* (i.4.2 and vi.4.5³), which is a case analogous with the other, and ought to be treated like it. Possibly we may infer from the unsuitable position of *aṅgubhiḥ* in the rule, and from the place of its example as given in W. B., next after that containing *aṅgu-mat* (as if it were, like the latter, a case of *aṅgu*), that it has been interpolated, by an awkward and blundering hand; but the conjecture is a more daring one than I venture seriously to make. *

The first *excursus* of the comment is in connection with the second citation, *aṅhah*. Since the *saṁhitā*-form of this word, we are told, appears by the rule itself to be *aṅho*, the rule does not apply to *ahah*, which shows a different result of combination in *ahar devānām* (i.5.9²: G. M. read *aharahar*, which is not found in the Sanhitā before *devānām*), but only to a word the *visarjanīya* of which does not become *r*. This seems plausible enough; but what shall we say of the *ahah* which appears in *saṁhitā* as *aho* in *ahobhyām*, *ahobhiḥ*, and *ahorātre* (p. *ahah-rātre*)? Either the makers of the treatise overlooked these words, or they did not attribute to the form *aṅho* in the rule the significance which is here claimed for it.

The remaining passage is more obscure to me than any of the others. In G. M., it is both preceded and followed by the examples for *aṅhoh* and *aṅhomuk*; in W. B., these examples precede it, excepting the last word of the second, which comes after it. I imagine that its true place is between the two, and that its intent is to turn against the rule the argument just pleaded respecting *aṅhah*, pointing out that, as *aṅhoh* becomes *aṅhor* in the rule, it ought not to exhibit *anusvāra* except when occurring in that phonetic form: the objection being then evaded by the plea that the form is given merely as it happens to occur, and not with any

*tan*³². *ādīr iti kim: sarveshu sthāneshu mā bhād iti: yathā*³⁰
'ñhasa ityādi.

¹ O. ins. *ādih*. ² G. M. *svarād*. ³ G. M. *-gomañ*. ⁴ G. M. *bhajate*. ⁵ O. om. ⁶ O. om. ⁷ G. M. *otvasya*. ⁸ MSS. ins. *aṅhomugbhyām*. ⁹ O. om. ¹⁰ W. *aya*. ¹¹ G. M. *ca*. ¹² W. B. *ekapr*. ¹³ G. M. *eva*. ¹⁴ W. B. *-phaññiñ*. ¹⁵ W. *'nusvārah syāt: nodbhuyama syāt: tu vidhir iti dvikapilāh*; B. *'nusvāra syāt: bodh-yatā nana vidhir iti: dvikapilāh*. ¹⁶ G. M. *udbodhanam*. ¹⁷ G. M. *ity aṅho cid yā*. ¹⁸ W. *añh*; B. *aty*. ¹⁹ G. M. *-atī 'va*. ²⁰ O. *-dheh*; B. *dheh kutah*. ²¹ W. *kim*; B. om. ²² B. *ity atrā 'pi*; G. M. *ityādi*; O. *ityādau*. ²³ W. B. put next before *apy akārādi*. ²⁴ O. om. ²⁵ G. M. *-vad*. ²⁶ W. B. *açam*. ²⁷ W. B. om. ²⁸ O. *anañgu ku* simply. ²⁹ W. om. ³⁰ G. M. put before *vrshno*..... ³¹ W. om. ³² O. om. ³³ W. *añ 'ty*; G. M. *añce 'ty*. ³⁴ B. *-vatī*. ³⁵ B. *upariḡraha*; G. M. *api grahañam*. ³⁶ G. M. ins. *katham*. ³⁷ G. M. *-deçam*. ³⁸ G. M. *-rūgamah*. ³⁹ W. O. a.

intent of prescription. But I have too little confidence in the correctness of this conjecture to be led to attempt amending the text into giving it consistent expression.

अवग्रह उदात्तो ऽन्सेऽन्सायाऽन्साभ्यामन्साविति ॥३०॥

30. Also in *añse*, *añsāya*, *añsābhyām*, and *añsāu*, when accented on the first syllable.

The term *avagraha* is declared by the commentator to be equivalent here to *ādi* or *padādi*, 'beginning of the word.' This is, of course, wholly and entirely inadmissible, except as we are driven by the irresistible force of circumstances to give it that meaning or none. There has evidently been some blunder committed, but we can hardly venture to attempt its rectification. Not one of the words here cited occurs, or could occur, as *avagraha*, 'former member of a compound.' The restriction is made with reference to *añsāu* alone, in order to distinguish it from *asāu*. The examples are *dakṣiṇe 'ñsa upa dadhāti* (v.3.1⁵: O omits *dadhāti*; W. has lost the whole), *ṣṭityañsāya* (vii.3.17: W. has lost *ṣṭity*), *añsābhyāñ srāhā* (vii.3.16²), and *uttare 'ñsāu eva prati dadhāti* (v.3.1⁵: O. reads *tisṭhāti* for *dadhāti*, but doubtless by a copyist's error only); the counter-example is *asāu abravīc citra-vihātā* (ii.5.2⁵: O. omits the last word); *añsābhyām* alone is found more than once in the text (namely, again at v.7.13).

नासावा नासावा ॥३१॥

31. But not in *asāu ā*.

There is a single passage where the pronoun *asāu*, in the vocative case, stands at the beginning of a clause, and is, accordingly, accented on the first syllable; hence the necessity of the present rule, establishing an exception under its predecessor. The passage is *brāyād āsāv é 'hī 'ty evām evā* (ii.4.9³: O. alone has *eva*; G. M. omit also *evam*, and B. blunderingly reads instead of it *atra*).

The Prāticākhya's rehearsal of the cases of interior *anuvāra* is,

30. *avagraha ādir ity arthaḥ: yadi¹ padādir udāttaḥ syāt tarhy añse² ity eteṣu³ syād anusvārāgamah. itigabdhā svarā-pavāci. dakṣiṇe.....² ṣṭity.....: añsā.....: uttare..... ādir udātta iti kim: asāv.....*

¹ B. *pari*. ⁽²⁾ W. om. ³ G. M. -*śān*.

31. *ādyaudātte¹ saty apy² ³asāv e 'ty³ asmin 'grahṇe na khalu⁴ syād anusvārāgamah. brāyād.....*

*iti tribhāshyaratne⁵ prāticākhyavivarane
shodāṣo⁶ 'dhyāyah.*

¹ W. *yady ud-*; B. *yady udāttatve*. ² B. O. om. ⁽³⁾ W. *asāv āi ty*; B. *asāu*; G. M. O. *asāv ity*. ⁽⁴⁾ O. om. ⁵ B. *ṣṭitri-*. ⁶ G. M. O. *dvitrayaṣṭe caturtho*.

so far as I have been able to discover, complete for the present Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā, with the exception of the two compounds (*stri-shaṅśādu* and *śvādūshaṅśād*) noticed under the rule 26. Whether its rules are so drawn as to involve no cases that require to be excluded, is a much more difficult question, and one which my examination of the text has not been close enough to enable me to determine; but I have noted no instances of inaccuracy, unless the possible confusion of *āṅhaḥ* and *ahāḥ*, pointed out under rule 29, is to be so considered.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONTENTS: 1-4, opinions of various authorities, as to the degree of nasality in different nasal letters; 5, as to increase of quantity in connection with *anusvāra*; 6, as to increased effort required by certain accents; 7-8, as to other more general matters of utterance.

तीव्रतरमानुनासिक्यमनुस्वारोत्तमेधिति शैत्यायनः ॥ १ ॥

1. Āityāyana says that the nasal quality is stronger in *anusvāra* and the nasal mutes.

We have here a chapter entirely composed of the cited opinions of certain specified authorities, and none of them of any definite value or importance in themselves, though interesting as affording us a glimpse of subjects to which the attention of the old Hindu phonetists was drawn, and to their hair-splitting and discordant speculations respecting them.

The commentator's exposition adds nothing to our comprehension of the rule. It quotes the rule at the end of the second chapter (ii.52) as to the cause of nasal quality, and tries (without good reason) to connect with it the present one. Examples of the stronger nasal utterance are given, as follows: *agnīṅr apsushulāḥ*

1. 'anuscāraḥ co 'ttamāḥ' cā 'nuscārottamāḥ: teshu tivrātaram bhavaty ānunāsikyam iti āityāyano nāma munir manyate'. tivrād adhikam tivrātaram: anunāsikatā² 'nunāsikyam: nāsikāvivaranaḍ ānunāsikyam (ii.52) ity asya vidheḥ prayatnadārḍhyam⁴ upadiḡyate. ⁵ yathā⁶: agnīṅr.....: 'tāṅs.....: martyāñ.....⁷: yañ.....: 'vañcate.....: mañinā.....⁸ ete-
shv⁹ iti kim: rukmam.....: tigmam.....: ¹⁰suḡt.....¹⁰

(1) O. om. ² W. -maḥ. ³ W. -sikā; B. -sikanāñ bhāvah. ⁴ W. O. -dirgham; B. -dārbyām; G. M. prāyadārthyam. ⁵ O. ins. anusvārottamā anunāsikā ity etāny anunāsikasthānāni. anusvārottameshu tivrātaram anunāsikyam bhavati āityāyano nāma manyate. ⁶ G. M. O. om. (7) in O. only. (8) O. prāñ..... ⁹ O. anusvārottameshv. (10) O. sa.....: eteshu cāi 'va tivrātaram.

(v.6.1²), *yañ kāmāñ kāmāyate* (vii.1.1²: G. M. O. substitute *yañ kāmāyeta*, i.6.10⁴ et al.), *vañcate purivañcate* (iv.5.3¹), and *maninā rūpāñ 'ndrena* (vii.3.14); but O. introduces after the first *tāñs te dadhāmi* (iv.1.10³) and *martyāñ āvivega* (v.7.9¹), and substitutes for the last two *prāñ prā 'dravat* (v.7.10¹). Counter-examples, of the weaker utterance, are *rukman upa dadhāti* (v.2.7²: but W. substitutes, by an evident blunder, *kūrmam upadadhāti*, v.2.8⁵), *tigman āyudham* (iv.7.15⁴), and *suçlokāñs samāñgalāñs* (i.8.16²); O. giving instead of the last *sa imāñ lokam* (i.5.9⁴), and spoiling the whole illustration by adding, "in these likewise it is stronger." The first two counter-examples are evidently given for the *yama* which, by xxi.12, is to be inserted between the mute and nasal in each: the last is a case falling under xv.8, which prescribes nasalization of a protracted final *a*. The other nasal sounds are the *nāsikya* (xxi.14), and the nasal semivowels into which *m* and *n* are to be converted (v.26,28) before *l*, *y*, and *v*: these last are instanced by the phrase quoted in O. alone.

The manuscript O. follows an independent course in the exposition of this rule, as of the rest composing the chapter.

समं सर्वत्रेति कौहलीपुत्रः ॥ २ ॥

2. Kāuhalīputra says that it is the same everywhere.

The comment interprets *samam*, 'same,' as signifying here *tivratarām*, which it had explained above as an absolute rather than a relative comparative—'very excessive,' rather than 'more excessive.' That does not seem likely to be the real meaning. As examples, are cited, rather needlessly, *sañrarāñdh* (iv.6.1¹ et al.), *sañyattāh* (i.5.1¹ et al.), *nyāññ agniç cetavyah* (v.5.3²: only O. has *cetavyah*), and *upahātāñs ho* (ii.6.7³). O. gives an entirely different, though equivalent, exposition, and only the last two of these examples, with two others, namely *sarvāñ agniñr apsushadah* (v.6.1²) and *imāñ lokāñ* (ii.1.3¹).

The name of the authority quoted is given by G. M. as Kāuhalīyaputra, and by O. as Kohalīputra, in both the text and commentary.

अनुस्वारे ञिविति भारद्वाजः ॥ ३ ॥

3. Bhâradvâja says it is faint in *anuvâra*.

2. *sarvatrā 'nundsikavarneshu' tivrataratvañ 'samam iti' kâuhalīputro' manyate. sañr-----: sañy-----: nyāññ-----: upa-----: ityādi.*

¹ W. B. -*sikyav*-. G. M. -*sikyāñ v*-. ⁽²⁾ W. *sarvatve 'ti*. ³ G. M. (as also in the rule) -*liyap*-.

O. substitutes for the whole *anuvârottamādishu sarveshu samaviçeshenā 'nund-sikyāñ syād iti kohalīputrā ācāryo manyate sma : tivratarām ity arthah : nyāññ-----: sarvāñ-----: imāñ-----: upa-----*

The term *anu*, 'faint,' is explained by *sūkshmatamam* (or, in G. M. O., *sūkshmataram*), 'exceedingly gentle.' In other nasals than *anusvāra*, we are told, Bhāradvāja accepts Āityāyana's rule, that the nasal quality is extra-strong in the nasal mutes, and simply strong in the *yamas* etc. Most of the MSS. quote only *tanuvā jaya tvañ satvā* (iv.6.6¹: B. has dropped out all but the beginning, *nanu*, and O. has lost *tanuvā ja* from the beginning); but O. adds counter-examples, *brahmanvanto devā āsan* (vi.4.10¹), *rukman upa dadhāti* (v.2.7²), and *iat saṁyatatñ saṁyatatram* (v.2.10⁶).

नकारस्य रफाष्मयकारभावाद्भुतं च मत्ताप्राच्चात्तर-
मुत्तरं तीव्रतरमिति स्यविरः कौण्डिन्यः ॥ ४ ॥

4. Old Kāuṇḍinya says that when *n* is converted into *r*, or into a spirant, or into *y* (with loss of the *y*), or when *m* is lost, it is stronger in each case successively.

The alterations of an original nasal mute are here rehearsed in the same order, and in the same terms, as in a previous rule (xv.1). The comment gives an example for each case: namely *triñr ekāda-ḡāñ iha* (iii.2.11³: G. M. have lost *iha*, along with all that follows, to the last example; O. substitutes *triñr ata dyān*, ii.1.11⁵), *ḡuk-lāñ ca kṛshnāñ ca* (ii.3.1³: O. substitutes *ṛtūñs tancate*, iv.3.11³), *mahāñ indrah* (i.4.20 et al.: O. substitutes *svacāñ indro asme*, i.7.13⁶), and *sañḡitam* (iv.1.10³ et al.: O. substitutes *vihar-yañ ḡasyam*, vii.5.5²). The first combination is styled *saṁyo-*

3. '*anu sūkshmatamam*' *ānunāsikyam anusvāre syād iti bhāradvājo manyate. yathā*²: *tanuvā*..... *anusvārād anyatra ḡāityāyanavidhiḥ*: *uttameshu tivrataratvam yamādishu tivrāmā-tram iti*.

¹ G. M. *anusūkshmataram*. ² G. M. om.

O. substitutes for the whole *bhāradvājasya* "cāryasya mate *musvāre* 'nur bhāraty *ānunāsikyam*: *sūkshmataram ity arthah*: *ya tvañ*..... *anusvāra itī kēn*: *ato* 'nyatra *ḡāityāyanavidhiḥ*: *brahm*..... *ruk*..... *tat*.....

4. *nakārasya rephoshmayakārabhāvād*¹ *cakārākṛṣhtayakāre*² *hupte*³ *sati malopāc co* 'ttaram uttaram⁴ *ānunāsikyam*⁵ *ānupār-vyena tivratarām syād*⁶ *iti sthavirah kāuṇḍiṇyo manyate. yathā*⁷: *triñr*..... *ity atra*⁸ "nunāsikyam *saṁyogamātravat*: *ḡukl*..... *ity atra saṁḡlishtam*¹⁰: *mahāñ*..... *ity atra tivratarām*.⁹ *sañ*..... *ity atra tivratarām*: *ity ānupārvyam vijñeyam*¹¹: *ato* 'ny-*atra*¹¹ *ḡāityāyanavidhiḥ*.

¹ O. *rephabhāvād ūshabhāvād yak*. ² O. *-shte ya*. ³ G. M. ins. *ca*. ⁴ G. M. om. (and read 'ttaram for 'ttaram uttaram in rule). ⁵ O. om. ⁶ O. *ānunāsikyam bhāraty*. ⁷ G. M. om.; O. *sma*. ⁸ O. substitutes *triñr*...: *ṛt*..... *sva*..... *ā vireḡa*: *vih*..... *triñr*..... *ity atra tivrata saṁyogamātram*: *ṛt*..... *ity atra saṁḡlishtam*: *sva*..... *ityatra tivratarām*: *vih*..... *itra tivratarām*. ⁹ G. M. om. ¹⁰ W. *atra tu ḡt*; B. *atrāmudā saṁḡt*. ¹¹ W. B. G. M. *atra*.

gamātravat, 'simple conjunction;' the second, *saṅgīṣṭa*, 'fused together;' the third and fourth, only *tīratara*, 'more excessive.' And it is added at the end (only O. making the statement intelligibly) that in other cases Čaityāyana's rule (xvii.1) applies.

व्यञ्जनकालश्च स्वरस्यात्राधिकः ॥ ५ ॥

5. And to the vowel is added, in this case, the time of a consonant.

The "and" (*ca*) in the rule is declared to continue the implication of Old Kāuṇḍinya's opinion: according to this authority, here, in the prescription of *anusvāra*, the time of a consonant, half a *mora* (i.37), is to be added to the vowel that is accompanied by *anusvāra*: an example is *yuñjāthān rāsabhan yucam* (iv.1.2¹ et al.). And "in this case" (*atra*, literally 'here') is added in the rule because the prescription of increased quantity is not of force in the cases detailed in the sixteenth chapter, in nasal mutes, nor where *n* or *m* is converted into *l* (v.25,26,28).

O. states the same thing in other language, giving two additional examples, *gaṭrāṇ amapavyayantaḥ* (iv.6.6³) and *añhomuce* (i.6.12³ et al.)--of which the latter, being one of those established in the sixteenth chapter (xvi.29), ought to be a counter-example--and remarking further that in the opinion of other teachers the *anusvāra* merely was added to the vowel. *Anusvāra*, namely, was declared by i.34 to have the quantity of a short vowel; and we should be grateful if the commentator had pointed out in what relation this rule really stands to that; if, indeed, there is any connection between them, and if this does not belong properly to a doctrine that regards the *anusvāra* as an affection of the vowel merely; causing the latter's prolongation, to be sure, but not adding an element with independent quantity to it. O. appends the further restriction that the vowel undergoing prolongation is to be a simple one (not a diphthong). And it mentions another interpretation, as put forward by some authorities: that *atra* signifies wherever *anusvāra* is prescribed: and that where there is *anusvāra*, there the quantity of the vowel is to be short in every case.

5. *caḥdra sthāvīrakāuṇḍīnyam' anevādigati: atrā 'nusvārari-dhāne sānnāsikascarasya vyañjanakālo hrāsvārdhakālo 'dhikah syād iti sthāvīrah kāuṇḍīnyo manyate: yuñj-.... ityādi. atrāi 'va svarasye 'ti kiṃ: srādishū 'ttameshū 'ttamalabhāve' cāi' 'tad adhikakālavīdhānam' mā bhūd iti.*

¹ W. B. -rah kau-; G. M. -nyamatan. ² W. B. -mābhā-. ³ B. nāi; G. M. vāi.
⁴ W. adhikāl-; G. M. adhitakāl-.

O. substitutes for the whole *atrā 'nusvāre vyañjanakālo hrāsvārdhakālamātrah svarasyā 'dhiko bhavati svarakālat: gaṭr-.... añh-.... yuñj-.... caḥdra sthāvīrahkāuṇḍīnyamatanevādigati: itaricāryamate 'nusvāra eva svarasvā 'dhika syāt: atre 'ti kiṃ: srādishū 'ttameshū utmalabhāve s mādāksarāśke cāi' 'tad adhikakālavīdhāna mā bhūd teshu svarakāladhiko 'nusevā syāt: aparā āhuh atre 'tyanuvist-kavīdhāna ity arthah: anusvārabhāve 'pi vyañjanakālo hrāsvakālo bhavati yadā 'nusvāras tadā sarvatra hrāsvakālo eva syāt.*

The Rik (xiii.13) and Vājasaneyi (iv.147-8) Prāṭicākhyas also concern themselves with the respective length of a vowel and of *anusvāra* as constituents of a syllable, but their rules stand in no definable relation to the one here given.

स्वारविक्रमयोर्दृढप्रयत्नतरः पौष्करसादेः ॥ ६ ॥

6. Pāuṣhkarasādi says the utterance of *svāra* and *vikrama* is attended with firmer effort.

Most of the manuscripts supply in the comment *prayoga*, 'use, application,' as the subject involved in this rule; O. supplies simply *varṇa*, 'alphabetic sound.' *Svāra*, we are told, means *svārīta*, 'circumflex;' O. signifying the same thing by pointing out that the *svāras* are enumerated in the twentieth chapter (xx.1-8). *Vikrama* is a particular kind of *anudātta*, 'grave;' or, O. says, is explained in the nineteenth chapter (xix.1,2). As examples are given *yō 'sya svō 'gnīs tām āpi* (v.7.9¹; G. M. O. omit the last two words) and *āsye havīh priyām* (iii.3.11¹), for the latter of which O. substitutes *ṣikyām abhy ūpa dadhāti* (v.2.4³): we have here two kinds of *svāra* or *svārīta*, namely *abhinihata* (xx.4) and *nitya* (xx.2), and one or more cases of *vikrama* (the grave syllable standing directly between two that are either acute or circumflex) in each example. A counter-example is *gām nā'vā tāu tāt pāry avadatām* (i.7.2²: only O. has the last two words), which contains (except in O.'s addition) neither *svāra* nor *vikrama*.

प्रयत्नविशेषात्सर्ववर्णानामिति शैत्यायनः ॥ ७ ॥

7. Čāityāyana says, of all the letters, according to their difference of effort.

The comment (except in O.) supplies the same subject as in the preceding rule, namely *prayoga*; and also continues the predicate of that rule, *dr̥ḍhaprayatnataraḥ*. The latter we can hardly approve, since to assert a specially firm effort of all alphabetic sounds without exception is little better than nonsense. Čāityāyana may rather be credited with meaning that each constituent of the alphabet has its own proper (*svocita*) degree of articulative effort—which is more true than edifying.

6. *svāre vikrame ca prayogaḥ pāuṣhkarasāder mate¹ dr̥ḍhaprayatnataro bhavati. svārah svarīta ity arthaḥ: vikramo nāmā 'nudāttaviṣeṣaḥ. yathā²: yō.... āsye.... svāravikramayor iti kim: gām..... dr̥ḍhaḥ³ prayatno 'yasyā 'sāu⁴ dr̥ḍhaprayatnaḥ: atigayena dr̥ḍhaprayatno dr̥ḍhaprayatnataraḥ.*

¹ B. -*taṁ*. ² G. M. om. ³ W. B. -*dha*; G. M. -*dha eva*. ⁴ G. M. om.

O. substitutes for the whole *svāra viṇṇadanuvāke gānyante: ekāttarivṇṇadanuvāke vikramāḥ svāreṣu vikrameṣu ca dr̥ḍhaprayatnataro vaṇo bhavati pāuṣkarasāder mate ṣikyām ... yō.... svāravikramayor iti kim: gām.....*

As example, is cited the first phrase of the Sanhitā, *ishe tvo 'rje tvā* (i.1.1: only O. has the last two words).

The manuscripts of the commentary leave us quite in a quandary as to the value of these seven rules, W. B. calling them approved, but G. M. O. unapproved.

नातिव्यक्तं न चाव्यक्तमेवं वर्णानुदिङ्गयेत् ।

पयःपूर्णमिवामत्रं दृग्न्धीरो यथामति ॥

इत्यात्रेय आत्रेयः ॥ ८ ॥

8. Ātreya says, one must utter the sounds not over-distinctly and not indistinctly; taking, as it were, a vessel filled with drink, steady, according to the sense.

The commentator gives only a simple paraphrase of this verse, and casts no real light upon its meaning, even as regards the naïve and not very instructive comparison in the second line.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONTENTS: 1-7, opinions of various authorities as to the mode of utterance of the auspicious syllable *om*.

7. *sarvavarṇānām prayogaḥ¹ svocitaprayatnaviṣeṣhāt² dṛḍha-prayatnataro³ bhavati 'ti śāṭṭyāyano manyate. yathā: ishe.... ityādi.*

¹ *nāi 'tāni⁵ sapta sūtrāṇi 'shtāni.*

¹ B. -ga. ² B. *svoc-*; W. B. -*shā*; G. M. -*shāt*. ³ W. -*tnah* prayatnatamo; B. -*tnah* prayatnataro. ⁴ G. M. om. ⁵ W. B. *etāni*.

O. substitutes for the whole *śāṭṭyāyanasyā 'cāryasya mate svaprayatnaviṣeṣhātth sarvavarṇānām viṣeṣhyād dṛḍhaprayatnataraḥ evam varṇeshu bhavati: na svāsvā-ravikramayor eve 'ti: yathā: ishe..... nāi 'tāni* etc.

8. *atīvyaktam¹ atispashtam avyaktam aspashtam ca² yathā na bhavaty evaṁ varṇān udiṅgayed uccārayed 'ity arthak³: payah-pārṇam ivā⁴ 'matraṁ kṣīrapūritam⁵ bhājanam⁶ 'harina ivā⁷ yathāmati matim⁸ anatikramya 'dhiro 'dhyetā⁹ bhaved¹⁰ ity ātreya manyate.*

*iti tribhāshyaratne prātiṣākyavivarane
saptadaśo¹¹ 'dhyāyaḥ.*

¹ W. *nā 'tiv-*. ² O. om. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ O. om. *iva*. ⁵ W. *kṣīram apū-*; B. -*iraparipū-*; O. -*irani pū-*. ⁶ G. M. *amatram*. ⁷ O. *pāraṇiva*. ⁸ W. O. *m*. ⁹ W. O. om. *dhiro*; G. M. *adhyatā yathā dhiro*. ¹⁰ G. M. -*vet tathe*. ¹¹ G. M. O. *dvitīyapraṇe pañcamo*.

ओकारं तु प्रणव एके ऽर्धतृतीयमात्रं ब्रुवते ॥१॥

1. As *pranava*, some utter *o* with two and a half *moras*.

In the text of this rule, T. reads *oṅkāram*, and B. *oṃkāram*; in the comment, at the beginning, W. B. have *oṃkāram*. Doubtless the unnasalized form is the true reading; that *oṅ* or *oṃ* should be uttered with more than the quantity of a long syllable would not be worth the trouble of specifying, in view of rules i.34 and xvii.5, which would require either three or two and a half *moras* for the combination. Whether we are to infer that this holy exclamation was not yet uttered with a nasal ending at the time when the Prāṭicākhya was made, is a more doubtful question; the whole matter lies, at any rate, outside the proper province of a Prāṭicākhya. By way of examples, the comment appears to intend to quote the first and last words of the Sanhitā and of the Brāhmaṇa: namely *oṃ īshe tvā* (i.1.1), *samudro bandhuh oṃ* (vii.5.25²² see below: B. omits the *oṃ*), *oṃ brahma saṃdhattam* (Tāitt. Brāh. i.1.1), and *yebhyaḥ cāi 'nat prāhuh oṃ* (B. omits the *oṃ*: the Calcutta edition of the Tāittirīya-Brāhmaṇa being incomplete, I can only presume that these are the concluding words of that treatise). The manuscripts G. M. O. put these extracts in a different order, giving the two conclusions first, and then the two beginnings; G. M. add *oṃ* at the end of each, while O. gives no *oṃ* at all. G. M. further append two more citations, *bhadraṃ karṇebhiḥ : oṃ*, and *cāi 'va tapati : oṃ*, of which the former is the beginning, and the latter, I presume, the end, of the Tāittirīya-Āraṇyaka. With regard to the phrase *samudro bandhuh*, it is to be observed that the Sanhitā as found in my manuscript (or rather, manuscripts, for mine contains the last leaf of another and entirely independent one, which has the same reading), and in those to which Prof. Weber has access, ends with *samudrah* simply; but another word like this is evidently wanting to complete the sense (the concluding sentence is *samudro vā aḥvāsyā yonih samudrah*), and is not less needed to make up the tale of words as enumerated in the ending, which counts "twelve" after *arahat*, while without *bandhuh* there are

1. *pranava*¹ *okāram*² *ardhatṛṭiyamātram eke bruvate*³: *eka ācāryā ardhatṛṭiyamātram* ⁴ *āhur ity arthaḥ*⁴. *ardham*⁵ *tṛṭiyam yayos te ardhatṛṭiye: ardhatṛṭiyamātre* ⁶ *yasyā 'sāv* ⁶ *ardhatṛṭiyamātrah*⁶. *yathā*¹⁰: ¹¹ *om īshe tvā: samudro bandhuh: oṃ: oṃ brahma saṃdhattam: yebhyaḥ cāi 'nat prāhuh: oṃ*¹¹. *kālanirnaye* ¹² *py evaṃ* ¹² *varṇitam*:

svādhyāyārambhacśasya ¹³ *pranavasya svarasya ca*¹³:

*adhyāyasyā*¹⁴ ¹⁵ *nucākasyā 'nte syād ardhatṛṭiyatā*¹⁵.

*tuṣāḍasya*¹⁶ *prajojanam ucyate: saṃdhyaksharāṇām veda-pranavam*¹⁷ *cā 'ntarā tathe 'ti kālanirnaye: saṃdhyaksharāṇām* ¹⁸ *'hrasvā na santi* ¹⁹ *'ti* ¹⁹ *pāṇinīye* ²⁰ *py okāramātrasya* ²⁰ *dirghakālo*²¹.

only-eleven. This is a very strange fact, and calls for a wider examination of Tāittiriya manuscripts, to see if any of them have saved the lost final word.

Then is quoted a verse "from the Kālanirnaya," to the effect that "the quantity of two and a half *moras* belongs to the *pranava* and to a vowel forming the beginning or end (?) of a passage that one reads in the Veda, also at the end of a chapter or section." The Kālanirnaya quoted here and below must, of course, be a very different work from that of Mādhava bearing the same title (Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS., No. 1166).

In explanation of the word *tu* in the rule, another half-verse, from which I extract no suitable meaning, is quoted from the Kālanirnaya, and the authority of Pāṇini is further appealed to to prove that among the diphthongs there is no short quantity: hence for simple *o* long quantity is determined: here, "however" (*tu*), when the diphthong stands in *pranava*, that quantity is negatived; and (quoting, apparently, another half-verse) for the *pranava*, as occurring in the Veda, is prescribed long quantity along with [the quantity of?] a *m*. That is to say, the *tu* intimates a denial of the ordinary quantity of the diphthong *o*. And the remark is finally added that a difference of quantity is to be recognized in the different *pranavas*.

उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानां कस्मिंश्चिदिति शैत्यायनः ॥ २ ॥

2. Śaītyāyana says it is to be uttered with either one of acute, grave, or circumflex.

The comment simply paraphrases the rule, adding nothing in its explanation—not even telling us in what relation it stands to rule 7, and whether Śaītyāyana would let us give the word, in any given case of its use, whatever accent we chose, or would have us governed by reasons in our choice between the three accents.

*nirūpitaḥ*²²: *ihu tu*²³ *pranavasthatavaricēshenā*²⁴ 'sāu kālo nishidh-
yate: *redasthapranave*²⁵ *tu syāt* ²⁶*samakāradvīmātrate*²⁶ 'ti. ²⁷*pra-*
*navaricēshe kīlavicēshaḥ*²⁷ *pratyetyavyah.*

¹ W. B. -ve; G. M. -vena. ² W. B. omkā. ⁽³⁾ O. -triyamārate. ⁽⁴⁾ G. M. O. om. ⁵ B. ins. iti. ⁽⁶⁾ W. ardhattriyamātrām bruvate: *pranave okāram.* ⁷ B. O. ardhā. ⁸ G. M. O. mātre. ⁹ G. M. -triyas tam; O. -triyamās tam: *sārdhadvīmāt-ā ity arthah.* ¹⁰ W. B. O. om. ⁽¹¹⁾ G. M. sam-: om; ye-: om; ish-: om; brah-: om; bhād-: om; āi-: om; ye-: om; sam-: ye-: ish-: brah-: ¹² B. ins. ca. ⁽¹³⁾ B. *pranavasvaratasya* ¹⁴ B. *adhyāyag ca.* ⁽¹⁵⁾ G. M. -kasya *tu ante* 'to 'rdhatr-; O. -triyē ti. ¹⁶ B. nve-; G. M. antar- ¹⁷ G. M. -dān ca pr-; O. -dān ca *pranavām.* ⁽¹⁸⁾ O. -sro nā 'sti. ¹⁹ W. om. iti. ²⁰ O. *okārasya.* ²¹ W. G. M. -le. ²² G. M. -le. ²³ B. om. ²⁴ O. -shād; G. M. -shānād. ²⁵ W. B. O. -sya pr-. ⁽²⁶⁾ B. -kālo dv-; G. M. -kāle dv-; O. -kāre dvīmātrete. ⁽²⁷⁾ G. M. *pranavasya vicēshaḥ.*

2. *udāttānūdaṭṭasvaritānām madhye kasmānś cit svare prana-
vah prayoktavya iti śaītyāyano brūte. yathā: o m.*

O. substitutes *utte anudātte svarite vā eshū madhyatamena svareṇa prayoktavya syād i śaītyāyanamaḥ dārya manyate*: os os.

धृतप्रचयः कौण्डिन्यस्य ॥ ३ ॥

3. According to Kāuṇḍinya, it is a sustained *pracaya*.

I have ventured to translate the word *dhṛta* in *dhṛtapracaya* by 'sustained,' but without feeling sure that it might not have been better to follow the lead of the commentator, who treats *dhṛtapracaya* as equivalent to simple *pracaya*. He brings up, it is true, the objection that in xix.2 the use of the term *pracaya* itself is attributed to this same Kāuṇḍinya, and that hence it should have been used here; but replies "not so; by this pair of words, even, an appellation is given: thus, namely: on the principle that even where there is no difference of meaning there may be a difference of application, the teacher exhibits a nicety of application: other examples of the principle are the names [of the second Pāṇḍava] Bhīmasena and Bhīma, [of one of Īśa's wives] Bhāmā [G. M. say Satyā] and Satyabhāmā, *pidhāna* and *apidhāna*, *dipa* and *pradipa*." The *pracaya* is defined as the fourth accent; and O. adds that it is to be explained in the twenty-first chapter (namely, at xxi.10,11): it is there said to be of the same tone as *udātta*, 'acute;' so that, unless *dhṛta* is to be regarded as signifying a modification, one does not see in what respect Kāuṇḍinya's opinion differs from that of Vālmīki, given in rule 6 of this chapter.

मध्यमेन स वाक्प्रयोगः ॥ ४ ॥

4. That application of the voice is with middle tone.

The meaning of this precept is very obscure, and the commentator's exposition does not give the impression that he comprehended it. According to him, the *sa*, 'that,' points us back to the utterance as prescribed by Kāuṇḍinya in the preceding rule: in whatever pitch of voice the application is made, the *pranava* is to be used with medial effort, or with one that takes into account the

3. *kāuṇḍinyasya*¹ *mate pranavo dhṛtapracayo bhavati: caturtha*² *svaro dhṛtapracaya iti kathyate. nanu pracayapūrvā ca kāuṇḍinyasya* (xix.2) *itivat pracaya ity etāvatai*³ *vā 'lam: 'kim dhṛtaḥ abdena. māi*⁴ *'vam: padadvayenā 'py anena nāmadheyam abhidhūyate: tathā hi: arthabhedābhāve*⁵ *'pi prayogabhedo*⁶ *'sti 'ti prayogacāturyam*⁷ *ācāryaḥ prakatayati: yathā: bhīmaseno*⁸ *bhīmaḥ: bhāmā*⁹ *satyabhāmā*¹⁰ *pidhānam apidhānam: dipaḥ pradipa ityādi.*

¹ W. -nya. ² B. G. M. -tha. ³ G. M. *dhṛtaḥ abdo nāma: evam.* ⁴ G. M. *evā 'bh.* ⁵ B. *ardhabh-; G. M. ittham ble.* ⁶ B. -gaprabh-. ⁷ W. -gāntaracā-. ⁸ W. -ne; B. -na. ⁹ G. M. om. ¹⁰ G. M. ins. *satyā.*

O. substitutes *dhṛtapracayo nāma turiyasvarah sa evāi 'kviṁse 'nuvāke vakshyate dhṛtapracaya iti nāmadheyam prayānam api vyapadīyata iti kaurṇḍinya deā-rya manyate dhṛtapracayaḥ pranavo bhavati yathā om iti: udāttaḥ pracayo 'ṣṭutya-bhedam tat svaravijñānakṛtūm phalam anutīyate.*

combination of high and low tone. The relation of *vāk* in the compound is described as that of a locative case, and the word is paraphrased by *vācaḥ sthāne*, 'in position (i. e., I presume, 'quality' or 'temperament': compare xxii.11, xxiii.4,5) of voice.'

स्वरितः प्लान्तिप्लान्नायणयोः ॥ ५ ॥

5. According to Plākshī and Plākshāyana, it is circumflexed.

This rule is, along with its three predecessors, pronounced by the commentator unapproved.

उदात्तो वाल्मीकिः ॥ ६ ॥

6. According to Vālmīki, it is acute.

This is the only rule in the chapter, except the first, which the commentator allows to stand as approved. In his school, then, the vowel part of the sacred exclamation is to be two and a half *moras* long, and of acute tone. This agrees with the teaching of the Vāj. (ii.51) and Rik (xv.3) Prātiçākhyas, save that these give (what is really equivalent to the same thing) three *moras* to the whole word *om*; and the Rik Pr. mentions other opinions both as to its quantity and its accent.

यथाप्रयोगं वा सर्वेषां यथाप्रयोगं वा सर्वेषाम् ॥ ७ ॥

7. All allow that it may also be according to the application.

The commentator first quotes an absurd opinion of Māhisheya's, to the effect that *yathāprayogam*, 'according to the application,' here means *udātta*, 'acute;' but then goes on to set forth, as given by Vararuci, what appears to be the real meaning of the rule: namely, that with whatever tone the passage to be read [i. e. its beginning] is used, that tone is to be given also to the introductory exclamation. Thus, before *ishē tvā* (i.1.1 et al.), which begins with

4. *prayujyata iti prayogah: madhyameno 'ccanīcasamāhāravicakṣaṇena prayatnena prapañah¹: yatra² kvacana vāca sthāne³ prayogo bhavati sa⁴ iti kāundīnyābhimataḥ pārvokto gṛhyate. vāci prayogo vākprayogah.*

¹ W. -vā; G. M. -vah prayoktavyah. ² W. anya-. ³ W. B. -na. ⁴ B. om.

O. substitutes *ko 'yañ prapañavo nāma cāvaprayogah* [i. e. *nāpr-*] *kāundīnyamatam adīya yatra kvacana sthāne dīyate: tena madhyamena svareṇa prayoktavyah.*

5. *plākshiplākshāyanayoh¹ pakṣhe² svarito bhavati. nāi.'tat sūtracatushtayam iṣṭam.*

¹ O. ins. *acāryayor*. ² O. *mate*; G. M. O. add *prapañava*.

6. *vālmīker mate prapañava udātto bhavati.¹*

¹ O. adds *yathā*.

grave, the *om* is to be grave; before *āpa undantu* (i.2.1¹: wanting in W. B.), acute; before *vyṛddham* (v.1.2¹: W. B. have instead, evidently as a corrupt reading only, *vyāddha*, with which word no *anuvāka* in the Sanhitā begins), circumflex.

The rule is declared unapproved—rather hard treatment for one which professes to lay down a principle accepted by all authorities.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONTENTS: 1-2, occurrence of *vikrama*, between syllables of high tone; 3-5, of *kampa*, in a circumflex followed by a circumflex.

स्वरितयोर्मध्ये यत्र नीचः स्यादुदात्तयोर्वान्यतरतो
बोदात्तस्वरितयोः स विक्रमः ॥ १ ॥

1. Where a syllable of low tone occurs between two circumflex syllables, or two acute, or two of which either one is acute and the other circumflex, that is *vikrama*.

The commentator paraphrases the rule as if *anyaturataḥ* meant 'between a preceding circumflex and a following acute,' and the following *udāttasvaritayoh* 'between a preceding acute and a fol-

7. *yathāprayogaḥ* *abdeno*¹ 'dātto 'bhīdhīyatu iti mādhisheyapa-kṣaḥ: *pranave*² *yathāprayogaḥ* *vā kuryād iti sarveśhām ṛshī-ndām matam. vararucipakṣas tu vakshyate: adhyeshyamānam*³ *yathāprayogaḥ* *yathāvidhasvaram* 'tathāvidhena vā'. *svareṇa pranavaḥ prayoktavyaḥ* *iti sarveśhām matam iti. yathā*⁴: *ishe tve* 'ty anenā 'dhyeshyamānenā' 'nudāttena pranavo 'py anudāt-taḥ: 'āpa undantu ity udātteno 'dāttah': *vyṛddham* *iti*⁵ *sva-ritena svaritah.*

ne 'dam sūtram iṣṭam.

O. (corrected a little) substitutes *yathāvidhena svareṇa 'dhyeshyamāno bhuvati*: *tathāvidhena svareṇa 'va pranavaḥ prayoktavyaḥ*: *esho vā sarveśhām ācāryānam sādharanapranavaridhīr bhavet: ishe tve* 'ty etad adhyeshyamāneṇa udāttah *pra-naro vaklavyaḥ: āpa.... ity udāttah: vyṛddham* *iti svaritah*: *ācāryagraha-ṇam teshām kīrtiyartham*: *pakṣaparigraharjñānasadrṣṭaḥ parikalpanā*: *ne 'dam sūtram iṣṭam.*

iti tribhāshyaratne prātiśākhyarivarane
aṣṭādaśo⁶ 'dhyāyoh.

¹ W. -gasar-. ² G. M. -van-. ³ W. adhyepathamānam. ⁴ G. M. -vidha. ⁵ W. B. om. ⁶ W. 'dhyayamānā; B. -mānā. ⁷ W. B. om. ⁸ W. B. om. ⁹ G. M. O. dvitīyaprayane shashtho.

lowing circumflex.¹ He adds examples of a *vikrama* syllable in each of the four defined positions: namely *yò 'sya svò 'gnís tám ápi* (v.7.9¹: G. M. O. omit the last two words), *vódhavé* (i.6.2¹ et al.), *dhánvanā g'ñ* (iv.6.6¹), and *tásya kvā suvargó lokáh* (ii.6.5⁵: O. omits the last word, G. M. the last two). In the third example, the circumflex by which the *vikrama* syllable is preceded is the enclitic; this shows us (what we should have inferred without it) that, as regards the application of the present precept, no distinction is made between the independent and the enclitic circumflex. As an example of the use of the term, and showing the necessity of its definition here, is quoted rule xvii.6, where we are told that Pāushkarasādi asserts the utterance of *svāra* ('circumflex') and *vikrama* with a firmer effort. The word occurs elsewhere only at xxiii.20 and xxiv.5, where we have no assurance that it signifies the same thing as here. It is found, among the other Prātiśākhya, in that to the Rig-Veda only, and has there no such meaning.

The *vikrama* is marked by the usual sign of low tone, the horizontal stroke beneath. The following rule, as we shall see, extends its definition so as to include nearly all the syllables so marked.

The construction of *sa* in the rule, as agreeing in gender with *vikramah*, though referring to *nīcam* (*aksharam*), was alluded to above, under v.2.

प्रचयपूर्वश्च कौण्डिन्यस्य ॥ २ ॥

2. As also, according to Kāundinya, when a *pracaya* precedes.

The *pracaya* (see xxi.10,11) is the series of unaccented syllables following a circumflex (enclitic or independent) in connected discourse, and uttered, save the one next preceding another following circumflex or an acute, in the tone of acute. This last one of the

1. 'yutā¹ " svaritayor¹ madhya³ udāttayor vā⁴ 'nyatarato re⁵ 'ti svaritodāttayor re⁶ 'ty arthah: " udāttasvaritayor vā⁷ madhye nīcam yad aksharam sa vikramo⁸ bhavati. svaritayor⁹ madhye yathā: yo. ¹⁰udāttayor yathā¹⁰: vódhave. svaritodāttayor yathā: dhānv-.... udāttasvaritayor yathā: tasya-.... vikramasainjñāyāḥ prayojanam: svāravikramayor dr̥ḍha-prayatnatara (xvii.6) iti.

(¹) O. yad dvayor. (²) B. G. M. ins. sthale. (³) G. M. ins. vā. (⁴) G. M. om. (⁵) G. M. om. vā. (⁶) G. M. ins. iti vā. (⁷) O. om.; G. M. put after madhye. (⁸) G. M. -masam-jñā. (⁹) O. tayor. (¹⁰) O. om.

2. cakāro¹ vikrama iti jñāpayati: ²kāundinyasya mata udātta-parah svaritaparo vā pracayapūrvaḥ ca vikramo vijñeyah. udāt-taparo yathā: par-y-....² svaritaparo yathā: upar-.... pra-cayah pārvo yasmad³ asāu pracayapūrvaḥ.³

¹ G. M. O. caṣabdo. (²) W. om. (³) G. M. sa tathoktah.

series, which retains its grave tone, is here declared to be, on Kāundinya's authority, likewise entitled to the appellation *vikrama*. This makes the term apply to all syllables in the *samhitā* that are marked by the horizontal stroke below, excepting those which, after a pause, precede the first accented syllable. The commentator cites two examples: *pāry avadatām yā' yajñe diyāte* (i.7.2²: lost in W.; only O. has the last two words) and *upārishtāllakshma yā'jyā'* (ii.6.2³⁻⁴ et al.), in the first of which the *pracaya* is followed by an acute, in the second by a circumflex.

It is to be observed that the *vikrama* appears, so far as this treatise is concerned, to be a mere name; no peculiarity of tone is claimed to belong to it: the other treatises offer nothing analogous.

As nothing is said of the non-approval of the rule, we may regard it as accepted in the school represented by the commentator.

द्वियम' एके द्वियमपरे ता अणुमात्राः ॥३॥

3. According to some, in a circumflex syllable that is followed by a circumflex, quarter-moras are so.

I have rendered this rule according to my own persuasion of its true meaning, and not at all in conformity with the interpretation of the commentator, who says "*yama* [W. alone says *dviyama*] is a synonym of *svarita*; where there are two such *yamas*, without intervention of anything, that is a *dviyama*; what is followed by such a *dviyama*, that is *dviyamapara*: in the former, and also in the latter, where there is a third *yama* [so in G. M., which is the best reading: the others perhaps mean *triyama*], whatever circumflexed materials there are, all those are depressed at the end to the extent of a quarter-mora: so some think. An example of a *dviyama* is *tē 'nyō 'nyāsmāi* (ii.2.11⁵: but B. G. M. have instead *tē 'nyō 'nyām*, vi.1.5¹); of a *dviyamapara*, *sō 'pō 'bhy āmriyata* (vi.1.1⁷: 4.2³). Whence do we derive the implication 'at the end?' from the precept 'and likewise, at the end of a word are *kampas*, quarter-moras depressed at the end.' And the implication of

3. *yamaśabdah¹ svaritaparyāyah: dvāu yamāu yatra deṣe nāirantaryeṇa² vartete sa dviyamah: tasmīn: dviyamah paro yasmād asāu dviyamaparah: tasmīnṣ ca dviyamē³ sati yāh⁴ svaritaprakṛtayas tāh sarvā antato 'numātrā⁵ nihatā⁶ bhavanti 'ty eke manyante. dviyamo yathā: te-----: 'dviyamaparo yathā': so----- antata⁸ iti katham pratīyate: padānte ca⁹ tathā¹⁰ kampā antata nihatānukā¹¹ iti vacanād iti brūmah: nihatāni¹² tu svaritayor madhye yatra nīcam (xix.1) ity¹³ etatsāmnidhyāl labhyate. śikshā cāi 'vañ vakshyati¹⁴:*

nityo 'bhinihataṣ¹⁵ cāi 'va kshāiprah praślishta eva ca:

ete svārāh¹⁶ prakampante yatro 'ccasvaritodayā¹⁷ iti¹⁸:

śeṣhasyo 'dāttatā¹⁹ vā syāt svārātā¹⁹ vā vyavasthaye 'ti:

depression comes by vicinage from rule 1, above, where a syllable of low tone between two that are circumflexed is spoken of. This seems to me entirely inadmissible. In *yama* as a synonym of *svārīta*, and meaning 'circumflex,' I cannot in the least believe; and the designation of a case of three successive circumflexes as *dviyamapara* would be excessively awkward, even without the omission of the *ca*, 'and,' which would be needed to connect it, in that signification, with *dviyama*. On the other hand, *dviyama*, 'of double pitch,' is an entirely natural and acceptable synonym for *svārīta*, 'circumflex,' the essential characteristic of which is that it combines the high and the low tone within the limits of the same syllable; and "a circumflex followed by a circumflex" includes every possible case. The limitation "at the end" is properly enough left to be understood from the nature of the case; but that the predicate "depressed," the most important part of the precept, should remain to be inferred by vicinage only, and from the subject, not the predicate, of the two preceding rules, is not to be tolerated. And I have no doubt that the *tāh* in the rule is the predicate, and represents *vikrama*, its gender and number being adapted to those of *anumātrāh* by the grammatical figure *anyonyānvaya*, to which the commentator (see under ii. 7, v. 2) has several times appealed in other like cases. There remains, as the only difficulty, the plural number of both words: we should certainly expect rather *sā 'numātrā*; but even if we have to let this pass unexplained, it is vastly more easy to get along with than the difficulties which beset the other interpretation. One hardly dares presume to suggest that the present reading is the result of an alteration, made after the meaning given in the comment was ascribed to the rule.

The commentator goes on to quote a verse from the Çikshā, to the effect that the four kinds of independent circumflex (see xx. 1, 2, 4, 5) suffer *kampa* when they precede either an acute or a circumflex. This verse is (save that it gives the Taittiriya instead of the Rik names to the accents) the same with that which is interpolated in the Rik Pr., at the end of the third chapter (iii. 19). He adds further, in another half-verse, doubtless from the same authority, that "of the remainder, there may either be the quality of acute or of circumflex, respectively;" and explains this "respectively" as

vyavasthāgabdenā 'nena²⁰ dvividhaḥ kampa uktah: samhitāyām svaritakampa²¹ itaravedabhāga²² udāttakampa²³ iti ye²⁴ kampāḥ prasiddhās²⁵ teshv²⁶ etal lakṣhaṇam na tu kampavidhāyakam: anyathā yo. . . . ityādāu kampāḥ prasajyeta.

ne 'dam sūtram iṣṭam.

¹ W. *dviy-*. ² W. *noran-*; O. *norantatory-*. ³ G. M. *trītiyayame*. ⁴ W. *yam*; M. *vā*. ⁵ O. *-tra*. ⁶ W. *niyatā*; B. *abhihuti*; G. M. *'bhīhita*. ⁽⁷⁾ O. om. ⁸ O. *anta*. ⁹ O. *ka*. ¹⁰ W. B. *yathā*. ¹¹ O. *hi hat-*. ¹² G. *nihit-*; O. *-tatvam*. ¹³ B. om. ¹⁴ O. *-te*. ¹⁵ B. *-hitāḥ*. ¹⁶ G. M. *svār-*. ¹⁷ W. *trav-*; M. *ccāccasv-*; O. *cāsyasv-*; G. M. *-ydd*; O. *-ye*. ¹⁸ O. om. ¹⁹ B. *-tor*; G. M. *svārīto*. ²⁰ W. *ite*; O. om. *anena*. ²¹ W. *-taḥ k-*; B. *-ta uktah k-*. ²² G. M. *-re ve-*. ²³ W. *-itah k-*. ²⁴ W. B. O. om. ²⁵ G. M. om. ²⁶ B. O. ins. *eva*.

implying that there are two kinds of *kampa*: in the Sanhitā, that before a circumflex; in other parts of the Veda, that before an acute; and concludes the exposition with pointing out (if I understand him) that this is a definition applying to those cases of *kampa* which are otherwise established; but that it is not a precept requiring *kampa*, since this would otherwise have to appear in such passages as *yò 'pā'm pūshpam veda* (only G. M. have *veda*: the passage is not to be found in the Sanhitā, and possibly is intended to be quoted from one of those "other parts of the Veda," referred to above). Finally, he remarks that the rule is unapproved.

The term *kampa* is not found anywhere in the text of our Prātiçākhyā, or of that of the Rik-Veda, although the commentary to the latter (under iii.3,4), like our own, employs it to signify the peculiar modification undergone by the circumflex, when immediately followed by a high tone. The Atharva-Prātiçākhyā (iii.65) gives to the same modification the kindred name of *vikampita*. It is signified, in the Rik and Atharvan texts (as is fully explained and illustrated in the note to Ath. Pr. iii.65), by appending to the vowel of the circumflex syllable a figure, either 1 or 3, and applying to the figure the signs of both circumflex and grave accentuation. The theory of this mode of designation is obscure, and no account of it is given in any Prātiçākhyā, nor, so far as I am aware, in any other Hindu authority that has yet come to light. We should imagine the figure to be a mere *point d'appui* for an added sign of grave tone, but that there appears in a part of the Vedic texts an accompanying prolongation of the *vikampita* vowel (if the vowel be short), of which the figure, therefore, appears to be the sign: of this prolongation the Prātiçākhyās give no hint.

This accent wears a quite peculiar aspect in the Tāittirīya text, as compared with those to which reference has been made. In the first place, being limited to the case of a circumflex before a circumflex, it is relatively of rare occurrence, there being fewer examples of it in the whole Tāittirīya-Sanhitā than in the first book alone of the Atharvan (it occurs in the former, if I have overlooked nothing, only at ii.1.6⁵; 2.11⁵; v.4.3³; vi.1.1⁷, 5¹, 11^{2,5}; 2.2^{1,2}; 3.2⁵, 4²; 4.2³, 9², 10¹; 6.8¹: and in the ending to v.2.1). Secondly, it is always intimated by an appended figure 1, with simply the mark of *anudatta* tone, or of *vikrama*, written beneath, while the circumflex vowel retains the mark of circumflex accent*—and this is clearly the method most easily defensible on theoretic grounds:

* That is to say, this is uniformly the case in my manuscript, which, for example, writes the commentator's quoted instances as follows:

ते॒ न्या॒न्यस्मै॒

सो॒ पा॒ भ्य॒म्रिय॒त॒

and the MSS. of the comment all add the figure 1, although, as everywhere else, they omit the accent signs. In the two cases that occur in the part of the Calcutta edition thus far printed, it seems to be by mere unintelligent blundering that the above method is departed from, a 3 being added in the one (ii.1.6⁵), without any sign of *vikrama* beneath it, and no designation being attempted in the other (ii.2.11⁵).

the figure represents the quantity that is added to the syllable to make room for the *vikrama* tone at the end, and it gets, therefore, the *vikrama* sign. Thirdly, in the only two passages (vi.3.4²; 6. 8¹) in which the vowel of the circumflexed syllable is short, it is made long.

What the commentator means by declaring the rule of no force, it is not easy to say. It can hardly be that his school acknowledged no *kampa* at all; and we should have expected him rather to interpret into his text the usage which he and his fellow-*gākhināḥ* accepted as proper—as he has done in so many other cases. There appears to be no discordance between the teachings of the Prātiśākhya in this chapter and the practice in the known Tāittiriya text (but see the note on the next rule); the former, to be sure, do not fully explain the latter; but this is the case also with the other Vedas.

The denial of *kampa* in a circumflex syllable before an acute constitutes the most important and conspicuous peculiarity in the Tāittiriya system of accentuation as compared with that of the Rik and Atharvan, and also puts the former at a disadvantage in respect to clearness. Its effect is to deprive us of any constant means of distinguishing whether the syllable following a circumflex is an acute, or a grave with *pracaya* tone (xxi.10); and whether that distinction shall be shown at all depends upon mere accident. For example, *sò 'smāt* and *sò 'smāt* would be accented before a pause precisely alike; and so with any number of acutes or graves following a circumflex before a pause: e. g. *sò 'smād abhavat* and *sò 'smād yó vā'i tát.** And even if, instead of a pause, other syllables follow, there must be at least two grave syllables in succession to bring out the true condition of things: we see that the syllable after the circumflex is acute in *hy èshā prthi-vyā'h*, but not in *hy ètād devā'h*, and the *saṁhitā* does not tell us whether in *sò 'smād etarhi* the *asmāt* is accented or toneless.† And so often does this ambiguity arise, that in the first chapter of the third book there are not less than twenty cases of *pracayas*, all whose syllables except the last admit of being understood as true acutes.‡ Other possible cases of ambiguity, of less frequency and importance, I pass without notice.

This same peculiarity belongs also to the existing Tāittiriya-Brāhmaṇa and Āranyaka, so that the commentator's allusion to "other parts of the Veda" as differing from the Saṁhitā in respect to *kampa* is of doubtful meaning.

* Thus, सौ ऽस्माद्भवत् । and सौ ऽस्माद्यो वै तत् ।

† Thus, क्षेत्रं पृथिव्याः and क्षेत्रं देवाः and सौ ऽस्मादिर्दि.

‡ Thus, सौ ऽकामयत प्रजाः may be either *sò 'kāmayata prajā'h* or

sò 'kāmāyātā prajā'h.

तस्यामेव प्रकृतौ ॥ ४ ॥

4. In that very material.

The commentator's interpretation of this rule is just as violent and unsatisfactory as is that which he gave of its predecessor, and with which he forces it into strange connection. He says, "in a *dviyama* passage there is depression to the extent of a quarter-mora only in that—namely, the former—circumflex material; but, in a passage where a *dviyama* follows, there is depression to the extent of a quarter-mora of the two former materials; but they do not all share in the quarter-mora effect: that is what the *eva* means. And Kāuhaleya says thus: 'of two, the former is *anumātrika*; of three, the two former are *anumātrika*; beyond that, the natural condition holds.'"

I think we can have no hesitation whatever as to rejecting this: if the treatise had been intending to say what is here claimed, it would have said it in a very different manner. What is really meant, may be much more doubtful; but I imagine that we are directed to find our quarter-mora of *vikrama* in the very substance of the circumflex syllable itself; that is to say, not in any protraction of it; and so, that that treatment of the case which is signified by the insertion of a figure after the circumflex vowel is rejected. This, if established, would make the doctrine of the authorities (*eke*, rule 3) here reported in fact discordant with the practice followed in the recorded text.

न पूर्वशास्त्रे न पूर्वशास्त्रे ॥ ५ ॥

5. Not in the former teaching.

A rule of very obscure import, and respecting which the commentator has only his guesses to give us. He ventures two: first, that *pūrvaçāstra* signifies the rule respecting *vikrama*, and that in it this affection of the quarter-mora finds no place; second, that *pūrvaçāstra* means the first rule of the chapter (which amounts, so far, to the same thing with the other), and that the name of

4. *dviyamasthale pūrvasyām 'eva tasyānī' svaritaprakṛtāv anumātrayā² 'pi³ nihatatvam⁴ bhavati: dviyamapure tu⁵ sthale pūrvayor eva prakṛtyor⁶ anumātrayā⁷ nihatatvam⁸ bhavati: na tu⁹ tāḥ sarvā anukāryabhāja¹⁰ ity evakāro bodhayati. evam eva kāuhaleya¹¹ āha: dvayor pūrvo¹² 'numātrikas¹³ trishu¹⁴ pūrvāv¹⁵ anumātrikāv¹⁶ uttarā¹⁷ prakṛtye 'ti.*

(1) W. *aparasyām*. ² B. *-trayo*; G. M. *anumātram a*. ³ O. om. ⁴ B. *-hī-*. ⁵ G. M. *ta*. ⁶ B. *-tyāyo*. ⁷ B. *numātrayor*; G. M. *anumātrayā*. ⁸ B. *-hī-*. ⁹ W. O. *nu*. ¹⁰ G. M. *anuk*; O. *anumātram bhajate*. ¹¹ W. *-liya*. ¹² W. *-rva*; B. O. *-vāh*. ¹³ W. B. O. *anu*; M. O. *-trakas*. ¹⁴ W. *ins. ca*. ¹⁵ O. *pūrvō vā*; G. M. *pūrvō yathā uparishṭ*. etc. (end of comment to rule 2, above). ¹⁶ W. *-kā*; M. *-trakāv*; O. *-trako 'py*. ¹⁷ W. *-ratah*.

vikrama, there given, does not apply here in the rule for *kampa*, since, by xvii.6, *vikrama* is uttered with a firmer effort of the organs, while that is not the case with *kampa*. There is nothing in either of these proposals to commend it to our acceptance. If we were ourselves to guess, we should perhaps say that the reference was to rule 4 only, which teaches *kampa* without any protraction, and that this was confessed to be a doctrine not before authoritatively taught. But we should not presume to put the conjecture forward with any confidence.

CHAPTER XX.

CONTENTS: 1-8, names of the different kinds of circumflex, independent and enclitic; 9-12, different degrees of force of their utterance.

श्चर्णकारयोर्यवकारभावे नैप्र उदात्तयोः ॥ १ ॥

1. When *i*, *î*, and *u* are converted into *y* or *v*, the accent is *kshāipra*, if they were acute.

The conversion of *i*, *î*, and *u* into *y* or *v* is by rule x.15; *î* does not fall under such a rule on account of its being always *pragraha* (iv.5). Rule x.16 prescribes the conditions under which a circumflex accent is the result of such a conversion; and the addition of *udāttayoh* to the present rule is wholly unnecessary—a case to exercise the ingenuity of the commentator in defending the treatise from the charge of *pāunaruktya*: but either it escapes his notice, or he declines to touch it, as beyond his powers. Of course, if it be necessary to explain here that the altered vowel is acute, it needs to be added that the following vowel is grave.

5. 'pārvaçāstram nāma vikramavidhiḥ': tasmīnn etad anukāryam na bhavati. evaṁ vā sūtrārthaḥ: pārvaçāstre¹ 'dhyāya-prathamāsūtre yā vikramasamjñō 'ktā² 'sā kampavidhāc atra³ na bhavati: vikramasya dṛḍhaprayatnatvāt⁴ kampasya tadabhāvād iti.⁵

iti tribhāshyaratne prātiçākhyavivarane
ekonaviṁṣo⁶ 'dhyāyaḥ.

(1) W. -strānām api kram-; B. -stre 'pi yo vikr-; O. -dhīva. ² O. -rvasūtre. (3) W. -dhāu yatra; G. M. sā 'tra pracayavidhāu; O. sā kampavidhiyakatvan. ⁴ G. M. -natara syāt. ⁵ G. M. add dvāv arthau. ⁶ G. M. O. dvitryupraçne saptamo.

1. udāttayor ivarṇokārayor yathopadeçam¹ yavukārabhāve sati yaḥ svarito vihitāḥ sa kshāipra iti samjñāyate². yathā³: vy-----: kṛdhī----- udāttayor⁴ iti kim: vas-----: an v-----.

¹ W. -çāir; O. -çe. ² G. M. jñā jāyate. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ W. -ta.

The examples are *vy èvā'i 'nena* (v.3.11³) and *krāhi' sv āsmā'n* (iv.7.15⁷); counter-examples, where the altered vowel was not acute, are *vāsvy asi* (i.2.5¹ et al.) and *ānv enam mātā'*, which is not, I believe, to be found in the *Sanhitā*; the nearest thing to it is *ānv enam vīprāh* (iv.6.8³); *ānu tvā mātā'* occurs several times (i.3.10¹ et al.).

All the *Prātiçākhyas* agree in calling this particular kind of circumflex by the name *kshāipra* (see note to *Ath. Pr.* iii.58).

सयकारवकारं वन्नरं यत्र स्वर्यते स्थिते पदे ञ्नु-
दात्तपूर्वे ञ्पूर्वे वा नित्य इत्येव जानीयात् ॥२॥

2. But where a syllable containing a *y* or *v* is circumflexed in a fixed word, being preceded by a grave syllable, or not preceded by anything, that is to be known as *nitya*.

This definition of the original circumflex accent, which belongs to the word in which it occurs, and does not merely arise as a consequence of the combination of words into phrases (although ultimately of the same nature with the *kshāipra*, just described), is a long and awkward one, but fairly attains its purpose: only we do not see why the reading is not *anudāttapūrcam apūrcam vā*, qualifying *aksharam* formally, as it does logically. A syllable that has the circumflex in *pada*-text (to which *sthite pade* is explained as equivalent), otherwise than enclitically after an acute, is an original (*nitya*, 'constant, invariable') circumflex. The other *Prātiçākhyas* (see note to *Ath. Pr.* iii.57) call it *jātya*, 'natural.'

The commentator defines *aksharam*, 'syllable,' in the rule as meaning *svarah*, 'vowel;' and, in fact, the use of *aksharam* here is somewhat at variance with the general custom of the treatise, which elsewhere talks of the vowel, not the syllable, as having tone (compare i.43, xiv.29). He inserts *sarvatra*, 'everywhere,' in his paraphrase, and then explains it, as if it were a part of the rule, to signify that the accent holds in *sanhitā*, *pada*, and *jatā* text. His examples are *vāyaryām* (i.8.7¹ et al.), *kanyē 'va tunnā'* (iii.1.11²: O. omits *tunnā*), *tāto bilvāh* (ii.1.8²), *nyāñcam cinuyā't* (v.5.3²: W. B. add, after a pause, as if a new example, *anyāñcam* [B.

2. *sayakāram vā savakāram vā 'ksharam' svāra ity arthaḥ: sthite pade padakāla ity arthaḥ: yatra sthale svaryate: anudāttapūrve 'pūrve' vā pūrvābhāve 'sati': nitya eve 'ti sarvatra jānīyāt: sarvatre 'ti' sanhitāpadajātāsv ity arthaḥ. yathā: vāy-----: kanye-----: tato-----: nyāñ-----: 'kva-----: kvā-----: iti jātyām. tuçabdo nityādāv uccodayaviṣaye' no 'dāttasvaritapara (xiv.31) iti nishedham nivārayati. nanu' nityaḥ ka-tham etannishedhaviṣayaḥ¹⁰: udāttāt paro 'nudātta¹¹ (xiv.29) itilakshanāsambhavāt¹². atro 'cyate: varṇavibhāgavelāyām¹³ udāttapūrvatvam¹⁴ asti: samāhārah svarita (i.40) ity ucca-*

reads -cām], but no such word is to be found in the Sanhitā, and it is probably only a blundering repetition of *nyañcam*), and *kvā jāgati ca* (vii.1.4³); and, from the *jatā*-text, *kvā 'syā'sya kvā 1 kvā'sya* (v.7.4²: B. has lost a part; it involves a case of *kampa*, with resulting prolongation, and use of the sign 1: see xix.3). Counter-examples are given in O. only: namely, of a circumflex not found in *padā*-text, *vy evā'i 'nena* (v.3.11³: the MS. has *veryāi*), *drvānnah sarpāh* (iv.1.9²; p. *drū-annah*); of one which has an acute before it, *mātyāñ āvivēga* (v.7.9¹) and *sārvāñ agnēn* (v.6.1²). We have also one of the common attempts to give a profound significance to the word *tu*, 'but,' in the rule; and, as usual, it is abortive, involving difficulties which the commentator only pretends to get rid of. He says the *tu* signifies that, so far as the *nitya* circumflex etc. (i. e. and the other varieties of the independent circumflex) are concerned, the exception laid down in rule xiv.31—namely, that the circumflex character is not retained before a following acute or circumflex—has no force. But it is objected, with entire reason, that rule xiv.31 has nothing to do with the *nitya* at all, but only with the enclitic accent prescribed in rule xiv.29. His reply is, that in the condition of complete separation of sounds, there is, after all, a grave element preceded by an acute, as required in rule xiv.29, the combination of the two, by i.40, giving the circumflex character. Whether this implies his recognition of the fact that the semivowel in every *nitya* syllable really represents an acute vowel, pronounced as such in an earlier stage of the language—*kvā* being equivalent to *kūa*, and *kanyā* to *kanīa*—admits of question. He expounds *anudāttapūrve* as a descriptive instead of a possessive compound, and *apūrve* as a substantive of the same character, as if the construction were 'there being a preceding grave, or there being no preceding accent;' it is doubtless better to supply in idea *tasmīn akshare*, and to render 'when that syllable is' etc. The remaining bit of exposition is much corrupted in its readings, and the drift of it is not clear to me. O. brings it in very differently from the rest, and makes it involve an additional example, *yājyā'i 'vā'i 'nam* (ii.3.5³; p. *yājyā : ā' : evā : enam*).

*pūrvatvāt*¹⁵ *svaritasye 'ti nishedhaviśyateam. anudāttac cā 'sau pūrvac cā 'nudāttapūrvah:* ¹⁶ *tasmīn:* ¹⁷ *pūrcābhāro 'pūrvah: tasmīn*¹⁷. ¹⁸ *śūnye tu sarvatrapūrvatvāt*¹⁸ *pūrvatvaviśeshanadvayasyā*¹⁹ *'nyathā*²⁰ *vāiyarthiyāt*²¹: *tasmāt tatra*²² *nityasvaritatvam*²³ *eva na*²⁴ *samjñāntaram iti vijñeyam.*

¹ W. B. om.; G. M. add *yatra svaryate*. ² O. ins. *vā*. ³ B. om. ⁴ G. M. ins. *vā*. ⁵ G. om. ⁶ O. *pī*. ⁷ W. B. ins.: *anyañcam*. ⁸ G. M. O. -*darkav*; O. -*shayo*. ⁹ G. M. *na tu*. ¹⁰ O. *nish*. ¹¹ G. M. ins. *svaritam*. ¹² O. *laksh*. ¹³ all MSS. have the lingual *l*. ¹⁴ W. -*rvam*. ¹⁵ W. B. *ucyate pū*. ¹⁶ W. ins. *tasmāt*. ¹⁷ G. M. om. ¹⁸ O. *na śūnye ity arthah : sthite pada iti kim : vy----- : drv----- : anudāttapūrvā iti kim : mart----- : sar----- kicid evam ūcuh : yājyā----- ity ādi : prātihañniṣa karoty evakārāh : padīsamucāye anudāttipūrvatvāt; G. M. śūnyapūrvasapūrvatvāt; W. . . . sarvatrā; B. bhīnnye etc. ¹⁹ W. *pūrvaviśeshadv*; B. *pūrvatvaviśeshadv*; O. *pūrcavi*. ²⁰ O. *ntathā*. ²¹ W. -*thyam*; G. M. -*thyam syāt*. ²² W. *am*; B. *tat*; O. *tra*. ²³ W. O. *nityatvam*; B. *svaritatvam nityatvam*. ²⁴ B. *ca*.*

अपि चेन्नानापदस्यमुदात्तमथ चेत्साशङ्कितेन स्वर्यते
स प्रातिहृतः ॥ ३ ॥

3. If, moreover, there is an acute standing in another word, then, if there be a circumflex resulting from a rule of combination, it is *prātihata*.

The phraseology of this rule is very peculiar indeed, and its peculiarity hard to account for. The Rik and Atharva Prātiçākhyas distinguish only two kinds of enclitic circumflex: the *pādu-vṛtta*, in which a hiatus intervenes between the acute and its successor, and the *tāirovyañjana*, in which the two are separated by consonants. According to the explanation, now, of our commentator, the present treatise sets off from the latter, as a separate class, a circumflexed syllable at the beginning of a word, following an acute at the end of the preceding word. He gives us four examples (of which, however, W. B. omit the first two, and O. the last two): *mā' te asyā'm* (i.6.12^b), *yās tvā hrāū' kīrīnā* (i.4.46¹: only O. has *kīrīnā*), *ishē tvā* (i.1.1 et al.), and *tām te duçcākshāh* (iii.2.10²): the second word in each has the *prātihata* circumflex. As counter-examples, we have *yān nyāñcam* (v.5.3²: W. gives instead *yān nāvam* [ii.3.10¹ et al.], but it does not illustrate the point arrived at, and so is doubtless a corruption of the other), to show that the following circumflex must be a result of a rule of combination, and *tāyā devātayā* (iv.2.9² et al.: O. substitutes *tasmād varupam*, which is corrupt; I have overlooked it in searching out the references, and do not know how, if it in fact represents a real citation, it ought to be amended), to show that the acute must stand in another word.

In working out this meaning for the rule, the commentator declares *api*, 'moreover,' to have the office merely of bringing down from the preceding rule the quality of going before (*pārvatra*); *atha*, 'then,' according to him, either cuts off the continued implication of *nitya* (that is to say, means nothing at all), or else gives the value of a heading to "the being preceded by an acute standing in another word"—which is wholly to be rejected; in the first place because unnecessary (*tasmāt* in the next rule having just that purpose), and in the second place because the word could at any rate make a heading only of what followed it in the rule, not of what went before.

3. *apigubdah 'pārvatecamātrākārshukah²: athagabdo nityasam-jñāvayavachedakah: nānāpadasthodāttapārvatrādhikārako³ vā: nānāpadastham aksharam udāttapārvan¹ cet parato nīcam sāmhitena vidhīnā svaryate cet sa prātihato 'tra⁴ veditavyah. 'yathā: mā..... yas.....⁵ 'ishe.....: tam.....⁶ sāmhitene 'ti kim: 'yan..... nānāpadastham iti kim: tayā.....'*

(¹) W. *pūrvas* simply. (²) G. M. om. -*tra*; O. om. -*ātr*. (³) O. -*kāro*. (⁴) G. M. om. (⁵) W. B. om.; G. M. om. *yathā*. (⁶) O. om. (⁷) O. *tasmādivarupam*.

If this be indeed the original intent of the rule, it would seem that, to the apprehension of the Hindu phonetists, there was difference enough between the enclitic circumflex which *te* in *tām te* assumes in *samhitā*, having been grave in *pada*-text, and that which the *shāl* of *duççākshāl* has in *samhitā* as well as in *pada*, to furnish ground for a difference of classification and nomenclature.* But there are various obstacles in the way of our accepting the interpretation as satisfactory. In the first place, why ought not the same distinction to apply where the acute and circumflex are separated by a hiatus, as well as by consonants? or why, when a circumflex after an acute in the same word is called *tāirovyañjana*, alike whether a hiatus or consonants intervene, should a circumflex after an acute in another word have a different name according as it is preceded by a consonant or not? In the second place, why should the rule be thrust in here, wholly out of connection with the others respecting the enclitic circumflex, and with such a frightful sacrifice of that economy of expression which the *sātrakāra* proverbially rates so highly? for, following rule 7, a simple *nānāpadasthāt tu prātihatah* would have done the whole business, and much more unequivocally. Not one of the other treatises mixes together thus the enclitic and independent *svaritas*, when they come to be defined and named. Nor, again, does any other authority found a separate species of accent upon the basis here laid down. I have been inclined, therefore, to conjecture that the rule ought to be rendered 'when there is besides (*api*) a [preceding] acute in another word, then, provided a circumflex arises as the result of a rule of combination, it is *prātihata*:' understanding an independent *svarita* (except a *nitya*) to be intended, whenever that *svarita* was preceded by an acute, and so held a position which would make it an enclitic *svarita* as well; and the reason for thus calling attention to it being that, as written, it is not distinguished from a mere enclitic accent.† But there are too many difficulties connected with this interpretation also to allow of its being accepted as at all satisfactory.

The Vājasaneyi-Prātiçākhyā (i.118) gives a special name, *tāirovirāma*, to the enclitic circumflex which falls in the *pada*-text upon the first syllable of the second member of a compound, under

* And this difference, it should be noted, applies in the same manner where division is made between the two parts of a compound word; for the extant Taittiriya *pada*-text, in marked contrast with those of the other Vedas, regards the *avagraha* pause as suspending, like the *avasana*, all accentual influence, and writes *çukrā-vatī*, for example, in the same fashion as it writes *çukram* : *asti*—that is to say,

शुक्रवती । instead of शुक्रवती, as the rest would read.

† For example, *ghṛtā'ir vy udyate* (iii.1.114) and *ānaçānā'h svishṭim* (iii.1.92) are written precisely as if they were *ghṛtā'ir vy udyate* and *ānaçānā'h svishṭim*; namely,

घृतेर्व्युद्यते and आनशानाः स्विष्टिम्: this is an ambiguity which

is common to all the Vedic texts.

the influence of an acute on the final of the first member, and which is therefore 'separated by an intervening pause' from the tone which calls it forth. Thus, the *va* of *gukrá-vatī* (as written the second time in the first marginal note on p. 369) has a *tāirovirāma svarita*, being marked by the ordinary *svārīta*-sign. Now the *vatī*, as well as the *gukra*, in this word, is to the apprehension of the present treatise (i.48) a *pada*; and hence its syllable *va* appears to fulfil all the conditions laid down in rule 2, just above, as determining a *jātya*: it is circumflexed in the *pada*-text; it is *apārva*, or preceded by no other accent in the same *pada*; and it is *savakāra*, or contains a *v*. Here, now, as it appears to me, we have the best explanation of the value, and at the same time of the position, and also, at least in part, of the phraseology, of the rule under discussion. This accent needs definition, though enclitic, immediately after the *nitya*, lest it be confounded with the latter: "even if all the conditions of the previous rule are fulfilled, if there is likewise an acute [preceding the syllable] in another word, and the accent is one which is produced by a rule of combination, this accent is not *nitya*, but *prātihata*."

The most conspicuous difficulty in the way of accepting this interpretation is the fact, already referred to, that in the extant *pada*-text of the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā there is no such circumflex as is here assumed; the *va* of *gukrá-vatī*, and all other syllables in like position, being grave, and marked as such. But the difficulty is more apparent than real, since we have no right to assume that this *pada*-text is precisely the same with that held by the school from which the Prātiśākhya, or this particular rule, emanated: they may have accented their *īngyas*, or separable words, after the same fashion which prevails in the *pada*-texts of the other Vedas. Of more account is the awkwardness of the whole expression, and especially the use of *nānāpadustham* instead of *avagrahastham*, which would be the proper term to use in this treatise (compare i.49) in the sense here indicated. But, if not completely acceptable, the interpretation has more for it and less against it, in my opinion, than either of those given above.

Professor Roth, in his early digest of the teachings of the Prātiśākhyas respecting accent (introduction to the Nirukta, p. lvii. etc.), identified the *prātihata* accent with the *tāirovirāma*, but only in consequence of a misunderstanding of the character of the latter, which he supposed (ibid., p. lxx.) to designate an enclitic circumflex separated by consonants from its occasioning acute in a preceding word, thus giving it the same meaning which is attributed by our commentator to the *prātihata* in the present rule. And Weber (under Vāj. Pr. i.118), while defining the *tāirovirāma* correctly, repeats the same identification; I do not know whether as taking it incautiously from Roth, or as having arrived by conjecture at an independent interpretation of our present rule. He does not allude to any difficulties as connected with the latter, nor state his identification to rest upon a different basis from that of Roth.

तस्मादकारलोपे अभिनिहतः ॥ ४ ॥

4. After such a one, in case of the loss of an *a*, it is *abhinihata*.

The word *tasmāt* the comment explains as bringing down *nānā-padaṣṭham udāttam* from the preceding rule: 'after an acute occurring in another word.' But the specification (like that of *udāttayoh* in rule 1) is wholly unnecessary: rule xii.9 prescribes the circumflex and defines its conditions: here we need only to have given us the name by which it is to be called.

O. has an independent exposition, but of equivalent meaning.

The examples are *sō 'bravāt* (ii.1.2¹ et al.) and *tē 'bruvan* (ii.5.1³ et al.); and a counter-example, where, as the eliding diphthong is not acute, no circumflex results, is *bhrā'jo 'si devā'nām* (ii.4.3²).

All the other treatises (see note to Ath. Pr. iii.55) give to this circumflex the name *abhinihita*, of which our own term has the aspect of being an artificial variation.

उभावे प्रक्षिप्तः ॥ ५ ॥

5. Where an *ū* results, it is *praṣṭishta*.

Rule x.17 prescribes the circumflex to which the name of *praṣṭishta* is here assigned; and the examples given are to be found there also, being all the instances save one which the Sanhitā affords. They read in this place *sā'nniyam ira* (vi.2.4¹), *sā'dgātā* (vii.1.8¹), *māsā 'tīsthan* (vii.5.2²: G. M. omit *mā*), and *dīkshā 'padādhāti* (v.5.5⁴: G. M. O. omit).

The same name (or, in the Ath. Pr., *praṣṭishta*) is given by the other treatises to the circumflex which results from the fusion of two short *i*'s, the first acute and the other circumflex (see note to Ath. Pr. iii.56).

पदविवृत्यां पादवृत्तः ॥ ६ ॥

6. Where there is a hiatus between two words, it is *pādavṛtta*.

Here there is abrupt change, without notice, from the independent to the enclitic circumflex. The examples given are *tā' asmāt sṛṣṭā'h* (ii.1.2¹: B. omits *sṛṣṭā'h*), *sā idhānāh* (iv.4.4⁵), and *yā*

4. 'tasmān nānāpadaṣṭhodāttāt parabhūtānūdāttākārasya² lope sati yāh svaritaḥ so 'bhinihato veditavyaḥ'. yathā: so.....: te tasmād iti kim: bhrājo.....

(¹) O. substitutes *tasmāt sāṅhita* na svaryamānārddhe te: sadakāle asvarita ity arthah: akāralupte ya svara ādiṣyate so 'bhinihato nāma svarito bhavati'. (²) W. B. -dāttasya; G. M. parabhūtānūdāttasya akārasya.

5. ābhāve yatra svaryate sa praṣṭishto veditavyaḥ. sā'n-.....: sūd-.....: māsū-.....: 'dīkshū-.....¹

(¹) G. M. O. om.

upasādaḥ (vi.2.4¹); while, as counter-example, to show that the hiatus must be between two *padas*, not two parts of the same *pada*, we have *prāṅgam ukthām* (iv.4.2¹: this implies, of course, that the *pada*-text does not treat the word as a separable one).

The Rik Pr. (iii.9,10) calls this accent *vāivṛtta*, and there is nothing in its definition or in that of the Vāj. Prāt. (i.119) which should limit the accent to the case of a hiatus between two *padas*, or deprive the *u* of such a word as *prāṅga* of its right to rank as a *pādavṛtta*. See the note to the next rule.

उदात्तपूर्वस्तीरोव्यञ्जनः ॥ ७ ॥

7. Where an acute precedes, it is *tāirovyañjana*.

The form of this rule, again, is almost unaccountably peculiar. The term *tāirovyañjana* means 'with consonant-intervention,' and all the other treatises (see note to Ath. Pr. iii.62) define the accent in accordance with this, as being one in which the circumflex is separated by intervening consonants from the occasioning acute. Here, to be sure, such a definition would hardly answer, as there is a single word in the Sanhitā, *prāṅgam*, in which a vowel is regarded as having *tāirovyañjana*, although there is no consonant between it and the acute. But why specify *udāttapārva*, 'preceded by an acute,' in this rule, when it was just as necessary in rule 6? The commentator says that, as the implication has been made all along, its repetition here is for the purpose of signifying that the acute is now to be understood to be in the same word with the circumflex. That may satisfy him, but is not calculated to content us. If *nānūpadastham udāttam* was implied in rule 6 from above, then *padavivṛtṭyām* should have been simply *vivṛtṭyām*. Things would be made much better by putting rule 6 after rule 7: then we should be able to give *udāttapārva* in rule 7 a meaning, as recalling to mind the actual cause of these two accents; and rule 6 would stand as an exception to the other and more general statement, pointing out a class of cases in which, though depending on a preceding acute, another name was applied to the accent.

The commentator's examples are *yuñjānty asya* (vii.4.20), *vāsavy*

6. *padayor vivṛtṭih padavivṛtṭih*: *tasyām yaḥ svaryate sa pādavṛtto veditavyaḥ*.² *yathā*³: *tā*-----: *sa*-----: *ya*----- *vivṛttir vyaktir*⁴ *ity arthaḥ*. *padayor iti kim*: *pra*-----

¹ W. B. O. om. ² B. *bharati*. ³ in O. only. ⁴ B. *vyāptatirikta*.

7. *udāttapārvādhikāre sati punar atra tatkāthanād ekapada-sthodāttaviçesho*² *'vagamyate'*³: *tasmād ekapadasthodāttapārvo yaḥ svaritaḥ sa tāirovyañjano veditavyaḥ*. *yathā*⁴: *yuñj*-----: *vas*-----: *sa*-----: *tad*-----: *pra*-----: *tañ*-----

¹ G. M. *kath*; O. *tu k*. ² G. M. *-sthitavya*; O. *-sthatavya*. ³ O. *gam*. ⁴ O. *asdu*. ⁵ in O. only.

asi (i.2.5² et al.), *sá indro* 'manyata' (vii.1.5⁶: G. M. omit *sa*), *tád ágyo 'bhavat* (v.3.12¹), *prāṅgam* (iv.4.2¹), and *tām tváshtā* " 'dhat-ta' (i.5.1³: G. M. omit the last word). It is very odd—but, I presume, merely accidental—that in every one of these cases (except *prāṅgam*) the vowel which finally shows the circumflex is not of the same word with the acute, but belongs to another word which has been combined with its predecessor, and, after the combination, gets the circumflex by the general rules xiv.29,30 (for the commentator has expressly denied under rule x.12 that the initial grave *a* of *asya*, for example, receives the circumflex in virtue of its combination with the enclitic circumflex *ti* of *yunjānti*). I do not see why, in the first two cases, at any rate, the circumflex is not *prātihata*, according to the commentator's explanation of the meaning of that term; and should even incline to conjecture that these are the examples selected and current for the present rule before the erroneous interpretation of rule 3 was established.

No one of the other Prāṭiśākhya's limits *tāirovyañjana* to an enclitic circumflex following its acute in the same word (see note to Ath. Pr. iii.62); it is quite an oversight, therefore, that the St. Petersburg lexicon gives the term only this restricted meaning (perpetuating Roth's original error, referred to above, in the note to rule 3).

इति स्वारनामधेयानि ॥ ८ ॥

8. These are the names of the circumflex accents.

The commentator simply gives examples for each accent, in part new, in part the same with those furnished under the rules defining each: namely, for the *kshāipra* (omitted in G. M.), *abhy āsthāt* (iv.2.8¹) and *ādhvaryó 'veh* (vi.4.3⁴: this is a blunder, there being no *kshāipra* in the phrase; B. O. read instead *adhvaryáh* [vi.2.9⁴ et al.], which does not mend the matter); for the *nitya*, *váyavyām* (i.8.7¹ et al.) and *kvā 'sya* (v.7.4²: G. M. have *kva* simply); for the *prātihata*, *sá te lokáh* (v.7.26: G. M. omit *lokaḥ*) and *yāt tvā kruddháh* (i.5.4²: G. M. omit *kruddhaḥ*); for the *abhinihata*, *só 'bravīt* (ii.1.2¹ et al.); for the *praçliṣṭa*, *sā'dyātā* (vii.1.8¹); for the *pādavṛtta*, *tā evam* (ii.3.11⁴: W. reads, blunderingly, *tām nemām* [ii.6.11¹], and B. substitutes *sá idhánáh*, iv.4.4⁵); and for the *tāirovyañjana*, *māma ná'ma* (i.5.10¹).

क्षैप्रन्तित्ययोर्द्वतरः ॥ ९ ॥

8. *ity etāni sūpta svaritanāmadheyāny¹ ākhyātāni². yathā: 'abhy-----: adhva----- iti kshāiprah³. vāy-----: kvā----- iti nityah. sa-----: yat----- iti prātihataḥ. so----- ity abhinihataḥ. sād----- iti praçliṣṭah. ta----- iti pādavṛttah. māma----- iti tāirovyañjanah.*

¹ W. -mány; B. -yāni svaritanām. ² O. vyākḥ. ³ G. M. om.

9. In the *kshāipra* and *nitya*, the effort is firmer.

The commentator makes very short work of the remaining rules of the chapter, and we can afford to do the same, as they teach us nothing of value.

अभिनिहते च ॥ १० ॥

10. As also in the *abhinihata*.

The commentator says that *ca* in this rule is used in the sense of secondary adjunction (*anvācaya*), and so signifies that the effort of utterance in the *abhinihata* is *dr̥ḍha*, 'firm,' merely—a less degree than the *dr̥ḍhatara*, 'firmer,' or 'quite firm,' of the preceding rule. The same may be also inferred, he adds, from the fact that the *abhinihata* is made the subject of a separate rule, instead of being included in rule 9, with the other two.

प्रश्लिष्टप्रातिहृतयोर्मृदुतरः ॥ ११ ॥

11. In the *praçliṣṭa* and *prātihata*, it is gentler.

Nothing is to be inferred from its association here as to the real character of the *prātihata*. This rule and its successor were referred to under i.46, but for no intelligibly useful purpose.

तैरोव्यञ्जनपादवृत्तयोरल्पतरौ ऽल्पतरः ॥ १२ ॥

12. In the *tairovyañjana* and *pādavṛtta*, it is feebler.

9. *kshāipre nitye ca prayatno*¹ *dr̥ḍhataraḥ kāryaḥ*².

¹ W. -*tna*; B. -*tni*; O. *yatno*. ² W. B. om.

10. *anvācaye vartamānaḥ cakāro dr̥ḍhamātram bodhayati: abhinihate*¹ *ca*² *prayatno*³ *dr̥ḍhaḥ*⁴ *syāt: na tu dr̥ḍhataraḥ: iti pr̥thaksūtrārāmbhād api*⁵ *pratīyate*.

¹ B. -*hile* (as also in the rule). ² O. om. ³ G. M. insert *mṛdutarah*, and rule 12.

⁴ O. -*ḍhataram*. ⁵ W. *abhi*; B. om.

11. *praçliṣṭe prātihate ca prayatno mṛdutarah kāryaḥ*.

12. *tairovyañjane pādavṛtte* 'ca prayatno 'lpatarah syāt'. 'yady apy' alpamṛdudr̥ḍhabhāvas⁴ tatro 'ktās tathā 'pi⁵ dīpavad venupatravad iti śikshāmurodhāt⁶ komalaçiraskatvam⁷ sarvatra vijñeyam^{8,9}.

iti tribhāshyaratne prāticākhyavivarane
viṅṣo⁹ 'dhyāyāḥ.

(¹) O. *cā* 'lpataram karanam bhavati. (²) W. om. ³ G. M. O. om. ⁴ G. M. ins. tatra. ⁵ M. 'pi' 'li. ⁶ B. *kshithānurodhoktāu*. ⁷ B. *alpaçisk-*; G. M. *kṛdvalyaçirastv-*. ⁸ O. *jñeyam*; *yathā*; *yuvā kavī*. ⁹ G. M. O. *dvitīyapraçne aṣṭamo*.

Alpatura, 'feebler,' is doubtless meant to signify a still less degree of force of utterance than *mṛdatura*, 'gentler.'

To the commentator, his *Çikshā* appears to be a higher authority than the *Prātiçākhyā*, at least in this part; and he adds that, although the qualifications 'feeble, gentle, firm' are here attributed to the accents in question, yet, in accordance with what the *Çikshā* says, "like a candle, like a rush-leaf" (? unintelligible without the context), it is to be understood that there is softheadedness (?) in them all alike. And O. adds an example, *yāwā kavīḥ* (i.3.14¹).

CHAPTER XXI.

CONTENTS: 1-9, division of consonants in syllabication; 10-11, *pracaya* accent; 12-13, *yamas* or nasal counterparts; 14, *nāsikya*; 15-16, *svarabhakti*.

व्यञ्जनं स्वराङ्गम् ॥ १ ॥

1. The consonant is adjunct of a vowel.

This brief principle calls forth a long discussion. Reference is first made (except in G. M.) to rule xxiv.5, as, by its requirement of a comprehension of *āṅga*, 'adjunct' (literally 'limb, member'), creating a necessity for the present precept (and for those that are to follow). Objection is then at once taken to the principle: if, in such cases as *kūpa* and *yūpa* (and G. M. add yet other words as illustrations), it is the consonant that indicates the difference of meaning, ought not the vowel, rather, to be considered as adjunct

1. ¹ *vyañjanam svarāṅgam bhavati: çvāso nādo 'ṅgam eva ca* (xxiv.5) *iti vijñeyatvena*² *vidhānād ayaṁ ārambhaḥ. nana³ kūpo yūpa⁴ ityādāu vyañjanam eva 'rthaviçeshabodhakam⁵ iti svaro vyañjanāṅgam kiṁ na⁶ syāt. ucyate: vyañjanam kevalam avasthātum na çaknoti: kiṁ tu sāpeksham⁷: svaras tu nirapekshah⁸: sāpekshanirapekshayor nirapeksham eva viçiṣṭam ācakshate prekshāvantaḥ: viçiṣṭapratyaṅgatvam⁹ aviçiṣṭasyāi¹⁰ 'va. kiṁ ca: svaraviçiṣṭyabodhakam anyad api vidyate¹¹:*

durbalasya yathā rāshtram harate¹² balavān nrpaḥ:

durbalam vyañjanam tadvad dharate¹³ balavānt svarah.¹⁴

¹⁵ *kiṁ ca: çikshāvyaḥkhyāne*

yaḥ svayam rājate tam tu svaram āha patañjaliḥ:

upariṣṭhāyinaḥ tena vyaṅgam vyañjanam ucyate.¹⁶

svarās tu¹⁶ brāhmanā jñeyā ityādi.

udāttag ca¹⁷ 'nudāttag ca¹⁷ svaritaç ca svarās trayah¹⁸:

¹⁹hrasvo dīrghaḥ pluta iti¹⁹ kālato²⁰ niyamā²¹ acī²²

'ti²³

of the consonant? The answer given is, that a consonant is incapable of standing alone, and so is dependent, while a vowel is independent; and that, as between a dependent and an independent, the enlightened regard the independent as superior; and it belongs to the inferior to be adjunct to the superior. Moreover, there is found also another proof of the superiority of the vowel, in the verse "as a mighty monarch takes possession of the realm of a weak one, so the mighty vowel takes possession of the weak consonant." The beginning of another verse is added: "the vowels are to be known as belonging to *brahman*." But between this part of a verse and the whole verse that precedes, G. M. insert another, which is asserted to come from "the exposition of the Çikshâ," and which gives a highly imaginative derivation for *svara*, 'vowel,' and *vyañjana*, 'consonant': "Patanjali styled that a vowel which *shines by itself* [*sva-ra* from *sva-yam rā-jate*]: the consonant is so called as being imperfect [*vyañjana* from *vyāṅga*, literally 'limbless'] without [? the expression needs mending, to bring out a desirable sense] the other following it." Then all start together upon a new argument for the superiority of the vowel with yet another verse, which is actually found in the known *pāṇinīya* Çikshâ (verse 23; see Weber's Indische Studien, iv.353): "acute, grave, and circumflex, the three accents, and short, long, and protracted, these, in regard to quantity, are the necessary characteristics of the vowels;" which shows that acute tone and so on are attributes of vowels only, and of consonants in virtue of their being adjuncts of vowels.

svarāṇām eva 'dāttādayo dharmāḥ: ²⁴ *vyāñjanānām tu²⁵ tadān-*
gatayā²⁷. vyañjanam ardhamātram²⁸: svaraḥ ca⁴ mātṛakālah:
tayoḥ sandhir²⁹ adhyardhamātrah³⁰: ity evaṁ dīrghakālah pra-
saktah: tatpratishedhārtham vyañjanaṁ svarāṅgam ity uktam:
svarasamśṛṣṭasya³¹ vyañjanasya svarakāla eva kālo drutavṛttāu³²
na tu³³ svarasyāi 'va³⁴ sarvatre³⁴ 'ty arthah. ³⁵drutavṛttāv iti
kīm:³⁶ hrasvārdhakālaṁ vyañjanam (i.37) iti³⁶ vyartham
syād iti brūmah. yathā³⁷ kshīrodakasamparke³⁸ kshīrasyāi 'vo
'palabdhir no'dakasya tathā svaravyāñjanasamparke³⁹ svarasyāi⁴⁰
'vo 'palabdhir⁴¹ vācishṭyam.⁴²

¹ O. ins. *svarasyā 'ṅgam svarāṅgam*. ⁽²⁾ G. M. *svara*. ³ G. M. *na*. ⁴ G. M. *-pas*
sūpak kālah vālah bālah: phāla. ⁵ O. *-sha iti bo-*. ⁶ O. om. ⁷ W. B. *-kshā*; O.
saksheyam. ⁸ O. *-kshakah*. ⁹ G. M. *-shtam svaram prat-*; O. *-shtam prat-*. ¹⁰ G.
M. *-sya vyañjanasyāi*. ¹¹ G. M. *asti*. ^{12,13} G. M. *hareda*. ¹⁴ G. M. *-ra iti*. ⁽¹⁵⁾ in
G. M. only ¹⁶ G. M. *ca*. ¹⁷ B. om. ¹⁸ G. M. put before *svarās*. ⁽¹⁹⁾ G. M. O.
hrasvādīrghaphlutaḥ cāi 'va. ²⁰ G. M. *-lako*. ²¹ G. M. *-yatā*; O. *-yatās*. ²² W.
grayi; G. M. *api*; O. *tate*. ²³ G. M. ins. *vacanāt*. ²⁴ G. M. ins. *na tu*. ²⁵ O. *-janam*.
²⁶ W. *tu dam*; G. M. om. ²⁷ O. *tadharmatayā*. ²⁸ G. M. *-brukam*. ²⁹ O. *sam*.
³⁰ B. G. M. O. *ardham*; G. *-trika*; M. *-traka*. ³¹ W. *-rasamashti*. ³² W. *dūt*; B.
dūt; O. *dygatatiu*. ⁽³³⁾ W. *svārah sparśasyāi 'va*; O. om. ³⁴ B. *-vasye*. ⁽³⁵⁾ B. om.;
W. *dūt*; O. *drtav-*. ³⁶ G. M. om. ³⁷ G. M. om. ³⁸ G. M. *-rkāth*; O. *kshīrādake-*
sampa. ³⁹ G. M. *-rkāis*. ⁴⁰ W. *sparśasyāi*. ⁴¹ W. O. *-bdhir*; B. *-bdhāir*. ⁴² B.
vacishṭaya; G. M. *-shyam*.

Next we pass to the consideration of another reason why the principle stated in the rule needed to be laid down. The consonant (by i.37) has half a *mora* of quantity; and a vowel has [for example] a *mora*: their combination, then, would seem to have a *mora* and a half, and so would be liable to be understood as of long quantity: this untoward conclusion is avoided by the present rule, which implies that in fluent utterance the quantity of the vowel belongs in all cases to the combination of consonant and vowel, and not to the vowel alone. The specification "in fluent utterance" (literally, 'in running action') is made in order to save the significance of rule i.37.

Finally, the superiority of the vowel is once more inferred from the fact that, when it is combined with a consonant, it alone is perceptible; just as, when milk and water are mingled, the milk alone is perceived, and not the water.

तत्परस्वरम् ॥ २ ॥

2. And it belongs to the following vowel.

The commentator explains *parasvaram* as a descriptive compound (*karmadhāraya*), governed by *bhajate* understood; such an ellipsis, however, is so violent as to be hardly admissible, and the word is perhaps better taken as a possessive (*bahuvrīhi*), somewhat anomalously used. The occasion of the rule, we are told, is the doubt which is liable to arise as to when the consonant—which, owing to its having the vowel as a superior, is unable to stand by itself—is an adjunct of the preceding, and when of the following vowel. A single phrase is quoted as example, namely *imān eva lokān upadhāya* (v.5.5³: O. omits the last word).

This is the leading and introductory principle in all the Prāti-gākhyas (see note to Ath. Pr. i.55); it is greatly restricted in its application by the following rules.

अवसितं पूर्वस्य ॥ ३ ॥

3. A consonant in *pauṣā* belongs to the preceding vowel.

The commentator explains *avasitam* as meaning 'standing at the end of a *pada*,' and gives as examples *ṛk* (i.2.2² et al.: W. has instead *ṛk* [iv.7.9¹ et al.], and O. has *vāk* [i.3.9¹ et al.]), *vashat*

2. *svarapradhānatayā kevalam avasthātum asahamānain¹*
²*vyañjanam kadā pūrcasyā 'ṅam²* ³*kadā parasyā 'ṅam³* *iti*
saṁdehe⁴ nyavasthāpayati: tad aṅgabhūtam⁵ vyañjanam para-
svaram bhajate. yathā⁶: imān----- paraç cā 'sau svaraç ca
parasvaraḥ: ⁷ tani⁸ svaraparam⁹.

¹ O. om. ² G. M. om. ³ W. O. om.; G. M. *kadācid apur-* ⁴ G. M. *-ham*.
⁵ W. *aṅgab-*; O. *egasūtratam*. ⁶ B. om. ⁷ W. ins. *param svari*. ⁸ O. om. ⁹ G. M. O. om.

(ii.2.12⁴ et al.), *tat* (*passim*: given by G. M. only), and *haviḥ* (i.2.4¹ et al.)

This principle, of course, is without exception in its application. It is either stated or implied in the rules of the other treatises (see note to Ath. Pr. i.57).

संयोगादि ॥ ४ ॥

4. Also the first consonant of a group.

That is to say, as the commentator points out, of a group consisting of either two consonants or more than two. The "also" (*ca*) expressed in the next rule is declared to be implied here also, and to prescribe adjunction to the preceding vowel. The examples given are *yajñān vyādigaṭ* (vi.6.11¹) and *apsv antah* (i.4.45² et al.: but G. M. substitute *apsv agne* [iv.2.11³], and W. has the corrupt reading *apvataḥ*). If, now, we had only to take the groups of consonants as they stand in the ordinary text, and divide them, the application of this and of the remaining rules for syllabication would be simple enough; but we are required to apply also the rules for duplication etc. as found in chapter xiv., and to make the insertions required by the rules of the fifth (v.32,33) and the present chapter (12-16), which puts quite a different face upon the matter. In fact, in the examples furnished, *nt* is the only group which is divided *n-t* without farther ceremony; *gr* becomes and is divided *g-gr*; *ny*, in like manner, *n-ny*; *psv* is expanded into *p-phsv*; and *jñ* into *jñ-jñ* (writing the *yama*, as I have done elsewhere, with a straight line above the letter), where, by the action of the next rule, two consonants go to the preceding vowel. The class of groups consisting of two consonants only, and such consonants as (by xiv.23) are not liable to duplication, is the only one of which the division is settled by the present rule alone: it contains (in the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā) thirty-nine groups, such as *nt*, *tth*, *pp*, *yy*, *ny*, *ṣṣ*.

The other treatises hold this same principle, and teach it in an equivalent manner (see Ath. Pr. i.56 and note)—save that the Rik Pr. (i.5, xviii.18) allows the letter to be adjoined to either the preceding or the following syllable.

3. *avāṣitam padāntavartī¹ vyañjanam² pūrvasya svarasyā³ ūgam² syāt. yathā⁴: ōrk: vashāt: tat⁵: haviḥ.³*

¹ G. M. *antav-*. ² G. M. *pūrvasvarāṅgam*. ³ B. om. ⁴ O. om. ⁵ W. O. om.

4. *'dvayor¹ bahūnām² eā saṁyogo bhavati⁴: tasya saṁyogasyā⁵ di⁶ vyañjanam⁶ pūrvasvarasyā⁷ ūgam¹ bhavati. 'yathā⁸: yajñān-----: apsv-----: parasūtre cakārah⁸ pūrvasvarāṅga-
tvabodhaka¹¹ ity atrā⁹ pi tal¹² labhyate¹⁰.*

¹ B. om. ² G. M. om. ³ W. *vāṇānām*; G. M. *saṁyogānām*. ⁴ G. M. ins. *yadi*. ⁵ G. M. ins. *yad*. ⁶ G. M. ins. *tal*. ⁷ W. *pūrvasyā*; O. *-svara*. ⁸ O. om. ⁹ G. M. om. ¹⁰ W. O. om. ¹¹ G. M. *svaṛasyā ūg*; B. *āgam bo*. ¹² G. M. om.

The manuscripts of the commentary are more than usually defective in this neighborhood: B. has lost the present rule, with something of what precedes and follows it; O. omits the next rule, with passages before and after; W. has done the same, to a somewhat less extent; but rule 5 and the lacking part of its comment were apparently restored on the margin of W.'s original, and its copyist has put them in in the wrong place, next before rule 6.

परण चासंहितम् ॥५॥

5. And one that is not combined with the following vowel.

The comment supplies the word *svareṇa*, 'vowel,' as that with which *pareṇa* here agrees, and the whole interpretation is constructed accordingly. The meaning is, then, that (with the exceptions to be further specified in the following rules) only the final member of a group of consonants is to be adjoined to the following vowel, the rest belonging to that which precedes. By way of illustration is given merely *tat savituh* (i.5.6⁴ et al.): a most insufficient and ill-chosen example; since, in the final form of the group *ts*, only one consonant goes with the preceding syllable: thus, *t-ths*. But the commentator is obliged to spend his strength, and vainly, in endeavoring to refute an obvious objection to the rule itself, which he thus states: "well, but then the foregoing rule is meaningless, since by this one also the quality of adjunction to the preceding vowel is assured to the consonant that begins a group." And he replies, "you must not think that: for, in such cases as *maryagrīh* (iv.1.2⁵ et al.) and *arvā 'si* (i.7.8¹ et al.), in which the *y* and *v* are doubled after *r* by rule xiv.4, the former *y* or *v* is by the present rule made an adjunct of the preceding vowel, but the *r*, by rule 7 below, would become an adjunct of the following vowel: and that is impossible, since no such pronunciation ever takes place. So, as one or the other must needs be annulled, the question arises which is to be annulled; and here rule 4 comes in to settle the question."

This is not a very acceptable exposition, although it in a manner involves the true relations. Rule 4 is not meant as a safeguard against the misapplication of following precepts, but as a fundamental principle, with reference to which the present rule stands in a subordinate position; and the two must be understood as if they read "the first member of a group belongs to the preceding vowel; and, along with it, such other members as are not immediately combined with the following vowel." The former principle obtains everywhere, without exception; to the latter, rules 7-9

5. 'pareṇa' svareṇa 'sainhitam' asainyuktam 'ryanjanam' pūrvāścarāṅgam bhavati'. yathā: tat..... nana tarhi pūrvāścarāṅgam anarthakam: samyogādibhātasyā 'pi ryanjanasyā 'nenāi 'va pūrvāścarāṅgatvasiddheh. māi 'ram maṁsthāh: maryagrīh: arvā 'si: ity atra yavakārayo rephāt param ca (xiv.

establish very important and extensive classes of exceptions. If the mode of statement adopted in the treatise is open to some objection, we cannot help it; the slight inaccuracy is perhaps a consequence of the general prevalence of the doctrine of rule 4, to which its successor is added as an extension peculiar to this school.

No one of the other Prāticākhyas recognizes any such principle as this: those of the Rik (i.5, xviii.18) and Atharvan (i.58) add to the initial consonant of a group only the first of a following pair which is the result of duplication, that of the White Yajus including further (i.104,105) the other one of the pair, provided a mute follows. Its sway is, as already remarked, much more limited than would be thought at first sight, because rule 7 establishes a different usage for the immense class of groups of which a semi-vowel stands as final member, and rule 9 for the much smaller but yet important class in which a spirant stands last, or followed by a semivowel. Its general effect is to attach to the following vowel only such consonants or groups as could begin a word, leaving the rest to belong to the foregoing syllable. There seems to be need of illustrating, more fully than the commentator has deigned to do, the sphere of its application.

This is, in consonant-groups originally of two members, to

1. Groups in which a mute is doubled (or its corresponding non-aspirate prefixed to it, as will be understood hereafter without special remark) after a surd spirant (χ or φ , xiv.9,15), l (xiv.2,3), or r (xiv.4,15), the first member of the group remaining unchanged: thus, $\chi k-k$, $l k-k$, $r k-k$. These are twenty-seven in number; and to them may be added $ry-y$, $rl-l$, $rv-v$, which, by the final specification of rule 7, follow the same mode of division. In regard to these, the usage as fixed by our treatise is the same with that sanctioned by the rest, as already mentioned.

2. Groups in which a mute, or v , is doubled before a mute of another series: thus, $kk-c$, $vv-n$. Of these there are fifty-one in the Sanhitā.

3. The same, but with the addition (by xxi.12) of $yama$ before the final member: thus, $gg-ḡn$. Twenty-three groups.

4. Groups in which the initial spirant (sibilant) is doubled, and also the following mute (by xiv.9), only the last of all going to the following syllable: thus, $gg-c$. Thirteen groups.

5. The same, but with $yama$: thus, $gg-pm$ (cm). Six groups.

6. Groups in which h is doubled before a nasal, with $nāsikya$ (by xxi.14: but see the note to that rule, for a different interpretation): thus, $hh-n$. Three groups only.

Against these one hundred and twenty-six groups, growing out

4) *iti dvitve* ° *kr̥te p̥rathamayavakārayoh̐ pareṇa cā 'sañhi-*
*tam*¹⁰ *ity anena p̥rvasvarāṅgatvam*¹¹ *prāptam*¹²: *rephasya tu*¹³ *nā*
'ntasthāpuraṁ asavarṇam (xxi.7) *ity anena parasvarāṅga-*
*tvam*¹⁴ *prāptam*¹⁵: *tac cā 'cakyaṁ: tathocchrāṇḍasambhavadī:*
*anyatarabādhe*¹⁶ *kartavye sati kiṁ vā bādhyam*¹⁷ *iti saṁdehaḥ*¹⁸:

of original simple pairs, there are eighty like *k-ky* (from *ky*) and *k-khsh* (from *ksh*), in which, by rules 7 and 9, only the initial consonant of the finally resulting group goes with the preceding vowel.

When, now, the pairs here rehearsed come to be extended to triplets by the addition of a third member, if that member be a semivowel, or a spirant (sibilant) following a mute, the point of division remains just where it was before. And so also, of course, in the like extension of the groups mentioned under rule 4, above, as undergoing no change in the *varnakrama*. Thus, *ggr* (*g-gr*) is divided like *gg* (*g-g*); *ccy* (*ccc-cy*) like *cc* (*ccc-c*); *ñksh* (*ñ-khsh*) like *ñk* (*ñ-k*); and *rks* (*rk-khs*) like *rk* (*rk-k*). And the very great majority (one hundred and fifty-four) of the groups of three consonants occurring in the *Sanhitā* have a semivowel as their final member; with final sibilant there are only seven.

If, on the other hand, double groups are extended to triplets by appending a mute, either non-nasal or nasal (which happens in thirty-one cases), the point of division is, by the operation of the present rule, shifted toward the end of the group. Thus, we have

1. *ñ-k*, but *ñk-t*, two groups; and *ñ-ch*, but *ñj-jñ*, two groups;
2. *rk-k*, but *rk-k-c*, five groups; and *rj-j*, but *rj-jñ*, five groups;
3. *dd-gh*, but *ddgh-ghñ*, two groups;
4. *sst-t*, but *sstt-tñ*, two groups;

which are extensions of the groups of two members already treated of, and advance the division only one point. But further, groups ending in a sibilant, and falling under rule 9, below, and those which by rule 15 have *svārabhakti*, exhibit, when a mute is added, a still greater transference forward of the point of division, and we have

5. *k-khs* (*ks*), but *kkhst-t* (*kst*), four groups; and *k-khsh* (*ksh*), but *kkhshp-pñ* (*kshñ*), five groups; and, finally,
6. *r-sh* (*rsh*), but *rshst-t* (*rshñ*); and *r-ç*, but *rççp-pñ* (*rçñ*), three groups.

In the yet further extension to groups of four members, the same principles prevail. There are found nineteen such groups in which the additional letter, being a semivowel, has no effect upon the division; and only three in which the division is altered by an added mute. These last are: *ñkhshst-tñ* (*ñkshñ*), from *ñkhsh*; *hkhshst-tñ* (*hkshñ*), from *h-khsh* (*hksh*); and *ntshst-t* (*ntst*), from *n-ths* (*nts*).

Finally, the only two groups of five consonants occurring in the

*tatra niçcāyakatvena*¹⁹ *sañyogādī*²⁰ (xxi.4) *sūtram upatishthate*.²¹

¹ O. om., with the rule; W. puts, with the rule, at the end of the comment, having here also *pūrvasvarāṅgam bhavati*. ² B. *svār*-.; W. adds *svareṇa*. ³ G. M. *śāñh*- (as also in the rule). ⁴ W. ins. *ca*; G. M. ins. *yad*. ⁵ G. M. ins. *tat*. ⁶ B. G. M. om. ⁷ W. *-dibh-*. ⁸ G. M. om. ⁹ G. M. ins. *ca*. ¹⁰ G. M. *śāñh*-. ¹¹ O. *-tva*. ¹² O. *-tñh*. ¹³ W. B. om. ¹⁴ O. *-tva*. ¹⁵ O. *-tñh*. ¹⁶ W. B. *anyadbā*-. ¹⁷ O. *cāryam*. ¹⁸ G. M. *-ha syāt*. ¹⁹ W. *niyatatv*-.; B. *niçcayāt*-. ²⁰ G. M. *-dī* ²¹ O. *iva ti*-.

Sanhitā (*ntstr* and *tstry*) are formed by added semivowels, and so do not come under the further action of the present rule.

G. M. read *asāñhitam* instead of *asañhitam* in the rule.

अनुस्वारः स्वरभक्तिश्च ॥ ६ ॥

6. Also *anusvāra* and *svarabhakti*.

By G. M., this rule is divided into two, *anusvārah* and *svarabhaktiṣ ca* (while, on the other hand, T. reads *anusvārasvarabhaktiṣ ca*); and such a division is noted, if not accepted, in the comment, by all the manuscripts, which say "of this rule (*svarabhaktiṣ ca*) is made a setting-apart, although the prescription is identical (with that made in the other rule, *anusvārah*)." And the object of thus separating what is confessed properly to belong together is stated to be "to bring about the adjunction of *svarabhakti*, in some cases, to the following vowel," on the authority of a verse which is quoted, to the effect that "the knowing man should connect with its predecessor (?) the *bhakti* that follows a short vowel; and in *ṛtasya dhārshadam* the *bhakti* is said to do as it pleases;" but G. M. substitute for the latter half of the verse "to it should be assigned one *mora*, also before a pause and in cases of hiatus." The whole matter is exceedingly obscure, or quite unintelligible, without aid from the context of the quoted verse. The words cited as examples are not found in the Sanhitā; but they occur in the Rig-Veda (at i.143.7), and also in the Tāittirīya-Brāhmaṇa (i.2.1¹²), where the *svarabhakti* has assumed the form of a full vowel, and the word reads *dhārushadam*. It looks as if the commentators had set out to divide into two rules what they nevertheless have to acknowledge to be really only one, for the purpose of interpreting into the latter half of it, when set by itself, a license to the element in question to be treated either way; but, as they have not fully carried out their intention, I have preferred to retain the unity of the rule. It is quoted, we may further remark, under rule i.34, in all the manuscripts of the comment, apparently without any thought of a division.

6. *cakārah samuccayakathanadyārā' pārvāsvārāṅgatvākarshakah.* ²*anusvārah*³ *pārvāsvaram*⁴ *bhajate*⁵. *yathā*⁶: *añṣ-----*² *svarabhaktiṣ ca pārvāsvaram*⁷ *bhajate. yathā*⁸: *gārḥ-----* *vidhāu*⁹ *samāne*¹⁰ *sūtrasya*¹¹ *'sya prthakkaranam*¹¹: *kracit svarabhakte*¹² *parāṅgatvam*¹³ *āpādayitum*¹⁴. *tathā hi*:

¹⁵*svarād dhrasvāt*¹⁵ *parām bhaktim pracayatvam nayed*¹⁶ *budhah*:

¹⁷*ṛtasya dhārshadam ce 'ti svatantrā bhaktir ucyate*¹⁷.

¹ B. -ra; G. M. -thanād vā; O. -dvāt. ⁽²⁾ G. M. put after *anusvārah*, as its comment, giving all the rest as comment to *svarabhaktiṣ ca* as a separate rule. ³ O. om. ⁴ W. G. M. O. -svarāṅgam. ⁵ G. M. *syāt*. ⁶ G. M. O. om. ⁷ O. *svar-*. ⁸ G. M. O. om. ⁹ O. *samavi-*. ¹⁰ O. -na; G. M. add *anusvāra svarabhaktiṣ ca* 'ti. ¹¹ B. -kkār-. ¹² O. *prthagnaktāuh*. ¹³ W. B. G. M. *padā-*. ¹⁴ W. B. -ditum. ⁽¹⁵⁾ B. *svarāṅga hr-*. ¹⁶ G. M. *na ced*. ⁽¹⁷⁾ G. M. substitute *tasyā mītrā bhaved ekā cirāme ca vīrttishu*; O. adds ⁽²⁾ from comment to next rule.

Anusvāra appears here once more with the distinct value of a consonantal element following the vowel—and yet not as a full consonant, else it would fall under rule 4 above, and would require no separate treatment. The treatise is not so explicit as were to be desired in defining what is to be done with it in syllabication; but I presume we may infer that it does not count as *sanīyogādi* at all, but only as if an affection of the preceding vowel; and hence, that all the groups which it introduces are to be divided as if it were not there; that *ñce*, for example, is to be made into *ñcē-c*, *ñsm* into *ñssp-pm*, and *ñstr* into *ñsst-tr*. The example given by the commentator is *añcunā te* (i.2.6); but it is an ill-chosen one, and quite worthless, as, in any view of the nature and treatment of *anusvāra*, no question could arise as to the division *añ-cunā*.

For *svarabhakti*, see the concluding rules of this chapter (xxi. 15,16). The example given is *gārhapatyah* (i.6.7¹ et al.), which we are to read and divide *gār'-ha-pat-tyah*.

नान्तस्थापरमसवर्णम् ॥ ७ ॥

7. But not a consonant that is followed by a semivowel, if dissimilar with it.

The negative here signifies a direct reversal of the implication, as it denotes a denial of adjunction to the preceding vowel, and hence necessarily involves adjunction to the one that follows, since the consonant cannot stand by itself. "Dissimilar" is simply explained by *vilakshana*, 'of diverse characteristics, different'; it excludes from the operation of the rule the doubled semivowel itself, and would also exclude the nasal semivowel into which *n* and *m* are converted before *l*, and *m* before *y* and *v* (v.26,28), if these occurred where the rule could apply, which is not the case.

The examples quoted by the commentator are *adhyavasāya diṣaḥ* (vi.1.5¹; i. e. *ad-dhya-*), *madhumigrēna* (v.2.8⁶ et al.; i. e. *mīc-grē-*), *aṣṭonayā* (vi.1.6⁷; i. e. *aṣ-ṣṭo-*), and *ishe tvā* (i.1.1 et al.; i. e. *i-shet-tvā*): they are not to be commended as at all fully illustrating the wide range of application of the rule. This has been sufficiently set forth above, under rule 5. It helps to determine the division of one-third of the groups of two consonants, of four-fifths of those of three, of six-sevenths of those of four, and of all those of five,—or of four-sevenths of the whole number of consonant

7. *nakārah pūrvasvarāṅgatvavyāvartakah: antasthāparam vyañjanam tasyā antasthāyā asavarnam vilakshanam pūrvasvarāṅgam na bhavati: arthāt parasvarāṅgam 'tad iti vedītavyam¹: 'svata sthātum aṣakyatvāt. yathā²: adhy-----: madh-----: aṣṭ-----: ishe----- antasthā purā yasmāt tad antasthāparam. asavarnam iti kim: pari-----*

⁽¹⁾ G. M. *iti vijñeyam*; O. om. ⁽²⁾ O. puts at end of comment on preceding rule; B. *svaram vinā sthā-*. ³ O. om.

groups. By way of further examples, we may cite the two groups of five; they are *vi-yu-yātthst-tryas-sya* (ii.6.5⁴⁻⁵) and *ab-bru-vanthst-tri-kā-mā* (vi.1.6⁵).

But if the commentator's direct illustration of the rule is scanty, his counter-illustration is yet less satisfactory. To establish the necessity of the specification *asavarnam*, 'dissimilar,' he cites only *paricāyān cinvīta* (v.4.11³). Such cases as this, however, are rather covered by the fundamental rule *saṁyogādi* (xxi.4), and the application of the present one is to the groups in which a semi-vowel is doubled after *r*, and which we are to read *ry-y*, *rl-l*, *rv-v*; while, on the other hand, in the half-dozen groups in which two different semi-vowels follow a mute, both of them, along with the preceding mute, go to the succeeding vowel: thus, *vish-shvañ-ūvyārc-chat* (ii.3.2⁶), *a-vit-trya-va-tu* (i.8.22¹), and *gr-hād-dvri-hīn* (ii.3.1³).

नासिक्याः ॥ ८ ॥

8. Nor the nose-sounds.

The "nose-sounds" are here again (as under ii.49) defined as the *yamas* (xxi.12,13) only; but there is no reason why we should not regard the *nāsikya* (xxi.14) as likewise included (see the note on rule 14). The examples given are also of *yamas* only: *rukman upa dadhāti* (v.2.7¹ et al.: O. has *rukman*) and *rājñe sākarah* (v.5.11: O. substitutes *svarājñe*, v.6.21). The groups, in their full form, are read and divided *kk-km* and *jj-jñ*. An example of the *nāsikya* would be *vahh-ni-ta-mam* (i.1.4¹).

The Vāj. Pr. (i.103) reckons the *yama* to the preceding vowel; neither of the other treatises says anything about it.

स्पर्शश्चोष्मपर उष्मा चेत्यरश्च ॥ ९ ॥

9. Nor a mute that is followed by a spirant—provided the following spirant is likewise in the same case.

The first *ca* (translated 'nor' here), the commentator says, effects the connection of the rule with its predecessor; the second (rendered 'likewise') implies adjunction to the following vowel. This is not very lucid, for the two things are really equivalent to one another. And in the further exposition, the *paraḥ* appears (the readings are not consistent or clear) to be taken as signifying *parasvarāṅgam*; but this cannot well be correct. The phraseology of the rule, indeed, is very peculiar, and I do not see how it is to be accounted for unless we may conjecture that the proviso *āshma cet paraḥ ca* is a later addition, made after it had been noticed that the more general statement *sparṣaḥ co 'śhmaparaḥ*

8. *nāsikya*¹ *yamādi*² *parasvaram*³ *bhajante. yathā*⁴: *rukman*
.....: *rājñe*.....

¹ B. om. ² G. M. *yah*. ³ W. *svaparāṇi*. ⁴ G. M. O. om.

included too much. The meaning is clear: that a spirant which itself belongs to the following syllable, as being either directly combined with the vowel of the latter (xxi.5) or followed only by a semivowel before that vowel (xxi.7), carries with it a preceding mute; but if, on the other hand, it be cut off from the succeeding vowel by a mute, so as itself to belong to the antecedent syllable, a mute before it goes, of course, to the same syllable. The examples given in the comment are this time well selected, and illustrate the three cases involved: they are *shatt sam padyanṭe* (v.4. 3⁴ et al.) and *vashatt svāhā* (vii.3.12); in both of them a *t* is inserted, by rule v.33, between the *t* and *s*, and the final reading and division is *tt-ths* and *tt-thsv*. As counter-example we have *akṣnayā vyāghārayati* (v.2.7⁵ et al.), where, after all rules are satisfied, we have *kkhsht-ṭn*.

As compared with those to which rule 7 applies, the consonant groups falling under this rule are few, only forty-six in all; in thirty of which the spirant carries the mute before it to the following vowel, while in the remaining sixteen both go together to the one that precedes. The detail is as follows.

Of double groups, composed of a single mute and spirant, there are seven: for example, *k-khsh* (*ksh*).

Of groups containing three consonants, the largest class is that formed by the addition of a semivowel to the preceding: for example, *k-khshy* (*kshy*): it contains ten groups. Then there are two like *ū-khsh* (*ūksh*), three like *tt-khsh* (*tksh*), and the isolated *rk-khs* (*rks*).

Of groups of four consonants there are seven on this side, all but one (*rtt-ths=rtts*) like those of three, but with an added semivowel, which does not (xxi.7) change the division.

On the other side, where the spirant goes back to the vowel of the antecedent syllable, there are, of course, no groups of two consonants. Of groups of three we have nine, four with following non-nasal mute (as *kkhst-t=kst*), and five with following nasal (as *kkhsht-ṭn=kshn*). Of groups of four, there are two (as *tthst-tr=tstr*) formed from the foregoing with added semivowel, and three from triplets ending in a sibilant increased by a mute, either non-nasal (namely *nthst-t=ntst*) or nasal (as *ūkhshṭ-ṭn=ūkshn*). The two groups of five consonants, which also belong here, have been given above, under rule 7.

This finishes the subject of the division of consonant-groups in syllabication, the special elaborateness and intricacy of whose treat-

9. *pārvaḥ cakāro nāsikyā* (xxi.8) *ity anena samuccayavācakah: uttaras tu' parasvarāṅgatvākarṣhakah: ūśmāpara sparṇaḥ ca parasvarāṅgam bhavati: asāv' ūśmā' paraḥ cet' parasvarāṅgam' ced ity arthaḥ. shaṭ..... vashat..... ūśmaparaḥ ced iti kim: aksh-..... ūśmā paro yasmād asāv ūśmaparaḥ.*

¹ G. M. cakāro 'pi. ² B. asā. ³ MSS. -na. ⁴ W. cen na; O. cen : sha. ⁵ W. B. -gaḥ; O. -ga.

ment in this Prāticākhya has rendered necessary a fuller illustration than was thought worth while in connection with the others, in order to render apprehensible the views held regarding it by the authors of the treatise.

स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानां प्रचय उदात्तश्रुतिः ॥ १० ॥

10. Of grave syllables following a circumflex in *samhitā* there is *pracaya*, having the tone of acute.

The theory of the *pracaya* accent has been so fully set forth in the note to Ath. Pr. iii.65 that I do not need to spend many words upon it here. Its effect is, as there pointed out, to give to all the syllables which are left in the written text without any accent-mark the same high tone, whether they be *udātta*, 'acute,' or *anudātta*, 'grave.' Thus, in the example given by the commentator, *agne dudhra gahya kiñçila ranya yā te* (v.5.9¹: G. M. omit *yā te*), which is written in *pada*-text.

अग्ने । दुध्र । गह्य । किञ्शिल । वन्य । या । ते ।

the *samhitā*-reading is

अग्ने दुध्र गह्य किञ्शिल वन्य या ते;

the grave syllables *dudhra gahya kiñçila van-* being without written designation of accent, like the two acute syllables *āg-* and *yā*, and being by this rule uttered upon the same pitch with them. It makes no difference whether the circumflex which precedes the *pracaya* is enclitic (as in the illustration given) or independent; and I have pointed out above (under xix.3) that, owing to the absence of *kampa* in the Tāittirīya-Samhitā where a circumflex precedes an acute, there are very numerous cases in the text where the *samhitā* alone does not show us whether the unmarked syllables following a circumflex are *udātta* or *pracaya*—whether, for example,

क्षैतद्वाः, सो ऽस्मादितर्हि, and सो ऽकामयत प्रजाः,

are to be read *hy étād devā'h* or *hy étad devā'h*, *sō 'smā'd etārhi* or *sō 'smād etārhi*, *sō 'kā'māyātā prajā'h* or *sō 'kāmayata prajā'h*.

In the note referred to, I ventured the conjecture that the mode

10. *svaritāt pareshām anudāttānām anudāttayor anudāttasya vā samhitāyām*¹ *pracayo nāma dharino*² *bhavati. yathā: agne anudāttānām iti kim: agnaye..... samhitāyām iti kim: agne..... udāttasya śrutir iva śrutir yasyā 'śāv*³ *udātta-śrutir iti*⁴ *pracayasvarāpanirūpanam*⁵: *ato na punaruktiçāṅkā*⁶.

¹ B. ins. ca. ² G. M. *dheyo*. ³ G. M. *sa* for *śāv*. ⁴ W. om. ⁵ B. *-svarāpanam*. ⁶ W. *-ktikānvā*.

of writing the accent might not have been without influence on the theory as to its character—that is to say, that the Vedic phonetists may have come by an afterthought to declare the *pracaya* syllables of acute tone, and to pronounce them so, *because* they agreed with the acute in being without a sign of accent, while originally no such correspondence in character was perceived or intended to be signified. The conjecture will doubtless have appeared to many somewhat wild, but I think that in studying the development of the Hindu theory respecting accent it at any rate deserves to be taken fully into account and carefully considered. I am far from regarding it at present as anything more than a conjecture; yet one or two matters have come to light since it was put forth which at least add to its plausibility. Haug, namely, in a valuable and interesting communication from India to the Journal of the German Oriental Society (vol. xvii., 1863, p. 799 ff.), shows that the modern Hindu reciters of the Veda give tonic distinction only to the syllables that have the accent-signs, the *svarita* and *anudatta*, so that the *udatta* appears to be no accent at all, and is entirely confounded with the toneless *pracaya*—thus, under the influence of the mode of written designation, turning topsy-turvy, as it were, the whole system of spoken accent. And again, the peculiar system of writing the accent practised in the *Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (which uses only one sign, the horizontal stroke beneath the syllable, applied in all the other known systems to mark the *anudatta* tone), has been turned in later times into a peculiar system of accenting, and treatises have been written to explain and teach it as such (see Kielhorn and Weber, in Weber's *Indische Studien*, x. 397 ff.*).

The commentator points out that two grave syllables, or even one, following the circumflex, receive the character of *pracaya* (of course, with the restriction made in the next rule), and not more than two only, as is literally signified by the plural *anudāttānām* in the rule. To show that the conversion into *pracaya* is limited to grave syllables, he quotes *agnāye prāvate* (ii.4.1² et al.); to show that the conversion is made only in *samhitā*, he gives part of the other passage in *pada*-form, namely *agne : dudhṛa : gahya : kiñçila : vanya* (Ō. adds *yā*). We might naturally infer from this that the *pracaya* accent does not occur at all in *pada*-text; but the inference is not a necessary one (since the rule only says that syllables which are *anudatta* in their *pada*-form become *pracaya* in *samhitā*, without implying that there may not be *pracayas* in *pada*-text which remain such in *samhitā*), and would doubtless be erroneous; for at least the extant *pada*-text of the *Tāittiriya-Samhitā* agrees in this respect with those of the other Vedas, and writes *gīrvanase*, *antāriksham*, and *samāgachanta*, for example,

* It ought to be added, that Haug and Kielhorn do not look at the matter in the same light in which I have placed it, but incline to believe in the reality and antiquity of what I have called the modern and artificially substituted systems: this is no place to discuss the subject; but I feel confident that the view I have taken will prove the only one tenable.

गिर्वणसे । अंतरिद्धं । and सुमगङ्तेति संजग्रङ्ते ।
not गिर्वणसे । अंतरिद्धं ।संजग्रङ्ते.

The peculiarity of this *pada*-text in treating the *avagraha* as a full *avasāna* in regard to the designation of accent (as shown in the third of the examples), has been already spoken of above (under rule xx.3).

The terms of the rule would justify us in understanding *pracaya* to have its etymological meaning of 'accumulation, continued series,' and translating 'a series of grave syllables following a circumflex in *samhitā* is of acute tone;' and perhaps this was actually the intent of the rule-makers; but I have preferred, as the safer course, to follow the authority of the commentator in translating. To him, indeed, the term is so distinctly a technical one, implying utterance with acute tone, that he thinks it necessary to explain that *udāttagrutiḥ* is added by way of definition of the peculiar character of the *pracaya*, and therefore is not open to the reproach of *punarukti*, or superfluous repetition.

नोदात्तस्वरितपरः ॥ ११ ॥

11. But not when an acute or circumflex follows.

That is to say, when such a series or *pracaya* of grave syllables is followed by an acute or a circumflex syllable, the one next preceding the latter is not made to be of acute tone, but retains its proper grave character, and is marked with the *anudātta* sign. The commentator offers as examples *táyā devāḥ sūtām* (iv.1.2¹: W. B. omit *sutam*, without which the passage is found elsewhere; G. M. substitute *táyā devātayā*, iv.2.9² et al.) and *tād ānuḥ kvā jāgati* (vii.1.4³: G. M. omit *jagati*). These illustrations are wanting in variety, inasmuch as they show between the two independent accents only two original grave syllables, whereof one becomes an enclitic circumflex and the other remains grave; we may take the first example under the preceding rule as showing how an actual *pracaya* ends with a grave before the following original accent.

The subject to be supplied with the predicate in this rule is *svarah*, of course. There is an objectionable ambiguity in the form of the rule, inasmuch as there might most naturally seem to be *anuvṛtti* of *pracayaḥ*, and so a denial of that accent anywhere excepting before a pause.

We have seen at xix.2 that the name *vikrama* is given to the

11. *udāttaparāḥ¹ svaritaparo vā 'nudāttaḥ pracayo na bhavati. yathā²: tayā..... tad..... udāttaḥ ca³ svaritaḥ co 'dāttasvaritāu: tāu parāu yasmāt sa tatho 'ktaḥ.*

¹ O. -ro vā. ² G. M. O. om. ³ B. om.

grave following a *pracaya*, as well as to one that comes immediately after a circumflex.

स्पर्शादनुत्तमादुत्तमपरादानुपूर्व्यान्नासिकाः ॥ १२ ॥

12. After a non-nasal mute, when it is followed by a nasal, are inserted, in their order, nose-sounds.

Which nose-sounds, as we are told in the next rule, some call *yamas*; and by this familiar name, which the other Prāticākhyas apply to them directly, we shall here, as we have done elsewhere, know them. The treatise teaches us nothing more about them, except (ii.49-51) that their place of production is either the nose or the mouth and nose, and that the producing organ is as in the series of mutes; and farther (xxi.8), that in syllabication they are to be reckoned with the following vowel.

The theory of these curious and equivocal constituents of the ancient Hindu alphabet I have discussed pretty fully in the note to Ath. Pr. i.99, and I have no new light to throw upon the subject here. They are transition-sounds, assumed to intervene between non-nasal and following nasal, as a kind of nasal counterpart to the non-nasal, and therefore called its *yama* or 'twin.'

The meaning of *ānupūrvyāt*, 'in their order,' is ambiguous, as it might be understood to refer to the order either of the twenty non-nasal mutes or of the five nasals; or, of the four kinds of non-nasal mutes in each series—in which last sense the comment understands it, declaring that the first *yama* follows a first mute, the second a second, and so on; and he has before (under i.1) reckoned the *yamas* as four in the catalogue of alphabetic sounds. I have pointed out under ii.51 how difficult it is to reconcile this view with that of a variation of their organ of production as in the five series of mutes.

The commentator's examples are *tam prathathā* (i.4.9), *vimath-nānāh* (iii.5.4³), *vidmā te agne* (iv.2.2¹: O. omits *agne*), and *dārāṇi dadhmaṣi* (iv.1.10¹)—one, namely, for each of the four classes of mutes. As rule xiv.24 expressly enjoins duplication of the non-nasal mute in these combinations, we are to read and divide *prathathā*, *vidd-āma*, and so on. The counter-examples (of which all but the last are lost in W.) are as follows: to show that the insertion is made only after a mute, *kalmāṣi bhavati* (v.1.1⁴: O. substitutes *brahmanvādinaḥ*, i.7.1⁴ et al.); that this mute must be a

12. *uttamaparād anuttamāt sparṣād* ¹ *ānupūrvyād yathākramam nāsikyā āgamā bhavanti: prathamaspārṣāt prathamānāsikyāḥ*²: *dvitīyād* ³ *dvitīyāḥ*⁴: *evam* ⁵ *anyatrá 'pi*⁶ *yathā*⁷: *tam* -----: *vim*-----: *vidmā*-----: *dār*-----: *ityādi*. *sparṣād iti kim*: *'kalm*----- *anuttamād iti kim*: *sumn*----- *uttamaparād iti kim*:⁸ *sabdah*-----.

¹ G. M. ins. *parata*; O. ins. *parah*. ² G. M. O. -*kyāḥ*. ³ O. -*yasparṣād*. ⁴ G. M. -*yāḥ*. ⁵ G. M. *anye*. ⁶ O. om. ⁷ W. om.

non-nasal, *sumnāya sumnīnī* (i.1.13³ et al.: O. substitutes *sushum-nah*, iii.4.7¹); and that it must be followed by a nasal, *sabdah sagarah sunekah* (iv.4.7²: G. M. omit *sunekah*; O. substitutes *vashati svāhā*, vii.3.12).

These examples are one-sided, in that they only exhibit the simplest form of group in which the *yama* is taken as increment. Of such simplest groups there are twenty-three met with in the Sanhitā: namely, after first mutes, *kn, kn, km, cñ, cm, tn, tn, tm, pn, pn, pm*; after second mutes, *chm, thn*; after third mutes, *gn, gm, jñ, jm, dn, dm*; after fourth mutes, *ghn, dhn, dhm, bhn*. Then, of groups of three consonants involving such combinations: *jñy (jñ-jñy), tny; ñchan, ñjñ (ñj-jñ); dyhn (ddgh-ghn), nghn; rjm (rj-jm), rtn, rtm, rdhn, rdhm; stm (sst-tm), sthn*. And of groups of four consonants, *rjmy (rj-jmy)*.

According to the phonetic systems of the other Prāticākhyas, this would finish the tale of *yamas*. But, by the peculiar rule (xiv.9) which here requires a surd mute to be everywhere inserted between a sibilant and a following nasal, is brought forth a new and numerous brood of these curious twins. Thus, in double groups, *çn (çç-tñ), çm, shñ, shm, su, sm*. Of groups of three containing these: *çny, shnv; kshñ (kckhshp-pñ), kshñ, tsñ, tsn, psñ; rçm (rççp-pñ), rshñ, rshm; ssm*. Of groups of four, *ñkshñ, hkshñ, ççny*. In all, of both classes, fifty-seven groups.

तान्यमानिके ॥ १३ ॥

13. Some call these *yamas*.

The commentator adds nothing of value.

हकारान्नणमपरान्नासिक्यम् ॥ १४ ॥

14. After *h*, when followed by *n, ñ, or m*, is inserted *nāsikya*.

I have translated this rule according to its obvious and incontrovertible meaning, which, if it needed any external support, would find it in the almost precisely accordant rule of the Ath. Pr. (i.100: the teachings of the other treatises upon the subject are much less distinct: see the note on the Atharvan rule). But the commentator gives it an entirely different interpretation. The ablative *hakārān*, he says, is here used in the sense of an accusative (his addition, "in the absence of *lyap* [the suffix *yā*]," I do

13. *tān nāsikyān eke çākhino yamān bruvate*¹. *uktāny eva 'dāharaṇāni*.

¹ G. M. *iti vadanti*.

14. *hakārād iti karmani¹ lyablope² pañcamī. tasmān nanama-param hakāram āruhya nāsikyam bhavati³: sāmūnāsikyo hakārāḥ syād ity arthaḥ. ahnām-----: apar-----: brahm-----*

¹ W. -ma. ² W. *lyapūlope*; B. *lyaplope*; O. *lyaplope*. ³ B. -red *iti*.

not understand); and the sense is, that a nose-sound is imposed upon the *h* itself, or that the latter becomes nasal. It is not difficult to see on what this theory of the quality of a *h* preceding a nasal is founded—namely, a recognition of the fact that such a *h* is really an expiration of breath through the nose: it being not less true of *h* before a semivowel or nasal than before a vowel, that it is (borrowing the phraseology of an earlier rule, ii.47) *udaya-carnādisasthāna*, ‘produced in the position of the succeeding letter.’ The commentator’s exposition might have come from the “some authorities” to whom the doctrine of that rule is attributed.

The examples given are *ahnām ketuh* (ii.4.14¹), *aparāhne* (ii.1.2⁵), and *brahmavādīnah* (i.7.14⁴ et al.). Giving to the rule its real meaning, and applying the principle laid down at xxi.8 for the syllabic division, we should read *ahh-“nām*: and so with the rest. As was suggested under Ath. Pr. i.100, it is probably this separation of the *h* from the nasal in syllabication that has led to the division of the two in point of utterance, and then to the thrusting in between them of a transition-sound.

G. M. have adapted the reading of the rule to the new interpretation, and give *hakāran nanamaparan nāsikyam* (the writing of *n* instead of *m* before *n* is frequent with these MSS.).

रेफोष्मसंयोगे रेफस्वरभक्तिः ॥ १५ ॥

15. In the combination of *r* and a spirant, there is a *svara-bhakti* of *r*.

The doctrine of our Prātiçākhyā respecting the *svarabhakti* is less detailed, and less distinctly expressed, than that of the other treatises (for which, see the note to Ath. Prāt. i.101-2); from the statement here made, we should not even understand that this “vowel-fragment” is to be an insertion between the *r* and the spirant, although that is doubtless intended to be signified. The commentator enters into a long exposition of the subject; by no means, however, limiting himself to explaining and illustrating his text. The two South-Indian manuscripts (G. M.) are in some parts of this exposition fuller than the rest, and will be followed

15. ‘*rephasya co “shmanas ca sañyoge sati” rephasvarabhaktir iti jāniyāt*: “*svarasya bhaktiḥ svarabhaktiḥ*”: *yo ‘sya rephasya samānasvaras tadbhaktiḥ syāt*: *ṛkāraç eā ‘syā jihvāgrakarana-tvena’ racrutya⁵ ca⁶ samānadharmak*: ‘*bhaktir awayava ekadeça iti yāvat*’: *etaç uktam bhavati*: *ṛkāravayavo⁸ bhavati* ‘*ty arthaḥ*. *sātreṇā ‘nena svarabhaktir eva⁹ vihitā*: *svarabhaktisvarāpaṇ tu¹⁰ viśpashtaṁ¹¹ vyāçuṣṭe vararuciḥ*: *“ṛkāradir anamātrā¹³ rephe ‘rdhamātrā madhye geshā¹⁴ svarabhaktir iti¹⁵”*. *asyā ‘yam arthaḥ¹²*:

“indriyaviśayo¹⁶ yo¹⁷ ‘sāu anur ity ucyate budhāḥ:

caturbhir¹⁸ anubhir mātṛāparimāṇam¹⁹ iti smṛtam.”²⁰

in the abstract of it here given: the version of W. B. O., indeed, has rather the aspect of being an abbreviation of the other, and one not everywhere skilfully made.

At the outset, G. M. alone specify that the *svarabhakti* is combined with the spirant (and yet, by xxi.6, it is to be separated from the spirant in syllabication, going with the *r* to the preceding vowel). The term *svarabhakti* means 'a fragment, piece, or part of a vowel;' and a *rephasvarabhakti*, 'r-vowel-fragment,' means a bit of the vowel that is akin, or has the same mode of utterance with, the *r*. Now the *r̥* is of like quality with *r*, in being produced with the tip of the tongue and in having the sound of *r*: and it is a part of *r̥* that is intended. The rule merely prescribes the insertion; the nature of the latter is clearly set forth by Vararuci (one of the three principal sources of the present comment: see note to the introductory verses, pp. 6,7). The vowels are defined at i.5, and since among them only *r̥* agrees in place and organ with *r*, the "fragment" is of *r̥*. The *r̥* is by i.31 declared to be short, or of one *mora*; and Vararuci defines the short *r̥* as composed of a quarter-*mora* of vowel at the beginning, a half-*mora* of *r̥* in the middle, and a quarter-*mora* of vowel (W. B. O. say, of vowel-fragment) at the end. Then a verse is quoted describing the word *ant* as signifying a quarter-*mora*. This half-*mora* of *r̥*, now, found in the middle of *r̥*, being divided, its two parts, each combined with the quarter-*mora* of vowel, severally receive the name of *svarabhakti*. Hence there are two *svarabhakti*'s. And in answer to the question where this *svarabhakti* of half a *mora* occurs, the makers of the Çikshā have declared that the one ending with the vowel element occurs before *ç*, *sh*, and *s*, and the one ending with the consonant element before *h*; the former, moreover, being open, and the latter close. And it is added that in *yo vāi çradhām* (i.6.8¹) there is no *svarabhakti*, on account of absence of the order prescribed in the rule.

mātrikasya rkārasya "dir *anunātrā*²¹ *svarabhāgo madhye repho*
*'rdhamātrā*²² *gesho*²³ *'py anumātrā*²⁴ *svarabhāgaḥ: etad rkārasva-*
rūpam. atra ²⁵ *rephe 'rdhamātre bhujyamāne*²⁶ *sat*²⁷ *tāu bhāgāu*
*pārvottarāu*²⁸ *anṛsahitāu*²⁹ *pratyekeṇ svarabhaktināmudheyam*
*bhajete*³⁰: ³¹*sā ca svarabhaktir ardhamātrā. kutra*³² *vā*³³ *sva-*
*bhaktir*³¹ *ity ācāṅkya çikshākārāir* ³⁴ *uktam:*

*çashaseshu svarodayān*³⁵ *hakāre vyañjanodayām*³⁶:

*çashaseshu tu*³⁷ *niṛtān*³⁸ *hakāre samniṛtān*³⁹ *vidur* *iti*⁴⁰.

yo *ityādāu* ⁴¹ *sūtroktakramābhāvān na svarabhaktiḥ.*⁴¹

svarabhaktyantaram ⁴² *çikshāyām uktam:*

⁴³ *kareṇuḥ karvīṇi cāi 'va harīṇi hārite*⁴⁴ *'ti ca:*

*haṇṣapade*⁴⁵ *'ti vijñeyāḥ pañcāi 'tāḥ svarabhaktayaḥ.*⁴³

⁴⁶ *kareṇā*⁴⁷ *rahaḥ*⁴⁸ *yoge*⁴⁹ *karvīṇi lahaḥ*⁵⁰ *kārayaḥ:*

harīṇi ⁵⁰ *raḥasānām ca*⁵⁰ *hāritā*⁵¹ *laçakārayaḥ.*

So much by way of (would-be) explanation of the rule. But the commentator goes on to say that the Çikshā teaches other *svarabhakti*'s, to the number of five: namely, the *karenu*, between *r* and *h*, as in *barhih* (i.1.2¹ et al.); the *karvinī*, between *l* and *h*, as in *malhāh* (ii.1.2⁴); the *harinī*, between *r* and *ç* or *s*, as in *darçapūrṇamāśāu* (ii.2.5⁴ et al.) and *barsam* (ii.5.7¹); the *hāritā* (or *haritā*), between *l* and *ç*, as in *sahasravalçāh* (vi.3.3³); and the *hānsapadā* (or *hānsapādā*), between *r* and *sh*, as in *varshāhvām* (ii.4.10³)—and he who wants to go to heaven (on the score, no doubt, of patience, faith, and punctiliousness) must utter the five kinds of *bhakti*, as thus laid down. It appears, then, that the commentator's Çikshā, like the Vāj. Pr. (iv.16), regards *l*, not less than *r*, as followed by *svarabhakti* before a spirant.

न क्रमे प्रथमपरे प्रथमपरे ॥ १६ ॥

16. But not in case of *krama*, when a first mute follows the spirant.

The commentator defines *krama* as the equivalent of *dvitva*, 'duplication,' and refers as authority to rule xxiv.5, where the word occurs again without, according to him, admitting any other meaning; whence, he infers, it must signify the same thing here also. We should rather turn the argument the other way, and say that, as *krama* can have no other meaning here, it may be conjectured to signify the same thing at xxiv.5. He further coolly

⁵² *yā tu hānsapadā nāma sā tu* ⁵³ *rephashakārayoh :*

⁵³ *evam pañcavidhām bhaktim uccaret svargakāmukah.*⁵³

(1) G. M. *rephashmanos sayyoge sūti tatra ūshmasayyukto.* (2) G. M. *svarabhaktir iti kim : idṛṣṭi svarasya bhakti s svarabhaktiḥ bhaktir i hāgaḥ : awayava iti ekade, a iti yāvat;* B. O. om. *svarabhaktiḥ.* (3) G. M. O. *-nakaraṇasv.* (4) O. *-ṇena.* (5) G. M. *gruṇyā.* (6) W. *yana.* (7) G. M. om.; O. *-ṣa* *ity arthah.* (8) W. O. *ṛkāru eva yu-*; G. M. *ṛkārasya 'vay-'* (9) G. M. *evam.* (10) B. om. (11) O. *spa-*. (12) G. M. *svaras tivat kinvīṣṭi* *iti cet shodaṣā* "ditah svarāḥ (i.5) iti svarasamjñok'am teshu ṛkā-rarephayos samānasthānakaraṇavād ṛkāru-varasyāi 'va bhaktiḥ ṛkārus tivat kin-viṣi hta iti cet ṛkāralkāru hrasvāu (i.31) iti hrasvatvād ekamātro bhaved dhrasva iti ekamātraka ṛkārah vararucināi 'vam uktam mātṛikasya ṛkārasya "dāu svaras-yā 'numātrah rephasyā' dhamātro madhye 'ntu svarasyā 'numātr' iti : anu-mātra iti kin. (13) B. *-tratām api.* (14) O. *ṣesha.* (15) B. om.; O. *anumātrā.* (16) W. *nish;* G. M. *-driyāv.* (17) B. O. om. (18) W. O. *-tur.* (19) W. *mātrāprayānam;* B. *-trāpramānam;* G. M. *-na.* (20) G. M. ins. *asyā 'yam arthah.* (21) B. G. M. *-tra.* (22) G. M. *-trah.* (23) G. M. *ante.* (24) W. *-trah;* G. M. *-tra.* (25) G. M. ins. *ṛkārama-dhyava-tini.* (26) G. M. *vibh.* (27) O. om. (28) G. M. *-rā.* (29) W. B. O. *-samh.* (30) W. *h. bhajyate;* G. M. O. *bhajate.* (31) G. M. *tato dve svarabhakti vidyete ardhamātri-kasvarabhaktiḥ kutra vā tishṭhātī.* (32) W. *atra.* (33) W. om.; B. *kā.* (34) G. M. ins. *evam.* (35) W. B. *-yā.* (36) W. B. *-yā.* (37) B. O. *ca.* (38) W. *-tā.* (39) W. *-tā.* (40) O. om. (41) G. M. *sūtrēno 'ktakrameṇa syāt svarabhaktiḥ.* (42) G. M. O. ins. *opi.* (43) O. om. (44) G. M. *har-.* (45) G. M. *-pāde.* (46) G. M. ins. *kiṛṭṭya eti iti cet.* (47) W. B. *-ṇu;* G. M. *-ṇum.* (48) B. *hayor;* G. M. *hurayor.* (49) W. B. G. M. *vidyāt.* (50) W. B. *ra-ṣayor yoge;* G. *ṣas-rānī jñeyā;* M. *ṣasānī jñeyā.* (51) G. M. *har-.* (52) G. M. *svarabhaktiḥ hānsapādīm vidyāt.* (53) O. om.; G. M. *-muka iti :* *yathā : karenuk ; bar-hih : yathā karvinī : malhāh : harinī : darçapūrṇamāśāu : barsam : hāritā : sahasravalçāh : hānsapadā : varshāhvām ityādi.*

inserts an "or" in the rule, and declares it to mean 'either when the spirant is doubled or when it is followed by a first mute.' This must evidently be condemned: for, in the first place, the text contains no "or;" and, in the second place, if that were the meaning, the specification would be superfluous, since the spirant is always doubled before a first mute, and so *krame* would include all the cases—except, indeed, according to the doctrine of Plākshi and Plākshāyana, who (xiv.17) deny the duplication of the spirant in such a situation; and we are perhaps to connect his interpretation of the present rule with his apparent acceptance of the doctrine referred to, and suppose that he would read *rsh-t*, and *rçp-ṣm* etc. (namely, for *rçm*, *rshn*, and *rshm*), while the reading actually approved by the treatise is *rshsh-t*, *rççp-ṣm* etc. There are five groups—namely *rçy*, *rçv*, *rshy*, *rsv*, and *rhy*—in which the difference of interpretation would make a difference as regards the presence or absence of *svarabhakti*; if the "or" is implied, they will be read and divided *rç-y* etc.; if not, they will be *rçç-y* etc.

The commentator's examples are *dārcyañ yajñam* (iii.2.2³: only O. has *yajñam*; G. M. read *dārcyañ hi*, which, if it be an actual passage, I have overlooked in searching out the references), *varshyābhyah* (vii.4.13: W. B. O. read *varshābhyah*), *barsvebhiḥ* (v.7.11), and *etarhy ārūdhah* (v.1.5⁵: found in O. only), illustrating four of the five cases in which his interpretation would exclude the *svarabhakti*; and further, for cases in which a first mute follows, *ad-rcema jyotiḥ* (iii.2.5⁴: omitted in O.), *kārshnū upānadhau* (v.4.4⁴ et al.), and *varshā parjanyaḥ* (vii.5.20: found in G. M. only).

CHAPTER XXII.

CONTENTS: 1-2, formation of articulate sounds in general; 3-8, definition of terms used in the treatise; 9-10, mode of production of high and low tone; 11-12, established tone and pitch; 13, length of pauses in the text; 14-15, heavy and light syllables.

16. 'kramaçabdo dvitvaparyāyah: katham etat: prakṛtir vikramah kramā (xxiv.5) ity atra dvitvasyā² 'va' kramaçabdenā³ 'bhidhānād atrā 'pi sa evā⁴ 'rtha iti niçcinumah.⁵ āshmanah krame sati⁶ tasminn āshmaṇi prathamapare vā⁷ sati na svarabhaktir bhavati.⁸ 'krame yathā⁹: dārc-.....: varsh-.....: bars-.....¹⁰ prathamapare yathā: ad-.....¹⁰ kār-.....¹¹ prathamah paro yasmād asāu prathamaparah.

iti tribhāshyaratne prātiçākhyavivarane
ekaviṃśo¹² 'dhyāyah.

(¹) O. om. (²) G. M. -*tvam asty e*. (³) W. -*bdo nāmā*. (⁴) W. *rvā*. (⁵) G. M. 'rtho niçcinah. (⁶) O. om.; G. M. add *vā*. (⁷) G. M. put after *sati*. (⁸) W. -*vet*. (⁹) O. om. (¹⁰) O. *etar-.....*; G. M. *etasya prathamaparo y-*. (¹¹) G. M. add *varshā.....*. (¹²) G. M. O. *dvitvyapraçne navamo*.

शब्दः प्रकृतिः सर्ववर्णानाम् ॥ १ ॥

1. Tone is the material of all articulate sounds.

The putting-together, as well as the material, of this and the following chapter is rather peculiar, and makes the impression of a supplement to the Prātiśākhya proper. This present rule and its successor are akin with the first two of the next chapter, and all these with the rules of the second chapter. As under ii.1, the commentator explains *śabda* by *dhvani*; for *prakṛti* he gives as synonym *mūlakāraṇam*, 'radical cause;' and *varṇa* he declares to designate the whole congeries of vowels and consonants.

तस्य रूपान्यत्वे वर्णान्यत्वम् ॥ २ ॥

2. In the difference of form of the former consists the difference of the latter.

That is to say, in the difference resulting from the variety of positions giving audible quality: compare ii.3.

तत्र शब्दद्रव्याण्युदाहरिष्यामः ॥ ३ ॥

3. Here we will instance the offices of terms.

A complete and violent change of subject is introduced by this rule, continuing to rule 9; which last, again, attaches itself closely enough to the beginning of the chapter to have been its natural continuation. The intervening batch of rules looks like an interpolation, thrust in at this point *apropos* of *śabda* in rule 1; the word being taken here, however, in an entirely different sense. The commentator tries to smooth over the transition by pronouncing *śabda* a synonym of *śāstra*, 'text-book, body of doctrine;' which latter is formed by the putting to use of combinations of the alphabetic sounds just above spoken of. He distinctly ascribes to *dravya* the sense of 'office, aim,' as the connection also requires,

1. *sarvavarṇānām*¹ *śabdo*² *dhvaniḥ prakṛtir mūlakāraṇam bhavati: varṇaśabdena svaravyañjanātmatuko rācīr ucyate. sarve ca te varṇāḥ ca sarvavarṇāḥ*³: *teshām*⁴.

¹ G. M. om.* ² G. M. ins. *nāma*. ³ O. om. ⁴ G. M. add *sarvavarṇānām*.

2. *prātiśrutkusthānabhedāt*¹ *tasya*² *prakṛtibhūtasya*³ *rūpānyatve sati varṇānyatvaṁ syāt*⁴. *yathā: a: i: u: ityādi*.

¹ B. *prat*.; G. M. -*nād bhe*-. ² G. M. ins. *śabdasya*. ³ W. *pratibh*-. ⁴ O. om.

3. *teshām varṇānām sarvatra*¹ *saṁghātaprayoge*² *śāstram*³ *ity*⁴ *ucyate: tasya śabda*⁵ *iti paryāyanāma: tatra tasmīn chāstre yāni dravyāni bhavanti tāny udāharishyāmaḥ. yat karma yena kriyate tat*⁶ *tasya dravyam*¹⁰ *sādhanaṁ iti yāvat*⁷: *yathā gha-*

giving *sādhana*, 'efficiency,' as its equivalent. As clay to a vessel, we are told, so are alphabetic sounds to a text-book.

वर्णकारौ निर्देशकौ ॥ ४ ॥

4. *Varṇa* and *kāra* are indicatory.

These two terms have already formed the subject of rules i.16-20. Rules vi.1,7 are cited as examples of their use.

चाप्रात्यन्त्रादेशकौ ॥ ५ ॥

5. *Ca* and *api* are implicative.

Rules vi.3 and iv.4 are cited as containing examples of the use of these signs of continued implication from something that has gone before.

तथैवेति विनिवर्तकाधिकारकावधारकाः ॥ ६ ॥

6. *Tu*, *atha*, and *eva* are exceptional, introductory, and restrictive, respectively.

The use of these connectives is instanced by quoting rules i.19, v.1, and xiv.3 (G. M. substitute vii.1 for the second).

These rules are too trivial and superficial to make it worth while to enter, in connection with them, into any discussion of the use of the particles in the text of the *Prāṭiśākhya*. The index, and the notes on each rule, will give the means of investigating the matter. We have often had occasion to animadvert upon the commentator's

*tasya mṛd ity evaṃ śāstrasya varṇāḥ*¹²: *yāni dravyāṇi sanvya-
hārārthāni kartavyāni tāni vyākhyāsyāmaḥ. śabdasya dravyāṇi
śabdadravyāṇi: tāni.*

¹ O. -*ta*. ² O. ins. *vā*. ³ W. -*tre*. ⁴ W. B. *katham*; O. om. ⁵ W. B. ins. *tasya rūpāni*. ⁶ W. O. -*bdā*. ⁷ O. *pradarśayishy-*. ⁸ O. *karmayate*. ⁹ W. *tatra*; B. *na*. ¹⁰ B. -*ya*; M. om. ¹¹ O. om. ¹² W. -*ṇa*; G. M. -*ṇānām*; O. *savarṇaḥ*.

4. *varṇaśabdaḥ kāraśabdaḥ ca nirdeśakāu*¹ *nirdeśavācakāu*² *syātām. yathā: avarṇavyaṅjanaśakuni* (vi.7) *iti: atha śatkāraṇ śakḍravisarjanīyāv* (vi.1) *iti. varṇaḥ ca kāraḥ ca varṇakārau.*

¹ G. M. om. ² W. B. -*deśakāu vac-*; O. om.

5. *ca: api: ity etāv* ¹ *anvādeśakāu syātām. pūrvāpekshayā*² *'nvādeṣa ity ucyate. yathā: asadāmasiñcaṅś ca* (vi.3): *iti: pūro 'pi* (iv.4).

¹ G. M. ins. *śabdāu*. ² W. B. *pūrvapakṣo*; O. *pūro pakṣo*.

6. *tu: atha: eva: ity ete śabdā yathākrameṇa*¹ *vinivartakā dhikārakāvadhārakā bhavanti: yatra tuśabdaḥ gra* ~~ṇa~~ *tatra*

tendency to put into them (especially into *tu*) a meaning which they were never intended to bear.

वेति वैभाषिकः ॥ ७ ॥

7. *Vā* is alternative.

Rule ii.50 is quoted as example.

नेति प्रतिषेधकः ॥ ८ ॥

8. *Nā* is prohibitive.

The example this time is xiii.15 (G. M. substituting xiv.14); and in it appear again some of the differences of reading which were noted in the rule itself where it occurred.

आयामो दारुण्यमणुता खस्येत्युच्चैःकराणि शब्दस्य ॥ ९ ॥

9. Tension, hardness, smallness of aperture, are producers of high tone.

Reference is made to rule i.38, in which the acute accent is defined as consisting in high tone; and the present precept is declared to be given for the sake of that, and in order to prohibit that slack or indifferent utterance which prevails in common life. *Āyāma*, 'tension,' is explained as meaning rather 'extension (literally 'longness') of the members;' *dāruṇya*, as 'severity of the vowel;' and *anuta khasya*, as 'closure of the orifice of the throat;' this is what one who would utter a sound in high tone must do.

There is evidently much more guess-work than true observation in this rule and the one next following: if they had been given as definitions of sonant and surd utterance, instead of high and low

nivṛtīḥ: *yatrā* 'thaṣabdas *tatrā* 'dhikārah: *yatrāi* 'vaṣabdas *tatrā* 'vadhāraṇam² *veditavyam*. *yathā*: *ephas tu rasya* (i.19):¹ *atha saṅhitāyām ekaprapabhāve*³ (v.1).⁴ *sparga*⁵ *evāi* 'keshām ācāryāṇām (xiv.3). *viśeṣeṇa nivartayati* 'ti *vinivartakah*: *adhiḥkaroti* 'ty *adhikārakah*⁶: *avadhārayati* 'ty *avadhārakah*.

¹ G. M. -*maṁ*. ² G. M. O. ins. *ce* 'ti. ³ G. M. *atha nakāro ṇakāram* (vii.1). ⁴ O. om. ⁵ G. M. -*capara*. ⁶ W. O. G. M. -*rah*.

7. *ve* 'ty *esha ṣabdo vāibhāshiko*¹ *vāikalpiko bhavati*. *yathā*: *mukhanāsikyā vā* (ii.50).

¹ G. M. -*shako* (as also in the rule).

8. *ne* 'ty *esha ṣabdaḥ pratishedhako bhavati*: *yathā*: 'na *shumnogñir* (xiii.15) *iti*.²

¹ G. M. -*syd*. ² G. M. *atha na* (xiv.14); B. *na sushu*; O. -*na sum*; W. B. *gn*.

tone, they might more easily have been regarded as describing real processes of articulation.

अन्ववसर्गी मर्दवमुत्ता खस्येति नीचैःकराणि ॥ १० ॥

10. Relaxation, softness, wideness of aperture, are producers of low tone.

The exposition of this rule runs quite parallel with that of the preceding (only O., however, referring to the definition of *anudatta*, 'grave,' as of low tone, at i.39). To *anvavasarga* is given *vinatātā*, 'drooping condition,' as synonym; to *mārdava*, *snigdhatā*, 'smoothness;' and to *urutā*, *sthūlatā*, 'bigness.' There is nothing at all to commend in such a description of the way in which low tone is produced.

मन्द्रमध्यमताराणि स्थानानि भवन्ति ॥ ११ ॥

11. Soft, middle, and loud are the three qualities.

Their use, we are told, will be explained farther on—namely, in rules 4–10 of the next chapter. I have ventured to render *sthāna*, literally 'place' or 'position,' by 'quality,' as better expressing the nature of the distinctions implied. The name apparently comes from such theories as that laid down in rule xxiii.10 as to the "place" of production of the different qualities of tone.

In answer, we are told, to the suggested inquiry, "of what are

9. *uccāir udatta* (i.38) *ity uktam: tadartham idam ārabhate: lokavad yādṛchikoccāraṇapratishedhārtham*¹: *āyāmo gātrāṇām dāirghyam: dāruṇyaṇi svarasya kathanatā*²: *anutā khasya galavivarasya*³ *saṁvṛtatā*⁴: *etāni sādhanāni*⁵ *ṣabdasyo 'ccāihkarāṇi*⁶ *ṣabdam uccāir udattam kurvanti 'ty arthah.* *uccaṣabdam uccārayatāi 'tat kartavyam iti vidhiḥ.* *'uccāih kurvanti 'ty uccāihkarāṇi*⁷.

¹ W. *yāvac-*; B. *hādash-*; W. B. O. *-rthah.* ⁽²⁾ W. om. ³ B. *virarāṇasya*; G. M. *virarāṇasya*, and put after *saṁvṛtatā* (B. O. *-vṛtā*). ⁴ G. M. *nāmadheyāni*. ⁵ W. *ccāih-*. ⁽⁶⁾ G. M. om. ⁽⁷⁾ W. G. M. om.; B. adds *kapaṇiṇi*, and om. the following rule.

10. ¹ *anvavasargo gātrāṇām vinatātā*²: *mārdavaṇi svarasya snigdhatā: khasyo 'rutā kathanasya sthūlate 'ty*³ *etāni sādhanāni ṣabdasya nīcāihkarāṇi ṣabdam nīcam anudattam*⁴ *kurvanti 'ty arthah: nīcaṣabdam uccārayatāi*⁵ *'tat kartavyam iti vidhiḥ: nīcāih kurvanti 'ti nīcāihkarāṇi.*

⁽¹⁾ O. ins. *nīcāir anudatta* (i.39) *ity uktam.* ² G. M. O. *visṛtatā*. ³ G. M. om. *iti*. ⁴ G. M. *ud-*. ⁵ W. *uddhārayāni*; B. *-yan*; G. M. *-raṇiyatā*; O. *-raṇatā*.

11. *'mandram madhyamam tāraṇi ce 'ti*¹ *sthānāni bhavanti*²: *mandram iti prathamam: madhyamam iti dvitīyam: tāraṇi iti*

these positions or qualities?" the subject is continued in the next rule.

तत्रैकविंशतिर्यमाः ॥ १२ ॥

12. In them are twenty-one tones.

For the application of these tones or keys, also, we are referred to a later passage (xxiii.11 etc.). As synonym of *yama* is given *svara*, 'tone.'

The commentator chooses to connect these rules with those that follow in the next chapter, and to overlook the obvious fact that in the two chapters we have separate and independent statements upon the same subject, which cannot have come from the same hand, and of which the second renders the first wholly superfluous.

ऋग्विरामः पदविरामो विवृत्तिविरामः समानपदवि-
वृत्तिविरामस्त्रिमात्रो द्विमात्र एकमात्रो ऽर्धमात्र इत्या-
नुपूर्व्येण ॥ १३ ॥

13. The verse-pause, *pada*-pause, pause for hiatus, and pause for hiatus in the interior of a word, are respectively of three *moras*, two *moras*, one *mora*, and a half-*mora*.

As example of the pause of three *moras* at the end of a verse is quoted *ubhā vājīsyā sātaye huve vām*: (i.5.5²: O. omits the first two words); of the pause of two *moras*, in *pada*-text, between the *padas*, *ishe* : *tvā* : *ūrje* : *tvā* (i.1.1 et al.): and, for all that the Prātiçākhyā tells us, we are to regard the *avagraha* pause, dividing the two parts of a compound word, as of the same length (the Rik [i.6, r. 29] and Vājasaneyi [v.1] Prātiçākhyas give it only one *mora*); of the hiatus pause, *sa idhānaḥ* (iv.4.4⁵), *ta enam* (ii.3.11⁴), and *tā asmāt* (ii.4.4¹: W. prefixes *ā*, but doubtless only by

tr̥tīyam : *eteshām*³ *sthānānām prayojanam utturatra*⁴ *vakshyate*.
⁵*etāni sthānāni keshām ityapekshāyām āha parasūtram*⁵.

¹ G. M. om. ² O. 'ty etāni. ³ G. M. O. *esh*. ⁴ B. *ituratra*. ⁵ O. om.

12. *teshu*¹ *sthāneshv ekaviṅcatir yamāḥ svarā bhavanti*: *teshām yamānām utturatra prayojanani vakshyate*.

¹ O. *tatra trishu*; B. adds *trishu*.

13. *ṛgvirāmādayas trimātrādikalā*¹ *yathākramam*² *bhavanti*.
*yathā*³: *ubhā*.....: *ity ṛgvirāmāḥ*: *ishe*.....: *iti padavirāmāḥ*:
sa.....: *ta*.....: *tā*.....: *iti vivṛttivirāmāḥ*: *pratigam iti samā-*
napadavivṛttivirāmāḥ. '*rci*' *virāma ṛgvirāmāḥ*: *padasya virā-*
maḥ padavirāmāḥ: *padadvayavivṛttāu*⁴ *virāmo vivṛttivirāmāḥ*^{1,4}.
sikshāyām ⁵ *asya viçesha uktah*:

a copyist's blunder); of the pause of interior hiatus, *prāṭham* (iv. 4.2¹), which is, I believe, the only case. The commentator also quotes a couple of verses from his Çikshā, laying down four subdivisions of the pause of hiatus, and assigning them different quantities: that between a short and long vowel is *vatsānusṛti*, and is one *mora* long; that between a long and following short is *vatsānusārinī*, of the same length; between two short vowels, *pākavati*, three quarters of a *mora*; between two long vowels, *pīpīlikā*, a quarter-*mora* only (Uvāṭa's comment on the Rik Prāt. [ii.1] states the intervals quite differently). In W. there are two verses which are not found in the rest; as they stand, their meaning is in great part obscure to me, and I prefer to leave them unamended and untranslated.

यद्यञ्जनान्तं यदु चापि दीर्घः
संयोगपूर्वं च तथानुनासिकम् ॥
एतानि सर्वाणि गुह्यणि विद्याच्च
हेषाण्यतो ज्ञ्यानि ततो लघूनि ॥ १४ ॥

14. A syllable that ends with a consonant, one that has a long vowel, one that precedes a conjunction of consonants, one that is nasal—all these are to be accounted heavy; the rest, other than these, are light.

**pīpīlikā dirghasame ca madhye
savarnatā pākavati padāikyē:
dṛshṭvā ca vatsānusṛjas tv asāmye
tv atho 'ci mukhyas tu virāmakālah.1.*

*svarodaye tv anusvāro bhaved udhyamumātrikah:
virāmaç ca trayor madhye vāiçeshikāc ca dirghayoh.2.°*

*hrasvādīr vatsānusṛtir¹⁰ ante vatsānusārinī:
pākavaty ubhayahrasvā¹¹ dirghobhayā¹² pīpīlikā.*

¹³mātrā¹⁴ ca¹⁵ vatsānusṛtis¹⁶ tathā vatsānusārinī:

pādonā syāt pākavati pādāmātrā pīpīlikā.¹⁷

*¹⁸samānam ca tat padam ca samānapadam: ekapadam ity
arthah¹⁹: ¹⁸samānapade vivṛtṭih samānapadavivṛtṭih: tasyām²⁰
vāmah²⁰ samānapadavivṛtṭivirāmah. ²¹tisro mātrā yasyā 'sau
trimātrah: ²²dve mātre yasyā 'sau dvimātrah: ekā mātrā yasyā
'sāv ekamātrah: ardhā mātrā yasyā 'sāv ardhāmātrah²².*

¹ W. -trak. ² O. -mena. ³ G. M. om. ⁴ O. puts below, at ¹⁸. ⁵ W. rg; G. M. rco. ⁶ B. padavi; O. -yamadhye vivṛti. ⁷ W. B. om.; O. padaviv. ⁸ G. M. ins. apy. ⁹ in W. only. ¹⁰ W. -tsānusṛtimadhyer; G. M. -nusūtr. ¹¹ B. -yoh; G. M. -yeh. ¹² G. M. -ghayas tu. ¹³ O. om. ¹⁴ G. M. -trikā. ¹⁵ G. M. om. ¹⁶ W. -nusṛjati; G. M. -nukrtis. ¹⁷ O. puts below, at ²¹. ¹⁸ O. puts ⁴ here. ¹⁹ W. om.; B. -mā; O. -sya. ²⁰ W. om. ²¹ O. puts ¹⁷ here. ²² in G. M. only.

The commentator instances the different kinds of "heavy" syllable, as follows: one ending with a consonant, *māte 'va putram* (iv.2.3² et al.: G. M. omit); one long by its vowel, *te te 'dhipatayah* (iv.4.11³: G. M. omit the last word); one followed by a consonant-group, *aśmā ca me* (iv.7.5¹: W. has *ānmdyina*, which appears to be merely a corrupt reading; I have found nothing at all like it in the Sanhitā); one that is nasal, *viñcatyāi* (vii.2.13 et al.).

The distinction of the syllable as "heavy" or "light" has value only in a metrical point of view, and does not make its appearance elsewhere in our treatise (except as it is referred to in rule xxiv.5 — which rule we might have expected the commentator to quote here, as the occasion of this one). The quality of "long" or "short" belongs to the vowel alone, and (see xxi.1 and its comment) the consonants accompanying the latter are regarded as absorbed into it, and forming part of its natural quantity. This separation of "heavy" and "long," or of weight and quantity, is practically convenient, perhaps, but theoretically indefensible; and we have reason to be surprised that phonetic observers so acute as the Hindus had not worked the theory of syllabic quantity into a more consistent shape. The other treatises agree with this: see Ath. Pr. i.51–54, and notes.

The use of the word *anunāsika* in describing a syllable containing *anusvāra* is (as already noted, under ii.30) one more sign of a theory which regards the *anusvāra* as a quality and not an element. The Ath. Prāt., which holds this theory, uses the same term in its definition (i.53). It deserves to be noted, however, that to read *anusvāram* instead of *anunāsikam* in the verse would help the metre, making the four *pādas* similar.

This rule is enough by itself to determine the weight of any syllable whatever: but, as the commentator points out, the one following is added to resolve any doubts which might after all arise as to what syllables were light.

14. *vyañjanāntam yad aksharam: 'vyañjanam ante' yasya tad vyañjanāntam: 'yad u cā 'pi dīrgham' aksharam: 'saṁyogapūrvam ca yad aksharam: 'saṁyogāt pūrvam' saṁyogapūrvam': tathā 'nunāsikam: sānunāsikam' yad aksharam: uktāny etāni sarvaṇy akṣharāṇi gurāṇi vidyāt: jānīyāt. yathā 'vyañjanāntam: mātē-----' yathā dīrgham: te----- yathā 'saṁyogapūrvam: aśmā----- yathā 'nunāsikam': viñcatyāi. 'śeṣhāny ato 'nyāni¹²: ata'¹³ ebhyo gurubhyaḥ śeṣhāny anyāny akṣhaḥ¹⁴ tato 'nantaraṇi¹⁴ laghūni vijānīyāt¹⁵. śeṣhāni¹⁶ kāni¹⁷ 'ty ācaṇi¹⁷ ttaraḥlokena¹⁷ vivṛṇoti.*

(¹) G. M. put at beginning. (²) G. M. -tam. (³) G. M. ins. yad. (⁴) G. M. ins. yogāt pūrvam. (⁵) G. M. om. (⁶) B. G. M. om.; O. -gaṇi. (⁷) O. om.; G. M. anu-. (⁸) G. M. vyañjanāntam ity atra. (⁹) G. M. om. (¹⁰) O. puts before yathā. (¹¹) B. omits from here to the middle of rule 15 (beginning again with *saṁyogapūrvam*). (¹²) G. M. O. ins. tato laghūni. (¹³) W. eta. (¹⁴) G. M. om. (¹⁵) G. M. jān-. (¹⁶) W. -ni ti. (¹⁷) W. -ke.

अव्यञ्जनान्तं यद्भस्वमसंयोगपरं च यत् ।

अननुस्वारसंयुक्तमेतल्लघु . निबोधतै

तल्लघु निबोधत ॥ १५ ॥

15. A syllable that does not end with a consonant; that has a short vowel, and that is not followed by a conjunction of consonants, and one that is not combined with *anusvāra*—know that to be light.

This is a mere negative to the preceding rule, and a wholly superfluous addition to it—and an addition made, we may conjecture, by a different and later hand: the use of the term *anusvāra* distinctly suggests this.

The commentator quotes, by way of example of light syllables, simply *madudayand asan* (vi.1.5¹: B. O. omit the last word).

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONTENTS: 1-3, causes of the differences of articulated sounds; 4-10, qualities or temperaments of voice; 11-19, tone or pitch of utterance; 20, general mode of correct utterance.

अथ वर्णविशेषोत्पत्तिः ॥ १ ॥

1. Now for the origin of the differences of articulate sounds.

15. 'avyañjanāntam¹ yad aksharam² yac ca hrasvam³ yac 'cā saṁyogaparam⁴ yac cā 'nanusvārasaṁyuktam⁵ etat sarvam aksharam⁶ laghu⁷ nibodhata⁸ jānidhvam. yathā⁹: mad---- ityādi. vyañjanam ante¹⁰ yasya tad vyañjanāntam: 'na vyañjanāntam avyañjanāntam: 'saṁyogaḥ paro yasmāt tat saṁyogaparam: 'na saṁyogaparam¹¹ asaṁyogaparam: 'anusvāreṇa saṁyuktam¹² anusvārasaṁyuktam: 'nā 'nusvārasaṁyuktam¹³ ananusvārasaṁyuktam.

iti tribhāṣhyaratne prāticākhyavivarane
dodviṅṣo¹⁰ 'dhyāyah.

(¹) G. M. om. (²) W. ca saṁyogapūrvaram. (³) W. B. laghū. (⁴) W. om. (⁵) G. M. antam. (⁶) W. om. (⁷) G. M. tadbhinnam. (⁸) O. om.; W. yuktam only. (⁹) B. om.; G. M. anusvārayogavirahitam. (¹⁰) G. M. O. dvitīyapraṇe daṣamo.

1. athe 'ty ayam adhikārah: varnānām viśeshotpattir ucyata ity etad adhikṛtam veditavyam ita uttaram yad vakshyāmah. varnānām viśesho varnaviśeshah: tasyo 'tpattih sā tatho 'ktā.

It was hardly worth while to give a rule introductory to so very brief a treatment of the subject as is here to follow.

अनुप्रदानात्संस्पर्शात्स्थानात्करणविन्ययात् ।

ज्ञायते वर्णविशेष्यं परिमाणाच्च पञ्चमाद् इति ॥२॥

2. The differentiation of articulate sounds arises from emission, closure, position, disposition of producing organ, and, fifthly, from quantity.

That is to say, according as any sound is different from another in respect to one or more of these five constituent or determining elements, so its nature or quality is different. The *anuprādāna* is the emitted material, whether tone, breath, or the intermediate *h*-sound (ii.8-10); by *saṁsarga* (a term not elsewhere used) is doubtless intended the degree of approximation of the articulating organs, as contact (*sparśana*, ii.33), approach (*upasañhāra*, ii.31), and the like (ii.14,16,45 etc.); *sthāna*, 'place, position,' and *karana*, 'producing organ,' are the familiar names given respectively to the more passive and the more active of the two parts of the mouth by whose contact or approach the sound receives its articulate character (*vinnyaya*, which the commentator explains by *vinnyāsa* [B. reads this in the rule itself], seems to be added more to make up the verse than for the sake of its meaning); *parimāṇa*, 'measure' (used only here), is synonymous with *kāla*, 'time, quantity' (see i.31-37). The commentator takes *a* as an example, and says of it that its "emitted material" is tone; its "closure," in the throat; its "position," the two jaws; and its "disposition of producing organ," the two lips. Excepting in the first item, this is blundering work: *a* is, of all the alphabetic sounds, the one least easy to try by the tests laid down in this rule; and the commentator would have done well to choose some more manageable illustration.

वर्णयुक्तः शब्दो वाच उत्पत्तिः ॥३॥

3. Sound combined with articulation is the origin of voice.

The commentator defines *prkta* by *miçra*, 'mixed,' and *utpatti*

2. *anupradānādibhiḥ pañcabhiḥ¹ karāṇāḥ varṇavāṇiṣeṣhyam² jāyate. akārasya tāvad anupradānam nādaḥ: saṁsargah kanthe: sthānam hanū: karanavinnyaya³ oshthāu: vinyayo nāma vinyāsaḥ: parimāṇam⁴ mātrākālah: evam sarvavarṇānām boddhavyam. viṣeṣabhāvo⁵ vāṇiṣeṣhyam: varṇānām vāṇiṣeṣhyam varṇavāṇiṣeṣhyam⁶.*

¹ G. M. om. ² G. M. O. -ṇānām v-. ³ O. -nyāsa. ⁴ W. O. *parim-*, as also (with T.) in the rule. ⁵ G. M. O. -shasya bh-. ⁶ W. O. om.; G. M. *tathā*.

3. *prkto miçra ity arthaḥ: varṇamiçraḥ¹ śabda vāco vākyaśyo*

by *upādāna* and *kāraṇa*, 'cause.' This combination denies the quality of voice to the mere "sound" of drums and the like.

सप्त वाच स्थानानि भवन्ति ॥ ४ ॥

4. Of voice, there are seven qualities.

Here is a different and expanded version of the doctrine of three qualities, as laid down above, in rule xxii.11. The following rules give the details. The commentator gives of *sthāna* the lucid definition "those whereby the voice is put to use, and that wherein it stands—that is *sthāna*."

उपांशुधाननिमदोपब्दिमन्मन्द्रमध्यमताराणि ॥ ५ ॥

5. Namely, inaudible, murmur, whisper, mumbling, soft, middle, and loud.

The rules that follow define the senses in which we are to understand the terms here given. They indicate plainly enough a continual progression, from inaudible and merely mental utterance up to loud and distinct speaking; but it is not easy to find words which shall represent them closely.

करणावदशब्दमनःप्रयोगमुपांशु ॥ ६ ॥

6. "Inaudible" is without sound, without application of mind, but with articulating action.

The commentator explains *karanavat* by *prayatnavat*, 'with effort,' and states its object to be to deny absolute silence to the *upāṅśu*. "Without sound" signifies the exceeding littleness of

'*tpattir upādānam*' *kāraṇam bhavati. varṇaprakṛta iti kim: duṇḍubhyādiṣabdhānām vākyaṭā mā bhād iti.*

¹ MSS. -*ra*. ² B. G. M. O. -*na*. ³ B. -*tvam*.

4. '*vacah sapta sthānāni bhavanti:*' *tāny uttarasūtre vakshyante. yāir vāk prayujyate yasmiṃś ca tiśṭhati tat sthānam: tāni yathākramam udāharishyāmaḥ.*

¹ G. M. om. ² B. -*kyam*. ³ B. *yuj*; W. O. add *se*. ⁴ O. om.

5. *upāṅśv iti prathamam vāca sthānam: dhvāna¹ iti dvitīyam: nimada² iti tṛtīyam: evam itarāṇy api nāmataḥ sapṭai 'tāni sthānāni jānīyāt. uparitanam³ sūtram ārabhya pratyekam eśhām lakṣhaṇam⁴ vakshyate⁵.*

¹ O. -*nam*; G. M. -*nam*. ² O. -*dam*. ³ B. O. -*na*. ⁴ G. M. *sthānānām*. ⁵ G. M. *lak*.

6. *karanavat prayatnavat ity arthaḥ: nā 'sti śabdo dhvanir asminn ity' aśabdam²: manasā prayogo manahprayogaḥ³: nā 'sti*

sound in this mode of utterance. "Without application of mind" excludes any intentional use of *uddatta* etc. This last is not very satisfactory; and, indeed, we should as soon expect the contrary term, *manahprayoga*, 'with application of mind,' to be read, as indicating an utterance in which the mind does its full part, though not the voice also (G. M., in fact, read it in the rule).

अक्षरव्यञ्जनानामनुपलब्धिर्धानः ॥ ७ ॥

7. "Murmur" is inaudibleness of syllables and consonants.

The commentator explains *akshara*, 'syllables,' as meaning here 'vowels,' but there seems no need of refusing the word its ordinary signification. Inaudibleness, we are further told, being a characteristic of *upāṅcu* also, it is here again specified in order to teach that there is no actual sound heard. Of what follows, a great part has dropped out in B. G. M., and is much corrupted in the other two manuscripts, so as to be very obscure. The separate mention of syllables and consonants is for the sake of clearness (?), and indicates exceeding inaudibleness: and there is added a comparison with tame and wild cattle, of which I fail to make any sense. Others say that the inaudibleness is of *s*, *h*, and so on. All of which is very trivial and unedifying.

उपलब्धिर्निमदः ॥ ८ ॥

8. "Whisper" is their audibleness.

manahprayogo yasminn¹ ity amanahprayogam². 'vāca sthānam idr̥ṣam³ upāṅcu ity upadiṣyate. tatra karaṇavād iti tūshnīmabhāvanivṛttyartham⁴: aṣabdam iti ṣabdasyā 'tyantālpūtārtham⁵: amanahprayogam ity udātātādīnām sāmīkalpikaprayogapratishedhārtham⁶.

¹ W. B. put before *asmin*. ² G. M. -*duh*. ³ W. *manah*; B. -*gah* *stvam*; O. *manasah* *pr-*. ⁴ G. M. O. '*sminn*. ⁵ G. M. -*gah*. ⁶ W. *sthānam vāca ichvām*. ⁷ G. M. -*thah*. ⁸ G. M. -*thah*. ⁹ G. M. *sāmīkalpakapratī-*; B. G. M. -*thah*.

7. *aksharāṇi svarāḥ: aksharāṇāṁ vyañjanānāṁ¹ cā 'nupalabdhir dhvāno nāma dvitīyam vāca sthānam. upāṅculakṣhaṇe 'py anupalabdhāu satyām punarvacanam² aṣabdopalabdhividhānārtham³: 'aksharavyaṅjanānām bhedagrahanam⁴ abhikhyārttham⁵: atyantānupalabdhir⁶ ity arthaḥ. ' anye tv⁷ dhuḥ: aksharavyaṅjanānām savisarjanīyādīnām⁸ anupalabdhir iti.*

¹ G. M. *svārāṇāṁ*. ² W. B. -*cana*; O. -*canaṁ*. ³ W. B. O. *ṣabd-*; G. M. -*rthah*. ⁴ B. G. M. *om*. ⁵ O. *bhedena* *gr-*. ⁶ W. *ābhāṣhayaṅyārtham*; O. *ābh-*. ⁷ O. -*ntālpal-*. ⁸ W. *ins. yamanyasya paṣor araranyasya pi tīcyam iti*; O. *ins. yathā na grāmyasya paṣor ante nāranyasādhyetacyam iti*. ⁹ O. *om. tu*. ¹⁰ G. M. *vis-*.

8. *aksharavyaṅjanānām upalabdhir nimado nāma tritīyam vāca sthānam bhavati.*

I have rendered *nimada* by 'whisper' rather at a venture: whether the word accurately represents it or not is at any rate of very small consequence.

मशब्दमुपबिमत ॥ १ ॥

9. "Mumbling" is the same, with sound.

Ābda would seem to be used here in the sense of *nāda*, 'tone,' if the definition is to be made anything of; the term *upabdimat* is found in the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā (at iii.1.9¹), used in antithesis to *upāṅgu*.

उरसि मन्द्रं कण्ठे मध्यमः शिरसि तारम् ॥ १० ॥

10. "Soft" is in the chest, "middle" in the throat, "loud" in the head.

The South-Indian manuscripts (G. M.) divide this rule into three, and break up the comment into three corresponding parts, without other change. I presume that the treatment of the whole as one rule is more original; the subject joins on, as it were, to rule xxii. 11, and gives the received doctrine as to the mode of production of the three qualities of voice there laid down. And the distinction of the four other qualities by which "soft" shades off into utter inaudibility is a later addition to the doctrine—one of those pieces of useless over-refinement which are thoroughly characteristic of the Hindu mode of working.

The commentator points out that the first four of the seven *sthānas* described in this chapter are used "in sacrifices etc.;" and the last three, at the morning, noon, and evening *savanas*, or somalibrations, respectively. And he quotes "from the *Āikshā*" a pair of verses which are found in the Rik-version of the *pāṇinīya* *Āikshā* (verses 36,37; see Weber's *Indische Studien*, iv.363-4), to the effect that "in early morning, one must always read with chest-tone, resembling the growl of the tiger; at noon, with throat-tone,

9. ¹ *akṣharavyañjanānāni saṣabdam upalabdhir² upabdiman³ nāma caturtham vāca sthānam bhavati⁴.*

¹ G. M. ins. *śabdena saha varṇata iti saṣabdam.* ² W. O. om.; B. -*bḍhiman*. ³ B. om. ⁴ W. B. O. om.

10. *yatro 'rasi sthāne prayoga upalabhyate taṁ mandram nāma vācaḥ pañcamam² sthānam³. yatra kaṇṭhe sthāne prayoga upalabhyate taṁ madhyamam nāma śaṣṭham vāca sthānam⁴. yatra śirasi sthāne prayoga upalabhyate tat tāram nāma sapta-
mam vāca sthānam⁵. eteṣv āditaḥ caturṇāni⁶ 'yajñādishu pra-
yoga⁷: mandram 'prātisavane upayujyate⁸: madhyamam mā-
dhyandīne savane⁹: tāram tr̥tīyasavane. śikṣā cāi vaṁ vak-
shyati¹⁰:*

like the warble of the *cakravāka*; the third soma-libation is known as accompanied with loud tone, and this is always to be employed as head-tone, with sound proceeding from the head, and resembling the cries of the peacock, *haṁsa* and *kokila*."

The Rik Pr. (xiii.17) teaches the same three *sthānas*, but calls the third *uttama* instead of *tāra*. The Vāj. Pr. (i.10,30) lays down their number and their place of production (assigning to the third the *bhrāmadhya*, 'middle of the brows,' instead of *śiras*, 'head'), but gives them no specific names. We cannot well avoid regarding them as involving a difference of pitch, as well as of force or loudness of utterance; the first is low, the third high and shrill, the other intermediate between them, or at the ordinary natural pitch of the voice. They answer to the lower, middle, and upper "registers" of a voice; and our modern musical theory recognizes an analogous distinction of chest-tone and head-tone. Each register, as the following rules go on to explain, is divided into seven tones or pitches.

मन्द्रादिषु त्रिषु स्थानेषु सप्तसप्त यमाः ॥११॥

11. In the three qualities beginning with "soft," there are seven tones each.

As synonym of *yama*, the commentator gives *svara*, doubtless here to be understood as 'musical note, tone of the gamut;' he adds 'acute, and so on,' which might be said blunderingly, as if the word he had just given meant 'accent' instead of 'musical tone,' or also intelligently, as implying the identity of accent with

*prātaḥ pathen*¹⁰ *nityam urasthitena*¹¹
*svareṇa śārdūlarutopamena*¹²;
madhyandine kaṇṭhagatena cāi 'va
cakrāhvasaṁkīṛitasamībhena.
*tāraṁ tu vidyāt savanani*¹³ *trītiyaṁ*¹⁴
*śirogataṁ*¹⁵ *tac ca sadā*¹⁶ *prayojyam :*
mayūrahaṁsānyabhṛtasvandānān
*tulyena nādena śirasthitena*¹⁷.

¹ B. om. ² G. M. O. put before *vācaḥ*. ³ G. M. ins. *bhavati*. *kaṇṭhe madhyama*. ⁴ G. M. ins. *bhavati*. *śirasī tāraṁ*. ⁵ G. M. ins. *bhavati*. ⁶ B. *caturvar-pāṇām*. ⁷ G. M. -*śū* 'pay-. ⁸ W. -*nam up*-.; G. M. -*ne urasi prayu*-. ⁹ B. G. M. om. ¹⁰ W. *ka*-.; G. M. -*than*. ¹¹ G. M. -*sthalena*. ¹² G. M. -*raṭo*-. ¹³ G. M. -*ne*. ¹⁴ G. M. -*ye*. ¹⁵ G. M. -*otthitani*. ¹⁶ G. M. *tathā*. ¹⁷ G. M. *śirogataṇa*.

11. *trishu mandrādishu sthāneshv ekāikasmint saptasapta yamā bhavanti*: *yamāḥ 'svarāḥ*: *udātādaya*¹ *iti yāvat*. *saptasapte 'ti vīpsāyā*² *ekāikasminn iti labhyate*. *ke te*³ *yamā ity ācāṅkryo 'ta-rasūtreṇa*⁴ *'ttaram āha*.

¹ G. M. *svarādaya*. ² W. B. -*yāḥ*; O. -*yām*. ³ W. O. *ne*; G. M. O. put before *ke*. ⁴ W. -*tro*.

musical pitch—an identity which is the ground of their common appellation.

The same statement, as to the seven *yamas* or 'tones' in each *sthāna*, 'register' or 'scale,' and the same identification with the *svaras*, are made in the Rik Prāt. (xiii.17). We are to assume, without much question, that the scales pass into one another by a constant ascending series, like the bass and soprano scales in our own system of musical notation.

कृष्टप्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थमन्द्रातिस्वार्थाः ॥ १२ ॥

12. Namely *kr̥ṣṭa*, first, second, third, fourth, *mandra*, and *atisvārya*.

These are not the ordinary names of the seven notes of the Hindu scale, or *svaras* (for which, see Jones "on the Musical Modes of the Hindus," As. Res., vol. iii.; Weber's Indische Studien, viii.259 ff.); but they are, apparently, alternative appellations for the same thing; they are given by Uvaṭa, in his comment on Rik Prāt. xiii.17, as used *sāmasu*, 'in the *sāmans*,' or 'in the *Sāma-Veda*' (Müller's Rik Pr., p. cclxxii.). Uvaṭa calls the first *krushṭa*, instead of *kr̥ṣṭa*, and the same is the reading of G. M. in our rules and their commentary, as also of T. in rule 14 only (Müller, l. c., p. cclxxiii., marginal note, states *krushṭa* or *kusṭa* to be the reading of O. also, but the maker of my collation does not note the fact, except once, under rule 14, in putting in on the margin a passage inserted out of place).

तेषां दीप्तिज्ञोपलब्धिः ॥ १३ ॥

13. Of these, the perception is born of brightness.

I have simply translated the problematical word *diptijā* literally, without claiming to understand what it signifies. The comment throws no light upon it, nor do I get any from any other quarter. The former says merely that the perception of each preceding one is "born from the brightness" of its successor; namely, the per-

12. *kr̥ṣṭaḥ*¹ *ca*² *prathamāḥ ca*³ *dvitīyaḥ ca*⁴ *trītyaḥ ca*⁵ *caturthaḥ*⁶ *'ca mandraḥ*⁷ *cā*⁸ *'tisvāryaḥ ca*⁹ *kr̥ṣṭapramadvitīyatṛītyacaturthamandrātisvāryāḥ*¹⁰: *te tatho 'ktāḥ*: 'ete *khalu*¹¹ *yamā nāma*.

¹ G. M. *krushṭaḥ* (as also in the rule). ² O. om. *ca*. ³ O. om. *ca*. ⁴ B. O. om. ⁵ G. M. O. om. ⁶ B. *kr̥ṣṭādayo*.

13. *teshān* 'khalu *saptayamānām*¹ *uttarottaradiptijā*² *pūrvapūrvopalabdhiḥ*³ *syāt*. *taḥ*⁴ *katham*: *atisvāryadiptijā mandropalabdhiḥ*⁵: *mandrāc caturthopalabdhiḥ*: *caturthāt trītyaḥ*: *trītyād dvitīyaḥ*: *dvitīyāt prathamāḥ*: *prathamāt kr̥ṣṭaḥ*⁶ *upalabhyate*.

¹ W. *diptijopalabdhiḥ*. ² G. M. O. *saptasvarānām*. ³ B. *rād*; G. M. *ran d*. ⁴ O. *pūrvop*. ⁵ G. M. om. ⁶ W. B. *mantr*; G. M. *nimadop*. ⁷ G. M. *krushṭaḥ*; O. *kr̥ṣṭaḥ* *ity*.

ception of *mandra* from that of *atisvārya*; that of the fourth, from *mandra*; and so on through the series. Perhaps the expression is nothing more than one violently figurative, signifying that each tone receives light from, or is set in its true light by, the rest, or the ones or one nearest it: only, in that case, we should look for some word combined with *dīpti* to indicate the source of the light.

Müller (under Rik Prāt. xiii.17, r. dceli.) surmises that the present rule may mean the same thing with the rule of the Rik Prāt. *anantaraḥ cā 'tra yamo 'vīṣeṣah*, which he translates 'in these three places (*sthāna*) a *yama* without another *yama* is undistinguishable.' It is very doubtful, however, whether he is justified in rendering *anantara* by 'not having another,' and whether his rule is not rather intended to signify that the three scales pass directly into one another, the first note of the second being equivalent to an eighth of the first, and so on.

द्वितीयप्रथमकृष्टास्त्रय आह्वारकस्वराः ॥ १४ ॥

14. "Second," "first," and *kr̥ṣṭa* are the three tones of the *Āhvāra*kas.

This rule makes a *śloka* with the one that follows: which is, of course, a marked indication that both are interpolated here. The same thing may be inferred from the fact that rule 15 teaches nothing which is not found also in 16.

The comment adds nothing whatever to our understanding of the rule.

The *Āhvāra*kas are mentioned in the *Caranavyūha* (paragraph 12: see Weber's *Indische Studien*, iii.257) as holders of one *śakha* of the *Yajur-Veda*.

मन्द्रादयो द्वितीयात्ताश्चत्वारस्तैत्तिरीयकाः ॥ १५ ॥

15. The four beginning with *mandra* and ending with "second" are those of the *Tāittirīya*s.

This second half-verse, as already pointed out, is superfluous in view of the next rule, which treats the same subject, and much more explicitly.

14. *dvitīyaḥ ca prathamāḥ ca kr̥ṣṭaḥ¹ ca te tatho 'ktāḥ² : ete traya āhvāra*kasvarāḥ³ *syuh :* 'eshān⁴ tāir eva prayogo veditavyah⁵. 'āhvārakānām *sva*rā⁶ *āhvāra*kasvarāḥ.

O. inserts the whole comment out of place, after that to the next rule. ¹ G. M. *krush-* (as also, with T., in the rule); O. *kush-*. ² B. ins. *dvitīyādayah*. ³ W. -*kāsv-*; O. -*kārā*. ⁴ O. om. ⁵ G. M. *te-*. ⁶ B. -*kashṭāsva*rānām; G. M. -*kasvā*rā.

15. *mandrādayaḥ catvāro¹ dvitīyāntāḥ² sva*rā³ *mandracaturtha-* *tṛtīyadvitīyāśch* *tāittirīyakāḥ⁴ syuh⁵.*

¹ G. M. O. -*ra sva*rā. ² G. M. O. om. ³ O. *teshām tittirīyake prayogo veditavyah*.

द्वितीयान्मन्द्रस्तेत्तिरीयाणां तृतीयचतुर्थावनन्तरं त-
च्चतुर्थममित्याचक्षते ॥ १६ ॥

16. According to the Tāittirīyas, the *mandra* proceeds from the "second," and the "third" and "fourth" come next after: this they style the tone-quaternion.

The order of the four tones is not made entirely clear by this rule, nor by the commentator's explanation of it. The latter says that "the *mandra* of the Tāittirīyas is born or produced from the 'second;'" and, if the expression be used in a manner akin with those under rule 13, this would imply that the *mandra* came first, and the "second" after—which would, of course, accord best with the value of the two names: *mandra* would thus be the lowest of the four *yamas*, as it is the lowest of the three *sthānas*. But the commentator then goes on to say that the series of *yamas* thus "beginning with 'second'" is styled tone-quaternion: and this would imply that the order is second, *mandra*, third, fourth. Yet further, he adds that "second" is *udatta*, *mandra* is *anudatta*, and "third" and "fourth" are *svarita* and *pracaya*. This makes the impression of a purely formal and unintelligent identification, or a forcing through of a parallelism between the four tones and the four accepted accents (which, however, are in respect to tone only three, since the *pracaya* is "of *udatta* tone," xxi.10), without the slightest regard to the already defined tonic quality of the accents. The comment, in truth, through this whole subject, seems to be written with a very insufficient comprehension of the meaning of the text: see especially the rules that follow.

Our attention is called to the fact that the preceding rule laid down the number of the Tāittirīya *yamas*, the present one undertaking nothing more than to describe their order; and that the intention of the last words of the rule is therefore simply to give a name to the series. I have pointed out above, however, that rules 14 and 15 seem to have been put in by themselves, without any regard to 16.

16. 'tāittirīyānām dvitīyāt khabu mandro jāyate: tadananta-
ram' trīyacaturthāu syātām.' etad eva dvitīyādi³ svaramaṇḍa-
lām⁴ caturyamam⁵ ity ācakshate. yo 'dvitīyāḥ sa udattaḥ: 'yo'
mandraḥ so 'anudattaḥ:' yāu trīyacaturthāu⁶ tāu svaritapracayāv
'ity arthah'. anena sātrena pūrvashāpi¹⁰ eva caturnān svarānām
kramaniyamāḥ kriyate: catuḥsaṁkhyā tu pūrvasātrenādi 'vo'¹¹
'ktā: tasmād atra caturyamam ity etat saṁjñādvīdhiparam¹² iti
pratīyate.

(1) B. om. (along with all the rule save the first three words). (2) G. om. (3) W. B. O. -ādih. (4) W. B. -ādanām. (5) G. M. -yam. (6) B. dvitīyo udattayor. (7) G. M. O. om. (8) W. dvitī-. (9) G. M. om. (10) W. sarv-; G. M. O. pūrvoktānām. (11) O. om. eva. (12) W. O. -dhiṇāparamam; G. M. -dhiṇap-.

The mention of the Tāittirīyas here, and in this manner, seems to indicate that the Prātiçākhyā does not belong to their school, or concern itself with their *çākḥā*; although, perhaps, both stand in an especially near relation to it. See what is said upon this point in the concluding note.

तस्मिन्द्वयमात्रा वृत्तिः ॥ १७ ॥

17. In it, progression is by intervals of two tones.

I have rendered this rule according to what seems to me most likely to be its real meaning—although, at the same time, I do not feel by any means confident that I understand it correctly. If the Tāittirīyas acknowledge only four notes in the scale or octave, it seems natural that they should fix these at wider intervals from one another; and the phraseology of the rule is well enough calculated to express this. The verification or rejection of my version may be left till we shall better comprehend the Hindu musical system, and its modification or adaptation as here presented. I am, at any rate, persuaded that my guess is more likely to be right than either of the two which the commentator ventures. Of these, the first is nothing less than absurd: it makes *tasmin* refer to *anudātta*, although such an antecedent can only have tumbled in out of the clouds, there having been nothing whatever to suggest it in the preceding rules; and renders 'in this *anudātta* there is a being-within of two *yamas*; that is to say, in *anudātta* inheres the quality of *svarita* and also that of *pracaya*! And, as examples of this wonderful *anudātta*, are quoted *sā nah parshat* (not found in the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā, but occurs Rig-Veda i.99.1; x.187.1-5; and Atharva-Veda vii.63.1), and *pāry avadūtām* (i.7.22).

The commentator's second guess is so far better than his first that he gives the obviously correct interpretation of *tasmin*, as referring to *caturyamam* in the preceding rule; but he makes out the meaning to be that, in this series of *svaras*, two are contained in the interior, or are included between the other two. And he

17. *dvāu ca tāu yamāu ca' dviyamāu'*: *dviyamayor'* *antarāvṛttir madhyavṛttis'* *tasminn anudātte 'bhavati: svaritatvam pracayatvam cā 'nudātte' bhavati 'ty arthaḥ. yathā: sa.... pary....*

kecid anyathā kathayanti: tasmin' caturyanne' svaramaṇḍale dviyamāntarā' vṛttiḥ: svaradvayasya' madhye vartamānam syāt ¹⁰.

anudātto hṛdi jñeyo mūrdhny udātta udāhṛtaḥ:

svaritaḥ karṇamūliyah¹¹ sarvāṅge¹² pracayaḥ smṛtaḥ.

¹¹*asyā 'yam arthaḥ:* ¹²*udātānudanūtayor'* ¹³*madhye svaritapracaya-*
yayor' ¹⁴*antarāvṛttir bhavati. 'tathā kārūhaleyahastavinyāsasa-*
maye 'pi' ¹⁵*svaritapracayaḥ antarāvṛttir upadiçyate:*

cites a verse: "*anudātta* is to be known as in the heart; *udātta* is uttered in the head; *svārīta* is at the root of the ears (or of the throat, as G. M. have it); *pracaya* is declared to be in the whole member (or to belong to the whole mouth, W. says);" the meaning of which he states to be that *svārīta* and *pracaya* are found between *udātta* and *anudātta*—forgetting that under the previous rule he had assigned them a different position. Further, he says that the interior position of *svārīta* and *pracaya* is shown in Kāuhaleya's system of motions of the hand, as appears from the verse "the chief of the digits (i. e. the thumb) points out *udātta* when its apex is applied to the root of the forefinger; when to the last but one (i. e. the ring-finger) and to the middle finger, it points out the *svārīta* and the *dhṛta*; when to the little finger, the *anudātta*." This verse occurs in the Rik-version of the *pāṇinīya* Çikshā (as verse 43: see Weber's Indische Studien, iv.365): the commentator does not regard it as a Çikshā verse, but adds yet another which he claims to take from his Çikshā, although it is not found in either version of the known treatise of that name (but compare verse 44, l. c., p. 366): "the little finger, the ring-finger, the middle finger, and the forefinger—these, along with the tip of the thumb, severally point out the grave, circumflex, *dhṛta*, and acute accents." The *pracaya* is here twice called *dhṛta*, and it again, apparently, receives the same name in the last rule of the chapter (unfortunately, I overlooked these passages when commenting on the term *dhṛtapracaya* in rule xviii.3): "sustained" or "continued" is a sufficiently natural substitute for *pracaya*, as appellation of the accent in question.

I do not understand precisely what and how much credit the commentator intends to claim for these two explanations in calling them (in his final remark) *mukhya*: if he means that they are the best among a number which had been suggested and might have been reported, it is so much the worse for the rest.

¹⁷*udāttam ākhyāti vṛsho 'ṅgulīnām
pradeṣinīmūlanivishṭamūrdhā:
upāntumadhye*¹⁸ *svaritam dhṛtam ca
kanishthikāyām anudāttam eve*

¹⁷ti¹⁷.

¹⁹*çikshāvacanam api*¹⁰ *cāi 'vaṁ vakshyati:*
*kanishthikā*²⁰ *'nāmikā ca*²¹ *mādhyaṁd ca pradeṣinī:*
*nīcascāradhṛtodāttān āṅgushthāgreṇa*²² *nirdiṣet.*
*mukhyam eva*²³ *vyākhyānadvāyam*²⁴ *etat.*

¹ MSS. om. ² W. O. om. ³ W. B. O. -mor. ⁴ G. M. om.; B. *medhyev*; O. *madhyev*. ⁵ O. om. ⁶ G. M. -ing. ⁷ W. B. O. *ma*. ⁸ W. B. O. *dvitīy*. ⁹ G. M. *dvīyamasya*. ¹⁰ G. M. O. ins. *tathā hi*. ¹¹ G. M. *kunṭham*. ¹² W. *sarvāsyah*; O. *sayāsyē*. ¹³ W. om.; B. om. *asya*. ¹⁴ G. M. *udāttānūdāttasvarita*. ¹⁵ W. om. ¹⁶ O. om.; G. M. -*leye hast*. ¹⁷ O. om.; G. M. *ākhyāti yathā: pradeṣinīmūla* *udāttam upāntumadhyayor madhye svaritam ca kanishthikāyām anudāttam it* ¹⁸ W. *atecam*. ¹⁹ O. *çikshā*. ²⁰ O. -*sthā*. ²¹ G. M. *cā 'pi*; O. *cā 'tha*. ²² O. *āṅgushthayena*. ²³ G. M. *evam*. ²⁴ W. O. -*nam dv*.

तामुपदेक्ष्यामः ॥ १८ ॥

18. That progression we will set forth.

The commentator declares *tām* here to bring forward solely the word *ṛttim* from the preceding rule (not that word with its qualifications), and the *ṛtti* aimed at to be the fourfold progression of the *caturyama* taught in rules 16 and 19. This is, of course, forced and unacceptable. I imagine that, on the contrary, in the oral tradition of the Prātiçākhyā, an uttered illustration of the four tones, separated by double intervals and so covering the whole octave, was given—which illustration, of course, could not be set down in the written text.

तच्चतुर्यममित्युक्तम् ॥ १९ ॥

19. That is what is called the quaternion of tones.

This is naturally enough explainable as a winding-up remark, after the exemplification of the four Tāittiriya tones notified in the preceding rule has been duly given. To the commentator, it is a mere repetition of what had been already stated above, in rules 15 and 16; and he excuses it as being intended, under the guise of a summing-up, to confirm the view laid down, and repel other opinions inconsistent with it. For, he adds, some people hold the doctrine that there are three *scaras* only, as appears from the half-verse “acute, grave, and circumflex are the three accents.” This verse (from the *pāṇinīya* Çikshā) was quoted in full above, under rule xxi.1; and W. adds the second half of it here also.

The futility of this exposition, as well as of much that precedes it, will, I think, be obvious to any one. Instead of tracing and pointing out the relation which actually exists between the accents and the *yamas*, and letting us see what musical intervals are re-

18. *yad etad ācāryāḍiḥ caturyamam ity uktam tasya caturbheda-
bhinnā¹ ṛttir² nāma: tām upadekshyāma ity ucyate. ³tām iti
tachabdena⁴ pūrvoktavṛttimātram anukṛshyate⁴.*

¹ G. M. -ān. ² G. M. -in. ³ W. O. tīnimittīḥabd-; B. tām iti labdhena. ⁴ W. -kathy-.

19. *ity anena prakāreṇa caturyamam ity¹ uktam. yady api
mandrādāyo dvitīyāntā (xxiii.15) ityādisātradvayena yama-
catuṣṭayatvaṁ² siddham tathā ³py upasamhāramishena³ matān-
taranivṛttyartham⁴ drḍhāyati. yataḥ kāraṇād evam anye man-
yante svaratrayamātram:*

udāttag ca ⁵nudāttag ca svaritaḥ ca ⁶svarās trayah.⁶

⁷hrasvo dīrghaḥ phata iti kālato niyamā aci.⁶

¹ O. om. ² W. caturyamamacatuṣṭayatvaṁ pra; B. -tayaṁ na; O. cat. ³ W. -shēna; G. M. -hāreṇa mi-. ⁴ G. M. ins. imam artham. ⁵ B. O. -ya iti; G. M. trayasvarā iti manyante. ⁶ in W. only.

garded as separating the different accentual pitches from one another, the commentator simply confuses the two together, and regards as said of the one what has reference only to the other.

क्रमिवक्रमसंपन्नामद्भुतामविलम्बिताम् ।

नीचोच्चस्वारसंपन्नां वदेद्भुतवतीः समां

वदेद्भुतवतीः समामिति ॥ २० ॥

20. It must be uttered with *krama* and *vikrama*, not hurried, not delayed, with grave, acute, and circumflex accent, with *pracaya*, and even.

The commentator supplies *vṛttim* as the subject of all these attributes, accounting for it as derived from rule 17, above. This is hardly admissible; but what is to be understood instead is doubtful, depending upon the connection in which this verse may have stood in the text from which it was taken. The same connection would perhaps explain what *krama* and *vikrama* are to be regarded as meaning: the commentator defines *krama* by *dvitva*, 'duplication' (taught in chapter xiv.), and *vikrama* as the accent of that name prescribed at xix.1,2; but it seems very unlikely that two things so dissimilar would be thus combined, or that a detail of accent would not be put in the second line, with the rest of its kind (compare rule xxiv.6, where *krama* and *vikrama* are found again in conjunction). *Dhṛta* is defined as synonymous with *pracaya*: compare the note to rule 17, above. *Samām* means, we are told, 'free from the faults of deficiency and excess in the matter of *udatta* and the other accents.'

There are slight variations of reading in the rule, T. giving *adhrutām* in *pāda* b; B. *svara* for *svāra* in c; W. G. M. having *vade* for *vaded*, and W. *drutavatiñ* and T. *drutav-* after it; but they are mere errors of scribes, as the comment plainly shows.

20. *tāittirīyāhvārakamatanirūpakō*¹ 'yam glosah: *kramavikramābhyāñ*² *sampannām*: *kramo nāma*³ *dvitvam*⁴: *vikramas tu svaritayor madhye yatra nicam*⁵ (xix.1) *ityuktalukshanah: adrutām atvaritām: acilumbitām amandām: nicoccasvārasampannām anudattodattasvaritasahitāñ*⁶ *dhṛtavatīm pracayavatīm: samām udattādibhir nyūnātīrekādidosharahitām*⁷: *vaded brūyāt*:⁸ *vṛttim*⁹ *ity arthah: vṛttim iti katham labhyate: tasmīn dviyamāntarā vṛttir*¹⁰ (xxiii.17) *itiprakṛtatvād*¹¹ *iti brūmah.*

iti tribhāshyaratne prātiśākhyavivarane
*trayoviṃṣo*¹² *dhyāyah.*

¹ W. B. -*rakam etan nir.*; O. -*rakāmatan nir.* ² W. -*vikrama.* ³ G. M. O. om. ⁴ G. M. *dvitvaparyāyah.* ⁵ O. -*cañ syād.* ⁶ B. -*ritapracayasanih.* ⁷ B. *nyūnātīrek-tādī*; O. *nyūnādīrek.* ⁸ G. M. ins. *imāñ.* ⁹ B. om. ¹⁰ O. v. ¹¹ O. -*kr̥tīv.* ¹² G. M. O. *dvitīyapracṇe ekādaṣo.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONTENTS: 1-4, the four *saṁhitās* or texts; 5-6, qualifications of a Veda-reader and teacher.

अथ चतस्रः संहिताः ॥ १ ॥

1. Now for the four texts.

A simple heading to the following rules.

पदसंहितान्नरसंहिता वर्णसंहिताङ्गसंहिता चे-
ति ॥ २ ॥

2. Word-text, syllable-text, letter-text, and member-text, namely.

Here is a very curious and problematical enumeration and designation of *saṁhitās*. The commentator divides up among them the teachings of the Prātiśākhya. To the "word-text" he assigns chapters v.-ix., xi., xii., and xiii. 1-4—that is to say, the great body of rules for the combination of *pada*-text into *saṁhitā*. To the "syllable-text" he assigns chapter x., which has to do chiefly with such euphonic combinations of vowels as make one syllable out of two. With the "letter-text" are concerned chapters xiii. (i. e. except rules 1-4), xiv., and xvi., mainly occupied with the subjects of duplication and of the occurrence in the Saṁhitā of *n* and *ñ*, otherwise than as these are results of the rules of euphonic combination. And the "member-text" is said to be taught in chapter

1. *athe 'ty ayam adhikārah: catasrah saṁhitā ucyanta' ity etad adhikṛtaṁ veditavyam ita uttaraṁ yad vakshyāmah².*

¹ G. M. ins. *ity*. ² O. om. ³ O. *-yate*.

2. *padākṣharavarṇāṅgācṛayāc¹ catasrah saṁhitāḥ kramena boddhavyāḥ. pañcamādhyāyam 'ārabhyā' navamād ekādaśa-dvādaśā² trayodaśasyā³ 'dāu sūtracatusṭṭayam ca padasaṁhitā. daśamo 'ksharasamhitā. trayodaśacaturdaśā⁴ shodaśaś ca varṇasaṁhitā. 'vyañjanañ svarāṅgam (xxi.1) ity eṣhā⁵ 'ṅga-samhitā. etāc⁶ catasrah saṁhitāḥ. eteshv anyātra⁷ vihitam ni-shiddham⁸ ca kāryaṁ sarvasamhitāsu⁹ kuryāt¹⁰: yatrā¹¹ 'rsha-grahanādiko viśeṣho nā 'sti¹².*

¹ W. *-gā ayāc*; O. *-gāyāc*. ² W. B. O. *ārabhya ā nav-*; G. M. *ārabhya ānapa-dāikādaś-*; W. O. *-dvādaśa*. ³ O. *-cā*. ⁴ W. *-rdaśa*. ⁵ B. G. M. *ekaviṁśo*. ⁶ G. M. om. ⁷ O. ins. *ca*. ⁸ G. M. *nishidhyakāñ*. ⁹ B. *-tā*; G. M. *sarvatra saṁh-*; O. *sahit-*. ¹⁰ G. M. *syāt*. ¹¹ W. B. O. *atrā*. ¹² G. M. add *tatra kuryāt*.

xxi. (rules 1-9), which prescribes of what vowel each consonant shall be regarded as "member" or adjunct, or lays down the rules of syllabication. And it is added that whatever is prescribed or forbidden elsewhere than in [the rules belonging to each of] these is of force in all the different texts, unless there be some special restriction, as by the use of the word *ārsha* (ix.21; x.13) or the like.

It is unnecessary to point out that the Prāticākhya contemplates no such division of its rules and restriction of their application as is here made, and that, unless the distinction of texts laid down in the rule means something different from what the commentator explains it to be, it is trivial and worthless.

नानापदसंधानसंयोगः पदसंहितेत्यभिधीयते ॥ ३ ॥

3. Conjunction of independent words by euphonic combination is called word-text.

The commentator first explains *sandhāna* as modifying *sam-yoga* in quality of a locative, and then declares the use of the two equivalent terms to be for the purpose of signifying the exceeding closeness of the combination (if, as I presume to be the case, the reading of B. is here the correct one). And he quotes the rule of Pāṇini (i.4.109) as what "the grammarians" say upon the subject, giving the definition of *samhita* or combined text. As example of word-text, he gives *agne dudhra guhya kiṇṇila vanya yā ta ishuh* (v.5.9¹: only G. M. have *ishuh*).

* This interpretation makes *padasamhita* signify what we are wont to call *samhita* simply, in distinction from *padapāṭha*, or *pada-samhita* as usually employed, 'pada-text.'

यथास्वमन्तरसंहितादीनामप्येवम् ॥ ४ ॥

4. And in like manner with the syllable-text and the rest, in accordance with their several names.

The commentator explains *yathāsvam* as signifying 'it goes on without exceeding that which is its own,' and pronounces it a 'distinction of office or use;' thus, namely, the peculiar form of all the other specified texts is to be determined; the combination of inde-

3. *nānābhūtaayoḥ padayoḥ sandhāne yaḥ samyogah sa pada-samhite 'ty abhidhīyata ucyaata ity arthah. yathā: agne.... ekārthayoḥ sandhānasamyogaśabdayoḥ' prayogah sandhānādhi-kyārthah². tathā ca vāidyākaraṇāḥ³ pathanti⁴: parah samnikar-shah samhite 'ti.*

¹ G. M. -yogayoḥ; O. samyogesaṁbadhānaḥ. ² W. -nādikyādityarthah; G. M. sambandhikārthah; O. sambandhikādhārthah. ³ G. M. O. -nā. ⁴ G. M. bhāṇanti; O. api.

4. *svamsvam¹ anatikramya vartata iti yathāsvam: kriyāvi-śaṇam 'evāi 'tat': evam aksharasamhitaadinām api yathāsvam²*

pendent syllables is syllable-text—and so on. And he quotes three passages from the text, by way of illustration: *athā 'bravīt* (iii.2.11³), *adhishuvanam asi* (i.1.5²), and *akshnayā vyāghārayati* (v.2.7⁵ et al.). Of these, the first is an example of the combination of two separate syllables (vowels) into one syllable, by a rule (2) of the tenth chapter; the second, of the occurrence of *n* after *sh*, by rule xiii.6,7; the third offers (like almost any other pair of words in the *Sanhitā*) cases of the division of consonant-groups, *akṣhskt-īna-yāv-vyā* etc. Or, by a different treatment of the successive distinctions, it is said that the combination of two vowels alone is "syllable-text;" that of a vowel and consonant in one word is "letter-text;" that of consonants alone in one word (consonants being "members" or adjuncts of vowels, xxi.1) is "member-text;" anything else than these is "word-text."

It appears from all this that *saṁhitā* is here used nearly in the sense of *saṁdhi*, 'euphonic combination,' and that these four rules have no significance whatever, being a mere bit of outside classification, in which some one has amused himself by indulging.

गुरुत्वं लघुता साम्यः ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतानि च ।

लोपागमविकाराश्च प्रकृतिविक्रमः क्रमः ॥

स्वरितोदत्तनीचवः श्वासो नादो ऽङ्गमेव च ।

एतत्सर्वं तु विज्ञेयं इन्दोभाषामधीयता ॥५॥

5. Heaviness, lightness, evenness; short, long, and protracted quantity; elision, increment, and euphonic alteration; natural state, *vikrama*, *krama*; circumflex, acute, and grave quality; breath, tone, and adjunction—all this must be understood by him who reads the Veda language.

svarūpam nirūpanīyam. nānāksharasamnyogo 'ksharasamhitā: 'nānāvarnasamnyogo varṇasamhitā: nānāṅgasamnyogo 'ṅgasamhitā: 'krameno 'dāharanāni bhāṣamāḥ: yathā: athā----- adhi----- akṣh----- kevalasvarayoh samnyogo 'ksharasamhitā: 'ekapade svaravyañjanasamnyogo varṇasamhitā: ekapade kevalavyañjanasamnyogo 'ṅgasamhitā: anyatra padasamhitā: ity avāntarabhedo vijñeyah.

¹ W. B. *svam*. ⁽²⁾ G. M. *om.*; O. *om. eva*. ³ O. *-sva*. ⁽⁴⁾ G. M. put also after rule 4 in the text of the *Prāticākhyā*, as if rules 5 and 6. ⁽⁵⁾ O. *oma*. ⁶ W. *om.*; G. M. *vyāharāmāḥ*. ⁷ G. M. *om.* ⁸ B. *om.*

5. *yad gurutvādyushtādaṣavidham etat sarvaṁ chandobhāshām vedarūpam vācam adhyatā pathatā vijñeyam. atha vā chandobhāshām vedulakṣhaṇam ity arthah. tucabdo 'dhyetravya tirikitanishedhārthah: anena tu sarvathā vijñeyam ity arthah*

The commentator explains *vedabhāṣām* as meaning either 'voice having the form of Veda,' i. e. the uttered material of the Veda, or (according to another sense of *bhāṣā*) 'explanation of the Veda.' The particle *tu* in the last half-verse (which I have omitted in translating, as being a mere expletive or *pādapūraṇa*), he states to mean that the reader referred to must by all means understand all this, but not any one besides. And he adds at the end that *viññeya* indicates the peremptoriness of the rule, there being risk of harm in the absence of the required knowledge, as is shown by the verse "a *mantra* deficient in respect to accent or to letters" etc. This is the familiar verse, found in the *pāṇinīya* *Çikshā* (verse 52: see Weber's *Indische Studien*, iv.367-8), and quoted times innumerable in Hindu works, where the present subject is under consideration: O. alone adds the second *pāda*, "being falsely applied, does not express the intended sense;" the rest is, "it, an uttered thunderbolt, harms the sacrificer, like the word *indracatru* [when used by *Tvashtar*] with false accent."

The rest of the comment is occupied with illustration of the points referred to in the rule, along with now and then a few words of explanation. For "heavy" quality (see xxii.14) is cited *vashat svāhā* (vii.3.12); for "light" (see xxii.15), *akuruta* (v.5.8¹ et al.: W. B. give instead *akurvata* [i.7.3³ et al.], which is less acceptable, as containing also a heavy syllable). *Sāmya*, 'evenness, sameness,' is defined as implying that, of two elements compared, there is—in respect to place and organ of articulation, quantity, etc.—sameness (so G. M., but B. O. read 'bigness' instead, and W. has 'steadiness'): what is really meant, is obscure; we may compare the use of the adjective *sama* in xxiii.20. The examples for short, long, and protracted, respectively, are *gamayati* (i.7.3⁴ et al.), *vāyāv evā 'sya* (vi.3.7⁴), and *astu hīz iti* (vii.1.6¹: G. M. omit *iti*). Elision is instanced by *īm 'andrasu* (iv.1.8²: see above, v.12); increment, by *trapuṣ ca me* (iv.7.5¹: see above, v.4); euphonic conversion, by *sam indra no manasā* (i.4.44¹: only O. has *manāsa*: a case under vii.2). To illustrate *prakṛti*, 'original condition,' are given three phrases, *agne dudhra gahya kiñcila vanya yā te* (v.5.9¹: W. B. end with *kiñcila*, and G. M. with *vanya*; and G. M. O. omit *agne*), *prapā asi* (ii.5.12⁴), and *na ni-*

gurutvaṁ yathā: vashaṭ..... laghutā yathā: akuruta. sām-
yam yathā: sthānakaranakālādibhir⁸ anayor asti sthānuryam⁹ iti.
hrasvādīrghaphlutāni ca⁸ yathā: gamayati: vāyāv..... astu
..... lopo yathā: ° īm..... āgamo yathā: trapuṣ..... ¹⁰vi-
kāro yathā: sam..... prakṛtir yathā: agne.....: prapā.....:
na.....¹⁰ vikramo yathā: voḍhave. kramo nāma dvitvam ¹¹
yathā: yad.....: ¹²yad.....¹² svaritodāttanīcānām bhāvah svari-
todāttanīcatvam: ¹³tad yathākramam¹³ nirḍiṣyate¹⁴: nyañcam:
gām.....: avadatām. vivṛte svāsa (ii.5) ity uktah¹⁵ pado
yathā: pā..... samvṛte¹⁶ kanṭhe nādah kriyata (ii.4) ity

thunī ābhavan (v.3.6²: G. M. omit *na*). Of these, the second is a case under x.13; the third, under x.18: both exhibiting a vowel which irregularly remains *prakṛtyā*, or exempt from alteration. But the particular bearing of the first example on the point of *prakṛti* is more obscure: the phrase is one in which the *saṁhitā*-reading is (except in respect to accent) the same with the *pada*; and this, probably, is the reason why it is taken. Compare the comment and note to v.2, where this part of the rule now in hand is quoted. For *vikrama* is given the word *vōdhavē* (i.6.2¹ et al.), of which the second syllable has the accent called *vikrama*, by xix. 1. *Krama* is again (as under xxiii.20) defined as ‘duplication,’ and a phrase is quoted containing a case that calls for duplicated utterance, *yad vāi hoti* (iii.2.9¹: i. e. *yad dvāi*, by xiv.1): O. adds another of like character, *yad vepoh* (v.1.1⁴). We are permitted to doubt, however, here as at xxiii.20, whether these terms were intended by the maker of the rule in the sense which the commentator assigns to them. The three accents are instanced, in their order as mentioned, by *nyāncan* (v.5.3²), *gān vā vā tūnāt* (i.7.2²), and *avādatām* (i.7.2²). Reference is made to rule ii.5 as defining “breath,” and as example of breath-sounds, or surd consonants, is cited *pūshā te* (i.1.2²: B. has instead *pāte*, and W. *pārte*, which occurs at iv.7.13⁵). Rule ii.4, again, is referred to as defining “tone” or sonant utterance, and the example is *bhāgadhe bhāgadhāh* (ii.5.6⁶). Finally, *āṅgam*, which I have rendered ‘adjunction,’ is interpreted as alluding to the subject of syllabication (xix.1 etc.), and a phrase is quoted, *tam matsyah prā’bravīt* (ii.6.6¹), which we are to divide *tam-mat-thsyaq-prāb-bra-vīt*.

The verses composing this rule are found in a passage prefixed to the proper text of the Rik Prāt. (see Müller’s edition, p. viii.).

पदक्रमविशेषज्ञो वर्णक्रमविचक्षणः ।

स्वरमात्राविभागज्ञो गृहेदाचार्यसश्चदं

गृहेदाचार्यसश्चदमिति ॥ ६ ॥

6. He who understands the distinctions of the *pada-krama*, who is versed in the *varṇa-krama*, and knows the divisions of accent and quantity, may go and sit with the teachers.

ukto nādo yathā: bhāṅy-.... vyañjanañ svarāṅgam (xxi. 1) *ity uktam āṅgaṁ yathā: tam-.... vijñeyatvam*¹⁷ *iti*¹⁸ *nitya-vidhiḥ: vipakshe bādhat: mantrō hīnaḥ svarato varṇato ve*¹⁹ *tyādī*²⁰.

¹ G. M. -*dasvar*. ² O. -*shā*. ³ W. O. -*nāt*: G. M. -*nām*. ⁴ W. -*ka iti nish-*
⁵ G. M. *anēd’āhiyatā*. ⁶ G. M. *sthānakāt*. ⁷ B. O. *sthānyam*; G. M. *ti sāmyam*.
⁸ G. M. O. om. ⁹ W. ins. *etat sarvaṁ tu vijñeyam chañdobhāvādhāyatā*. (¹⁰) B. om.
¹¹ G. M. ins. *tad*. (¹²) in O. only. (¹³) W. *padak-*: O. *tad yathā*. ¹⁴ O. om. ¹⁵ MSS.
¹⁶ W. om. ¹⁷ G. M. O. -*yam*. ¹⁸ G. M. *ita*. ¹⁹ O. *vā*. ²⁰ W. -*dind*; B. -*dind*
nāma; O. *mīthyā prayukto na tam artham ūha tyādīnām*.

This verse also is prefixed to the Rik Prāt. (Müller, p. viii.).

The commentator gives a merely mechanical explanation of the two terms composing the first half-verse, without telling us what he understands them really to mean. Doubtless the *pada-krama* is that which is commonly known as the "*krama-text*," and for the construction of which the other Prāṭicākhyas (Rik Pr. x., xi.; Vāj. Pr. iv.179-194; Ath. Pr. iv.101-126) give full directions; and the *varṇa krama* is the text with duplicated consonants, according to the rules of our fourteenth chapter. The compound *svaramātrāvibhāga* we are taught to treat as a dependent one; we might also be tempted to regard it as copulative, and to understand *vibhāga* in the sense of 'separation' (as in *pada-text* etc.), as in the only other place where it occurs in the treatise (iii.1). "Going to the assembly of teachers" is interpreted to signify not merely the sitting with them on earth, but the enjoyment with them of the abode of felicity, the *brahmaloka*—it being explained (except in G. M.) that "the teachers" are Vyāsa and his like. Then, *apropos* of this promise of heaven to those versed in the class of subjects of which the Prāṭicākhya treats, the commentator proceeds to quote from various *purāṇas* and kindred works the praises and promises there given to those who teach the Veda.

Thus, from the Garuḍa-purāṇa: "Of all kinds of knowledge, that of the Veda is called highest; hence, he who communicates that wins heaven and final beatitude. As chief of all sciences has been produced the *brahma-science*; hence, he who is devoted to giving it will receive the whole recompense of giving." From the Devī-purāṇa: "To those twice born, the Veda is the chief means

6. 'padānām kramah padukramah': tasya viśeṣah: tam jānāti 'ti padukramaviśeṣajñah. varṇānām kramo varṇakramah': tasmin vicakṣaṇo nīpuṇo varṇakramavicakṣaṇah'. svarāc ca 'mātrāc ca' svaramātrāḥ: tāsām vibhāgaḥ: tam jānāti 'ti svaramātrāvibhāgajñah'. mātrācabdena kālaviśeṣah kaścīd utyate: so 'pi caturamur' ityādishu'. evaṇividhaḥ puruṣa ācāryasaṁsādam 'gachet': 'ācāryā' vyāsādāryah¹⁰: teshām 'brahmaloke' sthānam: 'yaç ce 'dam' cāstram jānīte so 'py ācāryatvāt teshām sadṛṣam brahmalokam gachati'¹⁷. .

tathā ca¹⁸ paurāṇikā bhananti¹⁹. gāruḍapurāṇe²⁰:

dhuh samastavidyānām vedavidyām anuttamām²¹:

atas taddātur asty eva lābhah svargāpavargayoḥ.

vidyānām paramā²² vidyā brahmavidyā²³ samīritā:

atas "tuddānaçiluç ca" sarva²⁴ dānaphalam labhet²⁵.

devīpurāṇe²⁶:

veda eva dvijātīnām sādhanam "yaçasaḥ phalam"²⁷:

ato²⁸ svādhyayanābhyāsāt²⁹ param brahmā 'dhigachati.

"tam eva çilayet prājñah çishyebhyas tam pradāpayet:

tadabhyāsapradānābhyām "etat kiṁ nā" 'dhigachati'³¹.

of obtaining good things; hence, by application to the reading of the Veda one attains the highest *brahma*. To that let him who is wise especially devote himself; that let him deliver over to pupils; by application to that and communication of it what is there that one does not attain?" From Yājñavalkya: "Above all sacrifices, and ascetic practices, and pure works, the Veda is the highest means of felicity to the twice-born ones. The Brahman who, not reading the Vedas, expends his labor in other directions—he quickly falls, while living, into the condition of a Çūdra, and his posterity with him" (the latter of these two verses, which is not given by W. B., is found in Manu, at ii. 168). From the Mahābhārata: "Whoever shall repeat to pupils the religious, sacred Sarasvatī, he shall gain a reward equal to that from the giving of land and kine." From the Vishnudharmottara-purāna: "By imparting the Veda, a man attains all the fruits of sacrifices; by imparting an *upaveda*, he shares in the bliss of the Gandharvas." From the Brahma-purāna: "That reward cannot be told in a thousand aeons, which, oh sage! one obtains by even a very little teaching of the Veda." And from the Bhavishyat-purāna: "The sonless obtains sons; the poor becomes rich; but he who is ever devoted to the study of the Veda is dissolved in the highest *brahma*."

Next we are told the characteristic form of the Veda: "The Yajur-Veda is brown-eyed, slim-waisted, big-throated, big-checked, black-footed, dusky, born of the family of Kaçyapa." If there is (as may be the case) real meaning hidden under these apparently senseless epithets, it escapes my discovery.

tathā ca yājñavalkyaḥ :

yajñānām tapasām cāi 'va çubhānām³³ cāi 'va karmaṇām :
veda eva dvijātīnām nihcreyasakurāḥ parāḥ.

³⁴*yo 'nadhītya³⁵ dvijo vedān anyatra kurute çṛanam :*
sa jīvaṇ eva çādratvaṁ āçu gachati sānvayaḥ³⁴.

mahābhārata³⁶:

yo brūyāt cā 'pi çishyebhyo³⁷ dharmyaṁ brāhminī sarasvatīm :
prthivīgopradānābhyāṁ sa tulyaphalam aṣṇute.

vishnudharmottare 'pi³⁸:

vedadānād avāpmoti sarvaṁ yajñaphalaṁ naraḥ :
upavedapradānena gandharvāḥ saha modate.

brahmapurāṇe 'pi³⁹:

na tat⁴⁰ kalpasahasreṇa gaditum⁴¹ çakyate phalam :
yad vedadānād āpnoti⁴² svalpād⁴³ api mahāmāte.

bhavishyatpurāṇe 'pi⁴⁴:

aputro labhate putrān adhaṇo dhanavān bhavet :
sadādhyayanayuktas tu "pure brahmaṇi⁴⁵ kīyate.

vedasvarūpam ucyate :

yajurvedaḥ piṅgalākṣaḥ kṛçṇamādhyo brhadgalaḥ :
brhatkapolaḥ kṛṣṇāṅghris⁴⁶ tāmraḥ kaçyapagotrājaḥ⁴⁷.

Once more, the *vedāṅgas* and *upāṅgas* are rehearsed: the former, in the usual number and with the usual names: the latter, as *anupada*, *ānupada* (?), *chandobhāshā*, *nīmāṁsā*, *nyāya*, and *tarka*—the first two of these last are elsewhere called *pratipada* and *anupada* (see Weber's Indische Studien, iii.260-261, and the St. Petersburg Lexicon).

With this, in W. B., the Tribhāshyaratna ends; but G. M. O. have an added passage, the bearing of which is not in all points quite clear to me. It begins with stating that he who reads the Veda thus accompanied by the *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*, and with knowledge of the characteristic form and family, becomes purified. A verse then follows, in which it appears to be laid down how far the rules of the Prātiśākhya have force: namely, as regards other texts, and passages which are not the subject of *sūtras* and are of human authorship (?). By way of illustration, nine passages are quoted, not one of which is to be found in the Saṁhitā proper, although five are from its endings of sections, or the summaries of words with which the divisions of sections (half-centuries, *kandikās*) conclude: they are *pra nakshatrāya deṇyāya* (G. M. omits *deṇyāya*, and O. begins *anaksh-*), *sa im mamāda mahi karma kartave* (O. omits *karma*: Tāittirīya-Brāhmaṇa ii.5.8⁹; Rig-Veda ii.22.1), *mahi-saptadageṇā vasyuvātih* (from the ending of iv.4.12), *api-sida-mithunyo ashtāu ca* (from the ending of vi.5.8), and *asmiṁs-tanuvu-stuhi-pinākam* (from the ending to iv.5.10): in these the rules are said not to hold good; and *sīṁhe vyāghra uta yā prdikāu* (Tāittirīya-Brāhmaṇa ii.7.7¹; Atharva-Veda vi.38.1; Kāthaka xxxvi. 15), *dvādaśā gnishtomasya stotrāni* (O. *stotroni*), *ātmanāparā-nish-pra-śukragocishā* (from the ending of vi.4.10: G. M. stops at *pra*), and *uṇmasi-posham ekāṁnaviṇṇatīṣ ca* (ending of i.3.6: G. M. stop at *posham*), in which the rules are said to hold good. So much as this, now, seems clear: that the first two quotations in each class are given as coming from some other Vedic text than the Tāittirīya-

vedāṅgāny ucyante :

śikshā kulpo vyākaranam niruktam jyotisham tathā :
chandasaṁ⁴⁸ lakṣaṇam ce 'ti śhaḍ aṅgāni vidur budhāḥ⁴⁹.
anupadam⁵⁰ cā⁵¹ nupadam chandobhāshāsamanvitam :
nīmāṁsānyāyatarkam⁵² ca upāṅgāni vidur budhāḥ⁵³.

⁴⁴ *evam sāṅgopāṅgavedasya lakṣaṇam sampārnam.⁵⁴*

iti tribhāshyaratne prātiśākhyavivarane

gaturviṇṣo⁵⁶ dhyāyah.

iti dvitīyapragṇaḥ samāptaḥ.

(1) G. M. om. (2) W. B. om. (3) W. B. om. (4) O. om. (5) O. om. (6) O. *sā*. (7) W. *caran*; O. *-nika*. (8) G. M. *ity avadiṣhma*; O. *ity āvadiṣhma*. (9) O. ins. *sthānam*. (10) G. M. *sāmsadān sthānam ācāryasya sāmsadam*. (11) W. B. O. *-ryah*. (12) O. ins. *ca*. (13) W. *-kaṁ*; G. M. *-ko hi*. (14) B. *padu*. (15) B. om. (16) G. M. *sadanam*; O. *sāmsadān sthāna*. (17) O. *gachet*. (18) W. om. (19) W. B. *bhuvanti*; O. *vadanti*. (20) B. *gar*; G. M. *-de p*. (21) W. B. *-man*. (22) G. M. *ca parā*. (23) W. om. (24) G. M. O. *-nata, rājan*. (25) B. G. M. *-rva*. (26) W. B. *bhavet*; O. *bhet*. (27) O. *tathā ca dev*.

Sanhitā (I should guess that they would all prove to occur in the Brāhmaṇa or Âranyaka), and that the first class are offered as containing cases of combination at variance with the rules of the Prātiçākhyā, while in the second class these rules are observed throughout. Thus, in the first example, vii.4 would require *naksh-* after *pra*; in the second, v.12 would require *im 'amāda*; in the third, the *s* of *sapta* should be *sh* by vi.2; in the fourth, the *i* of *mithunī* should remain unchanged by x.18; in the fifth, *asmin* is not included among the words which by vi.14 have an increment of *s* before *t*. In the other class, on the contrary, *agnishtomasya* follows vi.2, *nish pra* is by viii.24 and 35 (see the comment to viii. 35, where the passage is quoted as illustration), and *uçmasi* by iii. 13; the first example has nothing but cases under the general laws of euphony. I conjecture, then, that the *na* in the second line of the introductory verse is to be amended to *ca*; and that we are instructed that the rules of the treatise are followed, outside the Sanhitā proper, only according to the nature of each particular case, or even by arbitrary choice. If there is any definite system according to which the phonetic peculiarities of the Sanhitā are observed or neglected in putting together the endings of sections and other divisions, I, at any rate, have not been at the pains to study it out, and the work belongs rather to an editor of the Sanhitā than to an editor of the Prātiçākhyā: it seems somewhat strange to find the prolonged *i* of *uçmasi* retained in the ending, while the uncombinable character of the final of *mithunī* is neglected.

There can be little question that the passage here treated is an appendage to the proper text of the Tribhāshyaratna, which, with the Prātiçākhyā, takes in general (the only exception is at viii.35) no account of the subdivisions of *anuvākas*.

By way of conclusion, the remark is added that the repetition of the final words of the rule indicates the end of the treatise. This is not to be approved, for the repetition is simply that which is made at the end of every chapter, and so shows nothing more than the conclusion of the chapter.

(28) W. *yasasah ph-*; G. M. *çreyasām param*; O. *çreyasah param*. ²⁹ G. M. O. *tato*.
³⁰ G. M. *-dhyāyanīratāt*. ⁽³¹⁾ W. B. om. ⁽³²⁾ O. *ta ki yaññā*. ³³ O. *çucināni*. ⁽³⁴⁾ W. B. om. ³⁵ O. *nadlitva*. ³⁶ G. M. O. *-te 'pi*. ³⁷ G. M. *çishyāya*. ³⁸ G. M. O. om.
³⁹ G. M. O. om. ⁴⁰ W. O. *tulya*. ⁴¹ O. *gani-*. ⁴² W. B. *avāp-*. ⁴³ W. O. *svātmād*.
⁴⁴ G. M. O. om. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ O. *parabrahmaṇi*. ⁴⁶ W. *-nādhriḥ*; O. *-shtanāndhi*. ⁴⁷ G. M. *kāç-*. ⁴⁸ W. *-dānsi*. ⁴⁹ W. *-dhūih*. ⁵⁰ O. *-prad-*. ⁵¹ G. M. *nā*. ⁵² W. B. O. *-rkaç*.
⁵³ W. *-dhūih*. ⁽⁵⁴⁾ B. *sāṅgopāṅgavedasvalakṣaṇam*, and put below, after *varāṇe*;
 G. M. O. substitute *evam sāṅgopāṅgaṇi vedāṇi gobrasvarūpādijñānena* (G. M. *-di*
vijñānam) *adhivijānaḥ pūto bhavati*. [yadrçayā:

grāhātāntare yathātattvam (O. *yathā tadvad*) *idaṁ çāstraṁ* (G. M. ins. *yathāvidhi*)
asūtriteṣu (O. *sūcakēṣu*) *sthāneṣu pāruṣeṣu na* (O. om.) *vartate*.
tathā hi: pra-----sa-----mah-----api-----asmin-----ityādāu na (O.
 om. *na*) *vartate* (G. *prav-*) *siñhe-----dād-----āt-----uçmasi-----*
ityādāu tu vartate. *gachēd acāryasāmsadaṁ iti vipsā çāstrasamāptiṁ* (O. *-trapari-*
sam-) *dyotayati*. ⁵⁵ B. *-uçatimo*; G. M. O. *dvitīyapraçne dvādaço*.

CONCLUDING NOTE.

It seems desirable to present here, at the end of the work, a discussion and exposition of certain points which could not be connectedly or fully treated in the notes upon the rules.

A first important question is that of the relation of the Prātiçākhyā to the known text of the Black Yajur-Veda, or to the Tāittirīya-Sanhitā.

In considering this question, it is impossible to separate entirely the Prātiçākhyā itself from its commentary. The former does not quote passages in its rules, but defines situations or specifies words, singly or in combination. Sometimes, indeed, either of these virtually amounts to the citation of a passage; but, in the great majority of cases, only the commentator can inform us what are the passages had in view. For example, we may regard *eshtah* (viii.18) as in effect a reference to i.2.11¹ and vi.2.26⁶; but the words cited in viii.8 (as *abibhar*, *akur*, *punar*, *pitar*) are indefinite in their indications, and it would be impossible to say that any given passage in the Sanhitā in which one of these words occurs either was or was not contemplated by the makers of the rule. I shall therefore present in connection with one another the evidence derivable from the text itself and that from the comment.

There are four words or parts of words specified in the Prātiçākhyā-text which are not to be found in the Tāittirīya-Sanhitā: they are *stanutar* (viii.8), *carshan* (xiii.13), *jigivā* (xvi.13), and *jighāsi* (xvi.18). It is very remarkable, however, that each of these is a kind of reflex or varied repetition of another word preceding it in the same rule: thus, we have *sanuta stanutah*, *carman carshan*, *jigivā jigivā*, and *jigāsi jighāsi*. And this, taken in connection with the fact that all of them appear to be in themselves ungenue, never having been found, so far as I am aware, in any Vedic text, and being, at least in part, impossible or highly implausible forms, is sufficient to stamp them as probable corruptions, blundering intrusions into the Prātiçākhyā, and of no force to prove that the latter was made for a text that contained them.

The cases are much more numerous in which the commentator declares the Prātiçākhyā to have in contemplation phrases not to be found in the Sanhitā. They are nearly all of this kind: in iv.11, *viçākhe* is declared *pragraha*; now the word is divided in *pada*-text, *vi-çākhe*, and *çākhe* is by itself a *pada* (according to i.48); and therefore, unless there were some other *çākhe* not a *pragraha* in the Sanhitā, it would be enough to cite *çākhe* alone in the rule; hence, as the citation of *bhāgadhe* (p. *bhāga-dhe*) just before implies that the maker of the rule had in view such a word as *uda-dhe*, whose *dhe* was not *pragraha*, so the citation of *viçākhe* is declared to have in view such a word as *sahasra-çākhe*, not a *pragraha*, "in another text." The phrases thus quoted from outside the Sanhitā by the commentator are as follows: under iv.11, *tas-*

mint sahasraçākhe, ūrdhve çastre pratishthite, brahmasāme pratishthite, agnidhrte, and prathamaje; under iv.12, paçuçrapanī (or bhūsmacrapanī); under iv.15, tam (or tām) āhavi hvayante (or rā-cayati), hūti punar (or manur) juhōti, and hūti tasmād vivāh (or evāh); under iv.37, indrāgni havāmahe; under vi.5, pramatis te devānām; under xi.3, as beginning of an anuvāka, dhātā derebhyo 'surān; under xi.16, gayasphāno 'gnishu. All this, in my view, is false and arbitrary interpretation; the Prātiçākhyā is less careful to limit itself to the *minimum citabile* than the commentator would fain have it, and it quotes, for example, the whole word *niçākhe* instead of -çākhe alone, simply because çākhe occurs as *pragraha* only in that word.* The same implication is appealed to by the commentator under xi.9,15, xii.3, xvi.12 (though without actual citation of phrases), to explain away what would otherwise be inaccuracies in the Prātiçākhyā; *nalām plavam* is given under xiii.16, in the course of the unjustifiable exposition of that rule; and *brahmān*, though found in the Sanhitā, is credited under xv.8 to another çākḥā. I do not regard anything in this whole class of cases as authorizing us to suppose that the Prātiçākhyā had in view a text including anything not found in the Tāittirīya-Sanhitā.

Next, as to citations made in the commentary as if from the text to which the Prātiçākhyā relates, but not found in the Sanhitā. And here I have first to report a few phrases which are among those occurring only in the manuscripts that came last to my hands, and which escaped my notice when preparing for my last search through the Sanhitā, so that I have not looked for them (not having had the courage to undertake the long and tedious quest through the Sanhitā a fourth time for so little). They are *achā-vākah* (xiv.5), *uccā ratnam ayajanta* (ii.49), *tasmād varūpam* (xx.3), *dārçyañ hi* (xxi.16), *naç cid ati* (xiv.10), *prāçnāti* (xiv.9), and *brhaspati sīrapate* (xiv.10). Respecting several of these, it is doubtful whether they are not mere corruptions of phrases actually found and referred. Then there is *kaviçastah* (xvi.2), instead of which, by an error, I sought and found *kaviçastāh*. There remain, of quotations hunted for but not discovered, the following: *adya vasu vasati 'ti 'ndram eva* (x.10: O. only), *anv enam mātā* (xx.1: Weber refers me for this to Çāṅkh. vi.17.2 [?], Ācval. iii.3; also Āit. Brāh. ii.6), *ahorātre pārçve* (viii.7: only W. and [?]) O.: found in Tāitt. Ār. iii.13.2), *utu gravaśā prthivīm mitrasya* (v.12: only G. M.), *upārçhuty askandāya* (x.9: only G. M.), *caturhotā* (ii.25: Tāitt. Br. ii.2.3²), *brahmāndanam pacati* (x.7: Tāitt. Br. i.1.9³), *yaç chandasām* (xiv.10: O. only), *yā praci dik* (iv.33: W. B. O.), *varshābhyah* (xiv.16: but I am not certain that I did not satisfy myself with *varshyābhyah* and omit to search for this), *varshyebhih* (xiv.16: O. only, and it reads *varshebbhih*),

* The quotation of *dhātā rātiḥ* (xi.3), to be sure, is more out of the way, and only to be explained as irregularly pleonastic, like that of *iyam eva sā yā* (xi.3), into which the commentator, with equal arbitrariness, tries to interpret a very different meaning.

çitikanthāya svāhā (xiii.11: only G. M.), and *sa nah parshot* (xxiii.17: Rig-V. i.99.1 et al.).

Along with these may properly be reported the few phrases which are quoted by the comment, confessedly or impliedly from outside the text contemplated by the Prātiçākhyā. Thus, we have under xviii.1 the beginning and concluding words of the Tāittirīya-Brāhmaṇa and the Tāittirīya-Āraṇyaka (that is to say, of the latter, the concluding words, *āi 'va tapati*, of the fifth *prapāthaka*, with which, accordingly, to the apprehension of our commentator, the whole treatise appears to have ended); under xxiv.6 are given (by G. M. O.) *dvādaçā 'gnishtomasya stotrāni, pra nakshatrāya devyāya, sa imi mamādu mahi karma kartave* (Tāitt. Br. ii.5.8⁹ etc.), and *sinhe vyāghra uta yā prākāu* (Tāitt. Br. ii.7.7¹ etc.); in a quoted verse under xxi.6 is read *ṛtasya dhārshadam* (Tāitt. Br. i. 2.1¹² etc.); and the comment to xix.3 has *yo 'pām pūshpam veda*.

Finally, we note that the comment gives, under xviii.1, a word, *bandhuh*, which ought to form the conclusion of the Sanhitā, by its own count, but which is lost in the known manuscripts.

In all this, again, there is no satisfactory evidence that the Sanhitā of the Prātiçākhyā or its commentators was other than the one we know. The missing citations are in part found in a minority of the MSS.; in part, they are perhaps corruptions; in part, they are likely to have been taken by an error of the quoter's recollection from some other Tāittirīya-text—and the remainder, if there be a remainder, is too scanty to prove anything.

When we come farther to inquire whether any part of the Tāittirīya-Sanhitā as it exists was not before the authors of the Prātiçākhyā, we seem to be brought to the same negative result. There are, to be sure, here and there points in the text which the rules do not cover, but we have reason only to wonder that in executing so immense and intricate a task as that undertaken by the Prātiçākhyā there should have been so few oversights. These, so far as they have been discovered, have been pointed out in the notes; I recapitulate them here. The word *rakshā* (p. *rakshāh*), at i.4.24, should have been exempted in some way from the operation of rule iii.8, which requires its *ā* to be shortened when separated from the following word. *Devī*, at vi.1.7⁷, is made *pragraha* by the strict letter of rule i.61 (see under i.59), though the passage in which it occurs is not one to which that rule was meant to apply. In the rehearsal of cases of elision or non-elision of initial *a* (chapters xi. and xii.), there are a couple of cases which the commentator is driven into attempting to provide for by forced and false interpretations of the rules (see under i.61 for *ye 'ntarikshe* at iv.5.11², and under xi.3 for *ye aparishu* at i.4.33); and I have noted beside (under xii.8, at the end) only *so agnih* at v.2.3³ as unaccounted for thus far (its companion case, *ardhvo asthāt*, is read first in an *ukhya*-passage, at iv.2.1⁴, as Prof. Weber has pointed out to me; and *so agnih* may yet find a like solution). And in the enumeration of cases of interior *ñ* (see under xvi.26), two compound words appear to have been overlooked, *svādushaṇśadah* (iv.6.6³) and *stri-shaṇśadam* (ii.5.1⁵).

I would repeat here, what I have already said, that my testing of the precise adaptation of the *Prātiçākhyā* to the *Sanhitā* is not absolute, since I possess neither an *index verborum* to the latter nor a *padu*-manuscript, and my results will probably admit of rectification in some points—but I trust not to any such extent as should invalidate the general conclusion.

This conclusion is, that the *Prātiçākhyā* probably contemplates the same text, neither more nor less, as that which constitutes the *Tāittirīya-Sanhitā*, the only *çākḥā* left us (unless the *Kāthaka* be regarded as another) of the many which formerly represented the Black *Yajur-Veda*. The name *Tāittirīya-Prātiçākhyā*, then, is both a convenient and a suitable one to be applied to the treatise.

If, however, this name be understood as implying that the text-book emanates directly from the *Tāittirīya* school, its propriety is much more questionable. Besides the numerous teachers and "holders of *çākḥās*" referred to in the rules, whose names in some cases are related with those of traditional schools of the Black *Yajus* (see Weber's notes to the *Çaranavyākha*, in his *Indische Studien*, iii.256 ff.), three schools are mentioned by name, those of the *Mīmāṃsakas* (v.41), *Āhvarakas* (xxiii.14), and *Tāittirīyas* (xxiii.15, 16). Now we do not expect the text-book of a school to name that school; its rules are those which apply "here," "with us," and only outsiders need specification; besides, the *Tāittirīyas* are represented as holding a doctrine which is not that of the treatise itself, although it is deemed of consequence enough to be set forth with a detail elsewhere unknown. We are far from fully comprehending as yet the origin, nature, and relations of the "schools" of Vedic study and their accepted texts or *çākḥās*, or the causes which have preserved to us so few of the latter, and of the school-treatises or *prātiçākhyās*; but we must of course assume that there were various degrees of difference among the *çākḥās*, and that some were only infinitesimally unlike some others. And it is perhaps possible to point out certain minor points, in which the orthocpeical form of the *Tāittirīya*-text as recorded differs from that to be inferred from the *Prātiçākhyā*.

Among these points we are not allowed to reckon the retention of *h* before surd gutturals and labials and before sibilants (against ix.2), nor of *n* before palatals (against v.24) and *l* (against v.25), nor the omission of *t* (required by v.33) between *t* and *s*, nor of the various duplications and insertions and aspirations taught in chapter xiv.; since these are matters on which we are to expect discordance between theory and practice. Nor would it be safe to make anything of the consistent and emphatic acceptance in the *Sanhitā* of *anusvāra* as an alphabetic element, while the *Prātiçākhyā* wavers (see under ii.30) between regarding it as such and as a mere affection of the preceding vowel. Of more consequence is the division of the sections or *anuvākas* in the recorded text into fifties of words, or *kandikās*, which causes the disappearance of more than one specialty of reading expressly prescribed in the treatise (e. g., of the *i* of *uçmasi*, at the end of i.3.6¹: see under iii.

13). The retention of the final *v* of *av* and *āv* (from *o* and *āu*) before a vowel is also against the letter of rule x.19, and in accordance with a dissident opinion quoted in x.21. The *kampa* of a circumflex accent followed by a circumflex, consistently made in the Sanhitā, is only mentioned in the Prāṭiśākhya (at xix.3) as taught by some authorities, nor is the form of the doctrine taught in full and clear accordance with the practice followed. And it is very questionable whether the prescription of nasalization of a final protracted *a* (xv.8) is not merely reported by the treatise as made by certain specified teachers. These are small matters, and few, and a degree of doubt, perhaps, hangs over them all; but they are worthy of notice, as being all that we have on which to found any discordance between the Sanhitā of the manuscripts and that of the Prāṭiśākhya. While, on the other hand, the points of accordance, even in matters which are most specially characteristic of the Tāittirīya-text, are very numerous and important.*

Of course, the existence of other forms of the text besides the ordinary *saṁhitā* is assumed by the Prāṭiśākhya. Such a work without a *pada*-text at least as its foundation would be a thing inconceivable. Our treatise does not give, as the others do (see add. note 1 to the Ath. Prāt.), formal rules for the construction of any of the other texts; its nearest approach to doing so is in the third chapter, where (see note to iii.1) it teaches us what final or initial vowels, long in *saṁhitā*, are to be shortened whenever the word in which they occur is thrown out of *sandhi* with its next neighbor—a form of statement which applies to *krāma* and *ajāta* text as well as *pada*. The occurrence of such terms as *pada*, *nānāpada*, *īṅgya*, *avagraha*, implies also the familiar usages of the *pada*-text; and the employment of *iti* is directly alluded to in iv.4 and ix.20, and indirectly assumed in the use of *ārsha* in ix.21 and x.13. What were the limits to the use of *iti* in the *pada*-text held by the school from which the Prāṭiśākhya proceeded does not appear: its combination in the extant *pada* with the prepositions (thus *pré 'ti* for *pra*, *vī 'ti* for *vī*, and so on—and without restriction to the ten words which alone are allowed by the Prāṭiśākhya, at i.15, to count as prepositions) does not come to light anywhere either in the text or commentary. Nor does the treatise chance to show whether its *pada* treated the *īṅgyas* or separable compounds after the same manner as the extant Rik and Atharvan texts—writing simply *upa-āyavah*, for example—or as the extant *padas* of the Yajur-Veda (including that to the Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā) and the one assumed by the Atharva-Prāṭiśākhya (see note to Ath. Prāt. iv.74)—writing *upāyava ity upa-āyavah*. The commentator, however, accepts and follows the latter method. Reason has been

* I have pointed out under rule ii.25 that the peculiar Tāittirīya orthography of such words as *suvar*, *tanuvā*, *agbniyā* finds no occasion for mention in the Prāṭiśākhya; nor is the very strange change of a final labial in certain words to a guttural (as in *trishṭug indriye*, ii.4.112; *trishṭug yājya*, ii.6.25; *trishṭugbhīh*, v.1.45) noticed anywhere; I presume (I have omitted to obtain distinct information upon the point) that in every such case the *pada*-text also has the guttural—which would take the whole matter out of the sphere of the Prāṭiśākhya.

found (under xx.3) for questioning whether in the *pada*-text belonging to the makers of the Prātiçākhyā the peculiar rule followed by the known Tāittiriya *pada*-text as to the accentuation of its separable words was of force. The latter text is of a very peculiar, not to say an anomalous, character in many respects; in these it is supported by the Prātiçākhyā, so far as the latter goes (I will instance as examples only the treatment of *yajā* and *evā*, and other cases noticed under iii.15, of *nīcād*, v.8, and of *ekāikayā*, v.19): whether it does not contain other peculiarities which are ignored by the Prātiçākhyā, and which consequently prove it not to be the one which this presupposes, I cannot say; but, from an item or two of information received from Prof. Weber, I imagine that it does so. The question will, at any rate, be cleared up by the discussion of the Tāittiriya *pada*-text which Weber, as I rejoice to learn, intends to add to his transliterated edition of the Sanhitā, now going through the press.

I attribute it only to a (very unusual) awkwardness of statement on the part of the Prātiçākhyā, that it appears to leave a part of the words ending in an original *o* out of the category of *pragrahas* (see under iv.7), and so to deny them the right to be followed by *iti*, as they are in fact followed in the known *pada*-text.

The *krama*-text ("word-*krama*") appears to be mentioned in rules xxiii.20 and xxiv.5, and more unequivocally in xxiv.6 (all of them, however, of suspicious authenticity as original parts of the Prātiçākhyā: see below); but it is only three times quoted in the comment (under vii.2, ix.17,20), and so makes but a small figure there as compared with the *jatā*. Examples from the latter are given under iii.1, v.33, viii.8,12,16,35, ix.22, x.9,10,13, xi.9,16,17, xii.7, xx.2, and sometimes in considerable number and at great length; and once (under xx.2), where the commentator has occasion to mention the various kinds of text, he specifies *saṁhitā*, *pada*, and *jatā*, ignoring the *krama* altogether. This seems strange, inasmuch as the *jatā* is regarded* as a secondary form of *krama*, and founded upon it; but the simple explanation appears to be that the *krama* brings up no questions of *sandhi* which do not arise also in *saṁhitā* and *pada*, and so needs no special attention where only methods of *sandhi* are taught; while the inversions of the *jatā* bring new elements into contact, and so create new cases of combination which require to be settled. If we may trust the commentator's interpretation, rules viii.12,35 are given expressly for cases that arise only in *jatā*-text; under viii.16, he commits an obviously false explanation in order to reach a *jatā*-case; under v.33, he makes a *sandhi* which the Prātiçākhyā certainly never intended, because it is required by the letter of the rule, in a case which the makers of the treatise had apparently overlooked; under xi.16,17, the *jatā* is resorted to, apparently with reason, for counter-examples to justify the form of statement adopted in the rule. The weight of evidence, upon the whole, is decidedly in favor of

* See Dr. Thibaut's "Jatāpatala," Leipzig, 1870.

the assumption that the peculiar *jatā* combinations were had in view by those who constructed the Prāṭiśākhya—or, at least, by those who brought it into its present form. I would add, that it seems to me not unlikely that the term *vikrama* (in the sense of *kramavikṛti*) signifies the *jatā*-text in rules xxiii.20 and xxiv.5.

The names of the divisions of the Sanhitā, *kānda*, *pragna* (not *prapāthaka*), and *anuvāka*, are found only in the commentary (see Index); respecting the absence of the subdivision of *anuvākas* into *kāndikās* see above, p. 427 (also under viii.35 and xxiv.6, where this division is acknowledged by the commentator). But the Prāṭiśākhya itself gives names to certain parts of the Sanhitā; which names, for the sake of convenience, I will put together here, with a reference to the rule under which the part designated by each is stated (for further details of their occurrence, see the Index): they are *agni* (iii.9), *ishti* (iv.52), *ukhya* (ix.20), *graha* (ix.20), *prsthya* (ix.20), *mahāprsthya* (xi.3), *yājyā* (iii.9), *rudra* (xi.3), *vājapeya* (xi.3), *vikarsha* (xi.3), *viharya* (xi.3), and *hiranyavarṇya* (ix.20).

A marked feature of the Prāṭiśākhya is its frequent citation of authorities by name. The list of names has been repeatedly put together by students of the Prāṭiśākhyas (in Weber's Indische Studien, iv.77–8, may be found notices respecting the historical and geographical indications derivable from them), but ought not to be omitted here also. It is as follows (including the cases of mention in the commentary, distinguished by an added *c*):

- Āgnivegya, ix.4.
- Āgnivegyāyana, xiv.32.
- Ātreya, v.31, xvii.8.
- Ukhyā, viii.22, x.20, xvi.24.
- Uttamottariya, viii.20.
- Kāṇḍamāyana, ix.1, xv.7,8c.
- Kāuṇḍinya, v.38, xviii.3,4c, xix.2; (*sthanira*), v.40c, xvii.4,5c.
- Kāuhaliputra, v.40c, xvii.2; (Kāuhaleya, xix.4c, xxiii.17c).
- Gāutama, v.38.
- Paushkarasādi, v.37,38,40c, xiii.16, xiv.2,3c, xvii.6.
- Plākshāyana, ix.6, xiv.11,17, xviii.5.
- Plākshi, v.38, ix.6, xiv.10,11c,17, xviii.5.
- Bādabhlkāra, xiv.13.
- Bhāradvāja, xvii.3; (Bharadvāja, v.40c).
- Mācākīya (or Māyikāya), x.22.
- Vātsapra, x.23.
- Vālmiki, v.36, ix.4, xviii.6.
- Cāṅkhāyana, xv.7,8c.
- Cāityāyana, v.40, xvii.1,3c,4c,7, xviii.2.
- Sāmkrtya, viii.21, x.21, xvi.16.
- Hārīta, xiv.18,19c,20c,21c,22c.

Of the three schools cited, the names have been already given (above, p. 427). And we have besides *ācāryāḥ* quoted in i.46; *eke ācāryāḥ* in v.30, ix.5, xiii.3, xiv.3,25; *eke* simply in i.47, ii.19, 27,47, v.39, viii.19, xi.19, xiv.33, xv.2,6, xviii.1, xix.3, xxi.13; *pūrve* in xv.9; and *sarve* in xviii.7.

The questions which all this array of authorities is called in to help settle may be classified as follows:

I. Matters of phonetic theory, with others of a general nature.

The nature of the tone of a circumflexed syllable, i.46-7; with this is combined an uncertainty of view of the Prātiçākhyā itself, expressed in rules 44-5; there is nothing else like it in the treatise; perhaps we may best assume that rules 44-7 are a later intrusion. The mode of production of *anusvāra* and *svarabhakti*, ii.19. The quality of the *a*-element in *āi* and *āu*, ii.27. The phonetic character of *h* and *ḥ*, ii.47-8. The nature of the combination of *e* or *o* with (elided) *ā*, xi.19. The occurrence of lingual *l*, xiii.16: this the comment vainly endeavors to make out an accepted doctrine of the Prātiçākhyā. A denial of the enclitic circumflex, xiv.32-3. Nasalization of final vowels, xv.6-8: the comment treats rule 8 as the direct teaching of the text-book. Accent of protracted vowels (?), xv.9. Correction of the final theme-vowel of neuters in *as*, *is*, *us* in the nom. pl. before *ñ*, xvi.16. Utterance of *āi* final in a single case, xvi.24. Degrees of nasalization, xvii.1-5. Utterance of accents and alphabetic sounds generally, xvii.6-8. *Kampa* between two circumflex syllables, xix.3-5. Use of the term *yama* for the nasal counterparts, xxi.13. Utterance of the syllable *om*, xviii.1-7. *Yama*-tones held by certain schools, xxi.14-19.

II. Matters of *sandhi* or euphonic combination.

1. The most important cases in this division are two or three in which the views of different authorities are reported without any clear expression by the treatise of the opinion held, or the rule to be followed, by its school. Thus, with regard to the combination of a final mute with an initial *h*, v.38-41; where, indeed, the view first stated, as that of certain specified teachers, is doubtless to be regarded as that of the Prātiçākhyā, notwithstanding the equivocal way in which it is put forward. Again, at ix.1, the dropping of final *ḥ* before a sibilant followed by a surd mute must probably in like manner, though referred to the authority of a single teacher, be taken as a binding rule. And it is hard to believe that rule x.19, prescribing the invariable omission of final *v*, was not meant to be modified by x.21. That the treatment of *anusvāra* as a distinct consonantal element is put by xv.2-3 upon certain dissidents, must not be looked at by itself alone; it stands connected with the general equivocal attitude assumed by the Prātiçākhyā with reference to this vexed question in phonetics (see note to ii.30). Once more, the mode of duplication in groups beginning with *l* as reported in xiv.2-3, with reference to the authorities who teach it, seems to be acknowledged by a later rule (xiv.7) as binding: this interpretation, however, is not free from doubt.

2. In all other cases, the Prātiçākhyā is liberal enough to record the opinions of respected authorities upon points as to which its own teachings are distinctly opposed to theirs. Thus, as to the treatment of *m* before *y* and *v*, v.30 and xiii.3 (the repeated mention of this shows it to be regarded as a view entitled to the most respectful consideration); the combination of *p* with *ç* and of *n* with *ç* before a consonant, v.36-7; the *sandhi* of *eṣṭar* with *rāyah*, viii.19-22; the treatment of *ḥ* before an initial consonant, ix.4-6; the utterance or omission of final *y* and *v*, x.20-23; the insertion

of a surd mute between spirant and mute, xiv.10-11; aspiration of a mute before a sibilant, xiv.13; duplication in certain specified cases, xiv.17-22, 25-8 (but the comment treats 28 as the direct prescription of the authors of the treatise); and *vikrama* accent after *pracaya*, xix.2.

Thus it is evident that, while this arraying of discordant opinions is a quite distinctive and a very interesting feature of our *Prāṭiśākhya*, it does not, except to a very limited extent, detract from the character of the latter as a consistent and positive record of the views of a school of Vedic study. Nor is it fairly to be brought into any relation to the peculiar character of the Black Yajur-Veda, as a text of which the constituent parts had been gathered together more miscellaneous, and less fully fused into conformity, than the other Vedic texts. No text could be so definitely constructed, and be made the object of so thorough and systematic study as the setting up of a text-book like the *Prāṭiśākhya* evinces, without assuming an established character, and being as authoritatively handed down and as accurately learned as any Vedic text.

It is by no means improbable that a part of these citations of authorities have been interpolated in the *Prāṭiśākhya* after the latter ceased to be a mere body of practical rules for the guidance of a school, and, in virtue of its thoroughness and comprehensiveness, gained more the character of a phonetic "treatise" on the Black Yajur-Veda, and was used in other schools than that which originated it. The commentator (as will be pointed out below) uses the citations as a cover under which to put upon the treatise certain doctrines which do not properly belong to it; and in other hands it may have undergone a like distortion in other directions.

Accretions of other kinds to the original text of the *Prāṭiśākhya* are plausibly to be presumed in various places. All the metrical rules (namely xvii.8, xxii.14, 15, xxiii.2, 14-15, 20, xxiv.5, 6) are to be set down without much question as unauthentic; they are proved such by their character not less than by their form; and several of them are found in other parts of the *Prāṭiśākhya* literature. We may include in the same category, indeed, with considerable show of reason, the seventeenth and eighteenth chapters, and all that follows the twenty-first, on the score of content alone: a part of their matter is inferior repetition of what had been given before; a part deals with subjects, and in a style, unsuited to a *Prāṭiśākhya*. That there is room at least to suspect the intrusion of rules in other parts of the work has been pointed out here and there in the notes: at this place, I will merely refer to certain rules which are put in strangely out of place, interrupting the natural connection of passages: such are i.25-7, 60, vii.13, 14, xiv.12-3, xv.6-9, xvi.24, xxii.3-8; of these, only vii.13, 14 are indispensable parts of a treatise like the present.

Another notable characteristic of our *Prāṭiśākhya* is its sparing use of technical terms belonging to general grammar, consequent upon its refusal to deal with words or classes of words according to their grammatical character, its laborious definition of its subject-

matter in the *Sanhitā* by position and surroundings merely. There are but two cases of its departure from this method: namely, its use of *alopa* at xiii.15, and of *saṅkhyāsu* at xvi.25; and in neither one is its success precisely of a character to make us wish it had gone farther in the same direction. This peculiarity renders impossible any profitable comparison of its phraseology with that of other grammatical works.

The general character of the *Prātiçākhyā* is that of an earnest, sensible, consistent treatise, thoroughly worked out and dealing with its proper task with completeness and accuracy, and confining itself quite strictly to that task. There is no labored feebleness and artificial obscurity, as in parts of the *Vājasaneyi-Prātiçākhyā*, nor any inclusion of matters pertaining to general grammar, as in the *Atharva-Prātiçākhyā*. It has its minor inaccuracies and inconsistencies, its obscurities of *anuvṛtti* inseparable from the *sūtra*-style, and its rules that seem to defy interpretation: but these are inconspicuous blemishes; no one of the other works of its class is more thoroughly respectable throughout.

Turning, now, to the more special consideration of the commentary, we have to note, as the most important point, a break of continuity between it and the *Prātiçākhyā*. The commentator is not the recipient of a certain tradition, that gives him surely and precisely the import of the rules which he has to expound; the text-book has come down to him as something authoritative and sacred, indeed, yet in some points obscure, so that he is in doubt as to what it means; in others imperfect, so that it needs emendation; in others not in accordance with the views held by him and his school respecting the text, so that these have to be interpreted into it.

Thus, in the first place, the instances are frequent in which, to his own interpretation of a rule, he adds a different view held by other interpreters: either without naming them (as under i.19, 21, xiii.16, xiv.5, 11, xvii.5, xxiii.7), or referring to one of his special sources and predecessors (as under ii.19, 33), or setting off against one another the views of two of these, *Vararuci* and *Māhisheya* (as under ii.14, iv.40, viii.19, 20, 22, xviii.7). In a large proportion of the instances, it is true, the difference of opinion is upon some utterly trivial point, turning on the interpretation of a *tu* or the like, and only illustrating the hair-splitting tendencies of the native exegetes; but in some cases it is of more consequence, and once goes so far as to question (under viii.20) whether an authority referred to is *Uttamottariya* or *Dvāvuttamottariya*. Again, where a rule is really obscure, the commentator has sometimes, palpably, nothing more than guesses to give at its meaning, and ventures two or three of them (as under ii.2, xiv.22, xv.9, xix.5, xxiii.17), among which it would be hard to choose the least acceptable; or, if he gives but one (as under xi.19, xviii.4, xxiii.18, 19), it is no less unsatisfactory. There are yet other cases in which what seems to be the evident meaning of a rule is misapprehended and distorted,

without reason (as under ii.52, iv.4, v.29, vii.11, xix.3). Occasionally, false interpretations, of every degree of violence, are committed, for the purpose either of correcting an oversight or inaccuracy of the Prāṭicākhya (as under i.61, iii.1, viii.16, xi.3, xvi.26), or else of imposing upon the latter a doctrine which it was not intended to teach, but which is held by the commentator and his school (as under i.58, xiii.4, xxi.14,16). For this last purpose, too, advantage is sometimes taken of the citations of varying opinions so liberally made in the rules; the *dictum* of the quoted authority is declared to be approved in usage, or is even imposed upon the Prāṭicākhya, to the setting aside of what the latter really prescribes. Thus, Pāṇshkarasādi's doctrine of the conversion of *l* to *ḍ* (xiii.16), which belongs neither to the Prāṭicākhya nor to the Saṁhitā, is accepted; and the duplication of consonant-groups beginning with *l* which is ascribed (xiv.3) to certain unspecified teachers; and Plākshi's mode of treatment of a spirant before a first mute (xiv.17), which has as further result a misinterpretation of xxi.16; and a part of rule xiv.26, respecting the duplication of *l*; and rule xiv.28, to which a strange interpretation is given, prepared for by a yet stranger one of xiii.4; and rules xv.2,3, which require *anusvāra* instead of nasalization of a vowel; and the nasalization of a final protracted *a* (xv.8); and two rules (xviii.1,6) from among those which concern the utterance of *om*; and rule x.21, as to the retention of final *v*, is given the preference over 19, which requires its omission; and the first rule (v.38) as to the combination of initial *h* with a preceding mute is ratified; and, in the variety of opinions respecting the circumflex tone, one (i.46) is selected for approval. In the few cases where the commentator does not express himself as to whether a rule is *ishṭa* or *anishṭa* (they are ii.19,27,47-8, xi.19, xix.2, xxi.13, xxiii.14-9), there may be question whether he means to have it regarded as approved, or thinks the matter of no consequence either way. There remain the majority of cases, in which he stands by the Prāṭicākhya, rejecting the intruded doctrine (for further details, refer to the words *ishṭa* and *anishṭa* in the Sanskrit index).

Besides these more serious cases of misapprehension or intended modification of the teachings of his text-book, the commentator is not free from the ordinary and characteristic weaknesses of his craft in India: from feeble and puerile expositions, from attempts to find a wonderful pregnancy of meaning in some innocent particle or unintended difference of expression, from groundless etymologies, and the like; to these attention has been directed in the notes, and they are not of consequence enough to be recapitulated here.

For determining the personality of the commentator we have no data whatever, and for his place and period we have only the references to other authorities, which, though too few and indefinite to yield any statable result, need to be put together in this note. The three earlier commentators on whom the work is avowedly founded—namely, Vararuci, Māhishēya, and Ātreya—are repeatedly appealed to, especially (as has been pointed out above)

in the settlement of difficult or controverted points (for the details, see index). Vararuci is a name very common in grammatical literature; to identify our commentator with any other of the various individuals who have worn it would doubtless be daring in the extreme. Nor does Ātreya, probably, stand in any definable relation to the grammarian of that name who is (see p. 430) twice quoted in the Prāticākhya itself. From Pāṇini, rules are directly quoted under ii.12, iii.9, v.1, xiii.16, xiv.4, xxiv.3; and the *pāṇinīyāh* or the *vyākaraṇa* are farther referred to under i.15, 53, 57, ii.47, xviii.1. Pāṇinean terms are, further, *nañ*, i.60, x.22, *nic*, ii.17, *hal*, ix.24, *yar*, xiv.4, and *lyap*, xxi.14. The Mahābhāshya is professedly quoted under ii.7, v.2; but the passage given is actually from Kāiyyata's gloss. A definition is taken from the Amarakoṣa under i.1. Kāuhaleya is quoted under xix.4, xxiii.17; and the Kālanirnaya under xviii.1. The Brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyins is referred to under xiv.33, and extracts from the Mahābhārata and various Purāṇas are set forth under xxiv.6.

But the authority most often appealed to is the "Çikshā," by which the commentator intends a very different work from the *pāṇinīya* Çikshā, and one much more comprehensive. He takes extracts from it, of a verse, or part of a verse, or more than one verse, under i.1 (three times), ii.2, xiv.5, 28, xix.3, xx.12, xxi.1, 15, xxii.13, xxiii.10, 17. Among these extracts are (under i.1, ii.2, xxi.1, xxiii.10) several passages which are found also in the *pāṇinīya* Çikshā; and among the metrical extracts which are now and then given without specifying their source (under xiv.23, 26, 28, xix.3, xxi.1, 6, 15, xxiii.17, 19, xxiv.6) are likewise one or two (under xxiii.17, 19) which occur in the same treatise. That the commentator is inclined to regard his Çikshā as of higher authority than the Prāticākhya itself was pointed out under xx.12; that it was a work specially appertaining to the Tāittirīya-Saṃhitā may be inferred with probability from the words which it cites (under xxi.15) in illustration of the varieties of *svarabhakti*.

ANALYSIS.

I. EXPLANATORY: TERMS AND THEIR USE, INTERPRETATION OF RULES, ETC.

1. *Terms and their use:*

kāra forms names of letters, xxii.4; of vowels, i.16; of consonants, i.17; exceptions, i.18.—*varṇa* forms names of letters, xxii.4; includes short, long, and protracted vowels, i.20.—*epha* forms name of *r*, i.19.—*varga*, with first mute, forms name of series, i.27.—*a* forms name of consonant, i.21; of a cited word, i.22.—*apṛkta*, a *pada* of a single letter, i.54.—*avagraha*, first member of a separable word, i.49.—*lpa*, loss, i.57.—*upasarga*, 'preposition,' includes what words, i.15.—offices of *ca*, *api*, *tu*, *atha*, *eva*, *vā*, *na*, xxii.5–8.

2. *Interpretation of rules and forms, etc.:*

an increment, or word having euphonic change or elision, put in nominative, i.23; or in its text-form, i.24.—product of euphonic change put in accusative, i.28.—next element, or more, taken in case of doubt, i.25, 26.—a cited *pada* means that *pada* only, i.50; but applies to it even when euphonicallly altered, or preceded by *a* or *an*; i.51–3.—rules for a specified passage apply only there, and peremptorily, i.59; but a series of three or more words, if repeated, reads as the first time, i.61.—*pūrva*, 'preceding,' and *uttara*, 'following,' designate a word only under the specified circumstances, i.29, 30.—continued implication is of what stood last, i.58.—words to be combined, and rules to be applied, in their order, v.3.—a separable word treated as two words, except in enumeration, i.48.—an *apṛkta* treated as initial and as final, i.55.—elision and euphonic alteration affect single letters only, i.56; after elision of *y* or *v*, no farther combination made, x.25.—in *pragrahas*, and in enumeration of words containing *anuvāra*, a cause in another word maintains its force, i.60.

II. PHONETIC: ENUMERATION, CLASSIFICATION, DESCRIPTION OF ALPHABETIC SOUNDS, QUANTITY, ACCENT, ETC.

1. *Enumeration and classification of alphabetic sounds:*

nine simple vowels [*a, ā, ṁ, i, ī, ɪ, u, ū, ṁ*], i.2; sixteen vowels [the above, with *ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, e, ai, o, au*], i.5; the rest consonants, i.6.—mutes, i.7; in five series, i.10; called "first" etc., i.11.—semivowels [*y, r, l, v*], i.8.—spirants [*ç, ś, ṣ, s, ḥ, h*], i.9.—surd consonants, i.12; *h*, i.13; sonants, i.14.

2. *Mode of formation of alphabetic sounds:*

general mode of production of articulate sounds, ii.2, 3, 7, xvii.7, 8, xxii.1, 2, xxiii.2, 3.—difference of surds, sonants, and *h*, ii.4–6.—mode of utterance of vowels, in general, ii.4, 8, 31, 32; in particular, of *a, ā*, ii.12; of *i, ī*, ii.20–22; of *u, ū*, ii.20, 24, 25; of *ṛ, ṝ, ḷ*, ii.18; of *e*, ii.15–17, 23; of *ai*, ii.26–8; of *o*, ii.13, 14; of *au*, ii.26, 27, 29.—similar vowels, i.3, 4.—mode of utterance of consonants, in general, ii.33, 34; of sonants, ii.8; of surds, ii.10, 11; of *h* and sonant aspirates, ii.6, 9; of nasality, ii.52; difference of nasal quality in different nasal sounds, xvii.1–4; of nasal mutes, ii.30.—mode of utterance of consonants in particular: of *k*-series, ii.35; of *c*-series, ii.36; of *ç*-series, ii.37; of *t*-series, ii.38; of *p*-series, ii.39; of *y*, ii.40; of *r*, ii.41; of *l*, ii.42; of *v*, ii.43; of *ṣ*, ii.

rants, ii.44,45; of *h*, ii.6,9,46,47; of *visarjaniya*, ii.46,48; of *anusvāra*, ii.19, 30; of *nāsikyās* (*yamas* etc.), ii.49-51; of *svarabhakti*, ii.19.

3. Quantity:

quantity of short and long vowels, i.31-3,35; of protracted vowels, i.36; of consonants, i.37; of *anusvāra* (or nasalized vowel), i.34, xvii.5; of syllables ("heavy" and "light"), xxii.14,15; of pauses and hiatus, xxii.13; of *om*, xviii.1.

4. Accent:

general character of accents: acute, i.38, xxii.9; grave, i.39, xxii.10; circumflex, i.40-47, xvii.6.—varieties of independent circumflex: *nitya* or original, xx.2; its quality, xx.9: *kshāipra*, xx.1; its occurrence, x.16: its quality, xx.9: *abhinihata*, xx.4; its occurrence, xii.9; its quality, xx.10: *prāṭishta*, xx.5; its occurrence, x.17; its quality, xx.11.—enclitic circumflex: its occurrence, xiv.29-33; its varieties: *prātihata*, xx.3; its quality, xx.11: *pidavṛta*, xx.6; its quality, xx.12: *tāiroṃyāṅjana*, xx.7; its quality, xx.12.—*pracaya* accent, xxi.10,11.—*vikrama*, xix.1,2; its quality, xvii.6.—*kampa*, between two circumflexes, xix.3-5.—accent resulting from combination of two syllables into one, x.10,12,16,17, xii.9-11.—accent of *om*, xviii.2,3,5-7.—accent of protracted vowel (?), xv.9.

5. Syllabication:

division of syllables, xxi.1-9.

6. Mode and tones of utterance:

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SANSKRIT INDEX.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

PART of these emendations are due to Prof. Weber, who has called my attention to them in private communications. A few slight misprints, of obvious character, are not noted here.

p. 2, l. 25. The MS. used by Weber was another (No. 504) in the same collection, containing only the text (incomplete) of the *Prāṭicākhya*.

p. 3, l. 1. Dr. Rost's description of these MSS. has not yet appeared. It appears, however, that the rules of the *Prāṭicākhya* are read interspersed in the commentary also, as well as prefixed to it in a body (with separate paging).

p. 3, l. 4. The differences of reading in the *Prāṭicākhya* text itself are more numerous than is here stated. They have been pointed out in the course of the work (either in the notes on the rules, or in the various readings to the comment)—namely, as occurring (with here and there an addition, omitted in its proper place) in i.61, ii.17,51, iv.11,39 (T. W. *ahne*, for *hne*), v.13,20 (G. M. *ṣakāraḥ*, for *-raṇi*: a mere blunder), vii.8 (G. M. *yajush*, for *yajūh*), 12, viii.8 (T., it should be added, has dropped both *sanuta* and *stanuta*), 13,35, ix.21,22, x.11 (T. W. B. O. *anunāsikam*, for *'nun-*), 13 (G. M. *-pā asipuraḥ budhniyā jyi ā pūshā aminanta ārshe*, which is perhaps the more acceptable reading, since it gives the uncombinable finals their uncombinable quality in the rule also), 22, xi.16 (G. M. *udabdhāsa* and *ashādhaḥ*, with unelided *a*), 17 (G. M. *abhiyā mā 'mbūti*), 18,19 (G. M. repeat the whole rule, instead of its last two words only), xii.4,9 (T. O. *asmān*, for *tas-*), xiii.4,13,14 (see farther on), 15, xiv.3,8 (G. M. *upasargaḥ ca pātha*: a blunder only), 13,32, xvi.1,5 (G. M. *ṣaṇṣṭan anant-*: a blunder), 7,13 (G. M. omit *ppivā* in the rule, as well as its example in the comment; but they give the word in the rehearsal at the beginning of the comment), 16,19,22,26, xvii.2,4, xviii.5 (T. *svaritāḥ ca pl-*), xx.9 (G. M. substitute in the text-MS. rule xvii.6, except the word *pāushkarasadeh*), xxi.5,6,14, xxii.7 (W. O. also have *-shakak* in the rule, but not in the comment), xxiii.2,6,10,12,14,20, xxiv.4. The reading adopted for rule xiii.14 is that of T. G. M. (save that T. has *shtha* for *shya*, and *rāvṇa*, with *virāma* under the *v*; and G. M. have *ravinṇa* in the text-MSS., and *rāvṇa* in the MSS. with comment); W. gives *ṛṇṇ shan shla mṇa rāvṇ* (with *virāma* under both *v* and *n*); for O. the collator has noted nothing; B. reads *ṛṇ shan shya mṇa rāvṇ grāvna*. Other evident copyists' errors occur, of too little account to be worth notice.

A reading has been adopted contrary to the authority of all the MSS. at ix.1,20 (where the MSS.-reading is *ikāraūkārapi-*), xi.1,17. The writing of *iṅgya* for *iṅga* was noted under i.48.

p. 9, l. 16. The commentator, as will be seen under xxi.14, interprets out of existence the *nāsikya* as an independent element.

p. 11, l. 7. The structure of *r* is defined by the commentator under xxi.15.

p. 18, l. 12. The commentator refers to some "different reading" (perhaps in his *Āikṣhā*? there is no trace of it in the *Prāṭicākhya*), beginning *pra parā 'pa sam*, but declares it to have to do only with the addition to all these words of *iti* (in the *pada*-text, namely, which writes *e 'ti* for *ā*, *ape 'ti* for *apa*, and so on) and not to their receiving the name *upasarga*. I still fail to see any reason for the limitation of the class to half its usual number.

p. 23, l. 13. Delete the hyphen at the end of the line.

p. 33, l. 16. One may conjecture that rule 43 formerly concluded the treatment of accent in this chapter, and applied to all the three kinds of accent; but, rules 44-7, on the circumflex, being later interpolated, the connection made it necessary to understand this also as applying to the circumflex alone.

p. 34, rule 46. The same example (from iii.3.11¹) is quoted by the comment under this rule as under rules 43 and 47.

p. 37, l. 19. Compare under rules xvi.26,29, where this claim is distinctly made. But it is not entirely well founded, for there are cases where combinations of sounds which are *padas* are quoted as *padāikadevas*: thus *han* in vii.11, *pā* in xvi.2, *hi* in xvi.13, etc.

- p. 42, ll. 28, 32, 43, read iv. 23 (for iv. 25).
- p. 46, l. 3. Read (in part of the edition) *alteration* for *nasalisation*.
- p. 82, last line. Restore (in part of the edition) the lost figure 8 before *na*, at the beginning of the line.
- p. 83, l. 2. The passage is found at iv. 1.51.
- p. 87, rule 5. For *agha*, in rule and translation, read *adyā*; and the example, on the next page, is *adyāc-vād* (p. *adya-cvāt*). The St. Petersburg lexicon (in the Appendix) has this word in its proper form, but I unfortunately overlooked it.
- p. 88, l. 28, and p. 99, l. 5. No division is made of *prācṛhga* in *pada*-text.
- p. 96, l. 28. Read *kah* for *kāh* (in part of the edition).
- p. 101, l. 20. I have little or no doubt that the interpretation here suggested is the true one.
- p. 103, l. 7 from below. *Tb* is not an independent word: see the St. Petersburg lexicon, s. v. *tatah*.
- p. 104, l. 24. So far as the vocatives in *o* are concerned, the existing *pada*-text appears to accord with the Prāticākhyā: we have them with *iti*, as *pragraha*, for example, at i.3.81; 4.27, and without *iti* at i.2.132; 4.39. But *o. uo, io*, and *pro* are followed by *iti* wherever they occur (for *to*, see the preceding correction), although this is not authorized by the Prāticākhyā.
- p. 110, l. 32. The *pada*-text divides *dyānā-prthivi*.
- p. 121, ll. 23, 24. Read (in part of the edition) *āndrāgni* and *indrāgni*.
- p. 123, l. 18. Insert the omitted example *trīṇi vrātā vidathe antar eśhm* (ll. 115).
- p. 124, l. 12. Read (in part of the edition) *pātam* for *patam*.
- p. 132, l. 15. But note the case reported under i.59 (p. 43).
- p. 138, l. 13. Read (in part of the edition) *nica* (for *nica*).
- p. 153, l. 27. I have omitted part of the passages in which *t* occurs before *sh*, namely vi.6.111.2; vii.2.87. It should have been added, too, that the Sanhitā furnishes no example of *n* before *sh*.
- p. 157, l. 23. The citation is from vi.3.31, as under the two preceding rules.
- p. 160, l. 24. This is not correct, so far as the existing *pada*-text is concerned. I was not aware at the time of writing the note that that text treated the *avagraha*-pause as suspending the continuance of accentual influence (see p. 369, first marginal note). The application of the rule, however, is as stated, compound words having been already provided for by rule 2.
- p. 167, l. 14. The peculiarity of accentuation referred to in the preceding correction would allow of these examples being brought under rule 4.
- p. 173, l. 20. Read *parāṇuttyāi*.
- p. 176, rule 11, translation. Read *huvani*.
- p. 179, l. 12. The suggestion of *punarukti* here is not well-founded, the sphere of action of the rules in this and in the thirteenth chapter being different.
- p. 183, l. 10. *Ahorātre pārcve* is found in Tāitt. Āranyaka, at iii.13.2.
- p. 193, ll. 9, 10. References should have been given for the words *ahorātrābhyām* and *ahorātrayoh*; the former is found at ii.1.73 et al., the latter at vi.1.31. *Adhishavane* occurs only at vi.2.114.
- p. 194, l. 14. The reference for *rukmo antur* is iv.1.104-5 et al.
- p. 199, l. 9 from below. The *pada*-text leaves *bṛhaspati* undivided, so that the combination does not come within the ken of the treatise at all.
- p. 199, l. 13 from below. Read (in part of the edition) ii.1.57 for ii.1.57.
- p. 205, l. 14. The omission of *h* before a spirant followed by a sonant consonant, here referred to as a doctrine held in schools of the Black Yajus, is practised in the manuscripts of our treatise and its commentary to a degree far beyond what can be regarded as merely accidental. G. M. observe it almost without exception, and it prevails also in the others.
- p. 209, rule 7. Doubtless *ahsurvo* is to be understood here as an adjective, qualifying *visarjanyah* understood, 'h completed to ah,' as the comment clearly intends. This also removes the difficulty of *anuvṛtti* spoken of on pp. 210-11, so far as the implication of *visarjanyah* is concerned.
- p. 216, l. 2. Read *is* for *dos*.
- p. 218, l. 5. The example *pacin* etc. occurs first at i.5.21.
- p. 222, l. 12. Read (in part of the edition) 'gnē vimān (for *mdā*).
- p. 224, l. 4. Read *Also* for *Nor*.

- p. 232, l. 26. I have noted here all the cases in which the *samhitā*-text shows *dhā*, *mā*, or *pā* before *asi*; it appears, however, from Weber's edition of the *Sanhitā*, that a part of them have *h* in *pada*-text after the *ā*.
- p. 233, l. 11 from below. Read (in part of the edition) *prape 've* (for *-pā*).
- p. 239, l. 6. Read *o* for *a*.
- p. 255, l. 5. The combination *urūhvo asthāt* is in fact read first at iv.2.14, in an *ukhya*-passage.
- p. 255, l. 19. There is, however, a case in which *a* is omitted according to the general rules, when by the letter, though not the spirit, of i.61 it ought to be retained; see under i.61 (p. 47).
- p. 273, rule 12. I should doubtless have done better to adopt the reading *vānī jāya* (for *bān-*), in rule, version, and example.
- p. 291, l. 24. *Achāvākah* is found at vii.1.55.
- p. 296, l. 9. Read *hksn* (by ix.3); and this would change the treatment of the group, since *h* (i.9) is not a spirant.
- p. 301, l. 3. Read *hksn*, *hksn*, *hksn* (by ix.3); so that *jihvāmūliya* occurs only in the four remaining groups.
- p. 302, l. 23. I can give no reference for *varshābhyah*, the reading at vii.4.12 being *varshyābhyah svāhā varshyābhyah*.
- p. 303, l. 9. I was heedless enough here to overlook the fact that a spirant never stands, according to the rules of this chapter, before either an aspirated surd or a nasal, since a first mute (by rule 9, above) is always inserted in such cases between the two. The groups *ech* etc., therefore, would be read according to this rule *cech*, instead of *cech*. The groups in which a nasal originally follows the spirant will be found catalogued under rule xxi.12 (p. 390). The example *tasmā* etc., below, is therefore no counter-example, and it is G. M. that are in the wrong in so calling it; it is to be read *tasmāt*, according to Plākshi etc., instead of *tassmāt* (or, with *yama*, *tasspāmāt*).
- p. 304, l. 5. See also under xxi.16.
- p. 308, l. 6 from below. Read *dhakāre* for *-ra*.
- p. 315, l. 10. Prof. Hadley's paper may be found printed in full in the Transactions of the American Philological Association (vol. i., 1871, p. 1 ff.).
- p. 334, l. 7. Read vii.5.152 (for vii.5.142).
- p. 336, l. 7. "Verbal forms"—that is, of course, all excepting *ṛjishi*.
- p. 354, ll. 17, 25. See p. 426. Prof. Roth's MS. also ends with *samudrah*; he calls my attention, further, to the passage in the Brhad-Āraṇyaka (i.1.2), *samudra evāya* [i. e. *acvāya*] *bandhuh samudro yonih*.
- p. 356, l. 3. For *dhṛta* as synonym of *pracaya*, see below, under xxiii.17 (p. 412).
- p. 364, l. 24. And accordant, it may be added, with the practice followed in the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, where there is no added figure, and no prolongation of the vowel.
- p. 369, marg. notes, l. 6. The *anudatta*-mark under *ca* (the second time) has fallen out.
- p. 373, l. 1. Read i.2.51 (for i.2.52).
- p. 386, l. 18. The *e* sign has broken off in the *samhitā*-reading of *agne*.
- p. 387, l. 7. I have considered this point more fully in a paper on the Sanskrit accent in the Transactions of the Am. Philological Association (vol. i., 1871, p. 20 ff.).
- p. 414, l. 4. Read (in Devanāgarī) *kramavik*, for *kramivak*. (altered in the type, by some mishap, after the last correction).
- p. 425, l. 29-30. *Achāvākah* is found at vii.1.55.
- p. 428, l. 37. But see, for the commentary, the additional note above to i.15 (p. 18).
- p. 429, l. 26. The *krama*-text is also quoted under ix.24 (p. 224) by O. alone.
- p. 438, last line but one. Read xvi. for xxvi.

